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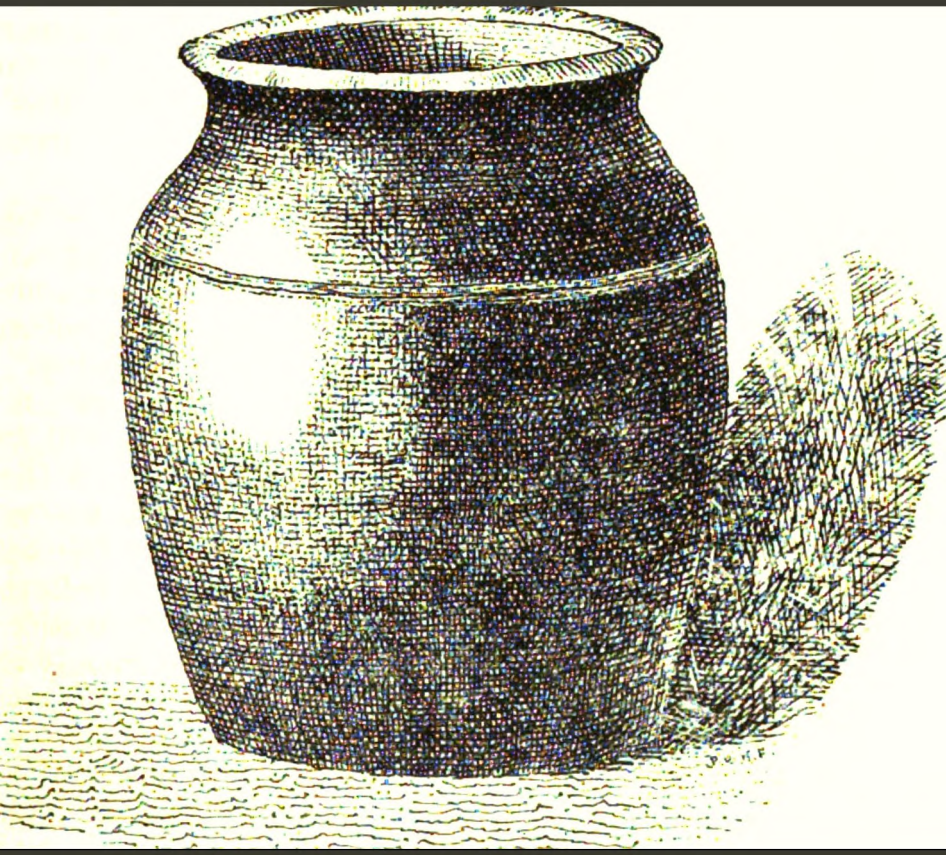

Report and transactions

Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art, Devonshire ...

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REPORT AND TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

DEVONSHIRE ASSOCIATION

FOR

THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE, LITERATURE, AND ART.

[ASHBURTON, JULY, 1876.]

VOL. VIII.

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Hon. Local Treasurer.

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Hon. Local Secretary.

JOHN S. AMERY, ESQ.

Auditors of Accounts.

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COTTON, W.
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DOE, G.
DYMOND, R
ELLIS, H. S.
EXETER, BISHOP OF
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TABLE SHOWING THE PLACES AND TIMES OF MEETING OF THE DEVONSHIRE ASSOCIATION,

With the Officers, Number of Members, and Number of Papers read, from its commencement.

PLACES, TIMES, &c.	PRESIDENTS.	VICE-PRESIDENTS.	TREASURERS.*	SECRETARIES.*
EXETER— August 14th, 15th, 1862. 69 Members 5 Papers	Sir John Bowring, LL.D., F.R.S.	The Mayor of Exeter (W. Kendall, Esq.) Sir L. Palk, Bart., M.P. A. H. A. Hamilton, Esq. T. Shapter, Esq., M.D.	W. Vicary, Esq., F.G.S.	C. Spence Bate, Esq., F.R.S. Rev. W. Harpley, M.A. *H. S. Ellis, Esq.*, F.R.A.S.
PLYMOUTH— July 29th, 30th, 1863. 80 Members 10 Papers	C. Spence Bate, Esq., F.R.S., F.L.S.	Sir John Bowring, LL.D., F.R.S. The Mayor of Plymouth (W. Derry, Esq.) Sir W. Snow Harris, F.R.S. J. L. Colley, Esq.	W. Vicary, Esq., F.G.S. *J. Dabb, Esq.*	Rev. W. Harpley, M.A. H. S. Ellis, Esq., F.R.A.S. *J. B. Rowe, Esq.*, F.L.S.
TORQUAY— July 20th, 21st, 1864. 92 Members 15 Papers	E. Vivian, Esq., M.A.	C. Spence Bate, Esq., F.R.S., F.L.S. Chairman Torquay Local Board of Health (A. B. Sheppard, Esq.) Rev. R. H. Barnes, M.A. W. Pengelly, Esq., F.R.S., F.G.S.	W. Vicary, Esq., F.G.S.	Rev. W. Harpley, M.A. H. S. Ellis, Esq., F.R.A.S. *E. Appleton, Esq.*
TIVERTON— June 28th, 29th, 1865. 99 Members 14 Papers	C. G. B. Daubeny, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., Professor of Botany, Oxford.	E. Vivian, Esq., M.A. The Mayor of Tiverton (W. N. Row, Esq.) C. A. W. Troyte, Esq.	E. Vivian, Esq., M.A. *J. G. Dickenson, Esq.*	Rev. W. Harpley, M.A. H. S. Ellis, Esq., F.R.A.S. *Rev. J. B. Hughes*, M.A.
TAVISTOCK— August 8th, 9th, 1866. 132 Members 18 Papers	The Earl Russell, K.G., K.G.C., F.R.S., &c.	C. G. B. Daubeny, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., &c. His Highness Rajah Brooke Sir J. Trelawny, Bart. J. Carpenter-Garnier, Esq. A. Russell, Esq., M.P. J. D. A. Samuda, Esq., M.P.	E. Vivian, Esq., M.A. *E. Straker, Esq.*	Rev. W. Harpley, M.A. H. S. Ellis, Esq., F.R.A.S. *Rev. D. Griffith.*
BARNSTAPLE— July 23rd to 25th, 1867. 145 Members 26 Papers	W. Pengelly, Esq., F.R.S., F.G.S.	The Earl Russell, K.G., K.G.C., F.R.S. The Mayor of Barnstaple (R. Farleigh, Esq.) The Earl Fortescue J. R. Chanter, Esq. J. Jerwood, Esq., M.A., F.G.S.	E. Vivian, Esq., M.A. *T. W. M. W. Guppy, Esq.*	Rev. W. Harpley, M.A. H. S. Ellis, Esq., F.R.A.S. *R. W. Cotton, Esq*

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Honiton— **July 28th to 30th, 1868.** **178 Members** **23 Papers**	J. D. Coleridge, Esq., Q.C., M.A., M.P.	[redacted] Honiton (D. Gould, Esq.) [redacted], T. Coleridge **Sir J. Lennaway, Bart.** **W. R. Bayley, Esq.** **A. B. Cochrane, Esq., M.P.** **J. Goldsmid, Esq., M.P.** **C. Gordon, Esq.** **G. Neumann, Esq.** **Rev. Preb. Mackarness, M.A.** **W. Porter, Esq.**	E. Vivian, Esq., M.A. *E. Wethey, Esq.*	Rev. W. Harpley, M.A. *Rev. R. Kirwan, M.A.* *Rev. H. K. Venn, M.A.*
Dartmouth— **July 20th to 22nd, 1869.** **246 Members** **23 Papers**	G. P. Bidder, Esq., C.E.	Sir J. D. Coleridge, Q.C., M.A., M.P. Sir H. P. Seale, Bart. W. Froude, Esq., M.A. C. S. Hayne, Esq. G. F. Luttrell, Esq. A. Ridgway, Esq. Rev. J. Tracey, M.A.	**E. Vivian, Esq., M.A.** ***F. Ash, Esq.***	**Rev. W. Harpley, M.A.** ***P. Hookin, Esq.***
Devonport— **July 20th to 22nd, 1870.** **275 Members** **22 Papers**	J. A. Froude, Esq., M.A.	G. P. Bidder, Esq., C.E. The Mayor of Devonport (J. Rolston, Esq., M.D.) Vice-Adml. the Hon. J. R. Drummond, C.B. Rear-Admiral Stewart, C.B. G. Dansey, M.D. J. D. Lewis, Esq., M.P. J. May, Esq. A. Moore, Esq. I. C. Radford, Esq. J. W. W. Ryder, Esq. E. St. Aubyn, Esq. P. W. Swain, Esq. T. Woollcombe, Esq.	**E. Vivian, Esq., M.A.** ***Rev. E. Roberts, M.A.***	**Rev. W. Harpley, M.A.** ***G. T. Rolston, Esq.***

* Italics indicate *Local* officers.

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TABLE SHOWING THE PLACES AND TIMES OF MEETING, ETC.—*Continued.*

PLACES, TIMES, &c.	PRESIDENTS.	VICE-PRESIDENTS.	TREASURERS.*	SECRETARIES.*
BIDEFORD— Aug. 15th to 17th, 1871. 283 Members 28 Papers	Rev. Canon C. Kingsley, M.A., F.L.S., F.G.S.	J. A. Froude, Esq., M.A. The Mayor of Bideford (J. How, Esq.) Rev. F. L. Bazeley J. R. Pine Coffin, Esq. Captain E. P. Charlewood, R.N. W. A. Deane, Esq. Rev. I. H. Gosset, M.A. General Sir E. Green Captain Molesworth, R.N. E. U. Vidal, Esq. N. Whitley, Esq. Captain Willett A. B. Wren, Esq.	E. Vivian, Esq., M.A. *R. Simpkins, Esq.*	Rev. W. Harpley, M.A. *J. A. Parry, Esq.*
EXETER— July 30 to Aug. 1, 1872. 294 Members 33 Papers	The Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Exeter	Rev. Canon C. Kingsley, M.A., F.L.S., F.G.S. The Mayor of Exeter (J. Harding, Esq.) The Sheriff (Horace G. Lloyd, Esq.) Sir L. Palk, Bart, M.P. Sir John Bowring, LL.D., F.R.S. Sir J. D. Coleridge, Q.C., M.A., M.P. E. A. Bowring, Esq., M.P. Rev. Precentor Cook, M.A. H. S. Ellis, Esq., F.R.A.S. Rev. Treasurer Hawker, M.A. J. [redacted], Esq., M.P. [redacted].	E. Vivian, Esq., M.A. *W. Cotton, Esq.*	Rev. W. Harpley, M.A. *Rev. R. Kirwan, M.A., F.S.A.* *G. W. Ormerod, Esq., M.A., F.G.S.* *E. Parfitt, Esq.*

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Sidmouth— **July 22nd to 24th, 1873.** **330 Members** **26 Papers**	**The Right Hon. S. Cave, M.A., M.P.**	The Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Exeter The Right Hon. and Rev. The Earl of Buckinghamshire The Hon. and Rev. the Lord Sidney Godolphin Osborne Sir J. Floyd, Bart. Sir J. H. Kennaway, Bart., M.P. Rev. H. G. J. Clements, M.A. W. R. Coleridge, Esq. C. J. Cornish, Esq. P. O. Hutchinson, Esq. J. Ingleby Mackenzie, Esq., M.B. W. Radford, M.D. N. N. Thornton, Esq.	E. Vivian, Esq., M.A. *Captain Roe*, R.N.	Rev. W. Harpley, M.A. *J. Ingleby Mackenzie, Esq.*, M.B.
Teignmouth— **July 28th to 30th, 1874.** **327 Members** **33 Papers**	**The Right Hon. the Earl of Devon**	**The Right Hon. S. Cave, M.A., M.P.** **J. G. Beavan, Esq.** **The Right Hon. Lord Clifford** **R. M. Dunn, Esq.** **E. Gulson, Esq.** **Rev. Treasurer Hawker, M.A.** **Rev. W. Laidley, M.A.** **W. C. Lake, Esq., M.D.** **J. A. Magrath, Esq., M.D.** **G. W. Ormerod, Esq., M.A., F.G.S.** **J. Parson, Esq.** **T. V. Wollaston, Esq., M.A., F.L.L.** **H. B. T. Wrey, Esq.**	**E. Vivian, Esq., M.A.** ***J. Whidborne, Esq.***	**Rev. W. Harpley, M.A.** ***G. W. Ormerod, Esq.*, M.A., F.G.S.**

* Italics indicate *Local* officers.

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TABLE SHOWING THE PLACES AND TIMES OF MEETING, ETC.—*Continued.*

PLACES, TIMES, &c.	PRESIDENTS.	VICE-PRESIDENTS.	TREASURERS.*	SECRETARIES.*
Torrington— **July 27th to 29th, 1875.** **356 Members** **29 Papers**	**R. J. King, Esq.,** M.A.	The Right Hon. The Earl of Devon The Mayor of Torrington (T. Jackson, Esq.) Rev. S. Buckland, M.A. W. Cann, Esq. The Right Hon. Lord Clinton Rev. F. T. Colby, B.D., F.S.A. W. A. Deane, Esq. W. H. Gamlen, Esq. H. S. Gill, Esq. J. G. Johnson, Esq., M.P. W. H. Halliday, Esq., M.A. Dr. A. Kingdon Rev. C. E. Palmer, M.A. W. E. Price, Esq. Hon. Mark Rolle J. C. Moore-Stevens, Esq. R. L. Tapley, Esq.	E. Vivian, Esq., M.A. *M. R. Loveband, Esq.*	Rev. W. Harpley, M.A. *Geo. Doe, Esq.*
Ashburton— **July 25th to 27th, 1876.** **[illegible] Members** **33 Papers**	**Rev. Treasurer** Hawker, M.A.	R. J. King, Esq., M.A. The Portreeve of Ashburton (P. F. S. Amery, Esq.) Baldwin J. P. Bastard, Esq. A. Champernowne, Esq., M.A., F.G.S. R. Dymond, Esq., F.S.A. F. H. Firth, Esq. C. J. Follett, Esq. Rev. P. Jackson, M.A. R. Jardine, Esq. J. B. Paige-Browne, Esq., M.A. J. Robinson, Esq. Rev. W. H. Thornton, B.A. J. Tozer, Esq. R. Tucker, Esq.	E. Vivian, Esq., M.A. *W. S. Gervis, Esq.*, M.D., F.G.S.	Rev W. Harpley, M.A. *J. S. Amery, Esq.*

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RULES.

1. THE Association shall be styled the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art.

2. The objects of the Association are—To give a stronger impulse and a more systematic direction to scientific enquiry in Devonshire; and to promote the intercourse of those who cultivate Science, Literature, or Art, in different parts of the county.

3. The Association shall consist of Members, Honorary Members, and Corresponding Members.

4. Every candidate for membership, on being nominated by a member to whom he is personally known, shall be admitted by the General Secretary, subject to the confirmation of the General Meeting of the Members.

5. Persons of eminence in Literature, Science, or Art, connected with the West of England, but not resident in Devonshire, may, at a General Meeting of the Members, be elected Honorary Members of the Association; and persons not resident in the country, who feel an interest in the Association, may be elected Corresponding Members.

6. Every *Member* shall pay an Annual Contribution of Ten Shillings, or a Life Composition of Five Pounds.

7. Ladies only shall be admitted as Associates to an Annual Meeting, and shall pay the sum of Five Shillings each.

8. Every *Member* shall be entitled gratuitously to a lady's ticket.

9. The Association shall meet annually, at such a time in July and at such place as shall be decided on at the previous Annual Meeting.

10. A President, two or more Vice-Presidents, a General Treasurer, one or more General Secretaries, and a Council, shall be elected at each Annual Meeting.

11. The President shall not be eligible for re-election.

12. Each Annual Meeting shall appoint a local Treasurer and Secretary, who, with power to add to their number any

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Members of the Association, shall be a local Committee to assist in making such local arrangements as may be desirable.

13. In the intervals of the Annual Meetings, the affairs of the Association shall be managed by the Council; the General and Local Officers, and Officers elect, being *ex officio* Members.

14. The Council shall hold a meeting at Exeter in the month of January or February in each year, on such day as the Honorary Secretary shall appoint, for the due management of the affairs of the Association, and the performing the duties of their office.

15. The Honorary Secretary, or any four members of the Council, may call extraordinary meetings of their body, to be held at Exeter, for any purpose requiring their present determination, by notice under his or their hand or hands, addressed to every other member of the Council, at least ten clear days previously, specifying the purpose for which such extraordinary meeting is convened. No matter not so specified, and not incident thereto, shall be determined at any extraordinary meeting.

16. The General Treasurer and Secretaries, and the Council, shall enter on their respective offices at the meeting at which they are elected; but the President, Vice-Presidents, and Local Officers, not until the Annual Meeting next following.

17. All Members of the Council must be *Members* of the Association.

18. The Council shall have power to fill any Official vacancy which may occur in the intervals of the Annual Meetings.

19. The Annual Contributions shall be payable in advance, and shall be due in each year on the day of the Annual Meeting.

20. The Treasurer shall receive all sums of money due to the Association; he shall pay all accounts due by the Association after they shall have been examined and approved; and he shall report to each meeting of the Council the balance he has in hand, and the names of such members as shall be in arrear, with the sums due respectively by each.

21. Whenever a Member shall have been three months in arrear in the payment of his Annual Contributions, the Treasurer shall apply to him for the same.

22. Whenever, at an Annual Meeting, a Member shall be two years in arrear in the payment of his Annual Contributions, the Council may, at its discretion, erase his name from the list of members.

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23. The General Secretaries shall, at least one month before each Annual Meeting, inform each member by circular of the place and date of the Meeting.

24. Members who do not, on or before the day of the Annual Meeting, give notice, in writing or personally, to one of the General Secretaries of their intention to withdraw from the Association, shall be regarded as members for the ensuing year.

25. The Association shall, within three months after each Annual Meeting, publish its Transactions, including the Rules, a Financial Statement, a List of the Members, the Report of the Council, the President's Address, and such papers, in abstract or *in extenso*, read at the Annual Meeting, as shall be decided by the Council.

26. The Association shall have the right at its discretion of printing *in extenso* in its Transactions all papers read at the Annual Meeting; but the copyright of a paper read before any meeting of the Association, and the illustrations of the same which have been provided at his expense, shall remain the property of the Author.

27. The Authors of papers printed in the Transactions shall, within seven days after the Transactions are published, receive twenty-five private copies free of expense, and shall be allowed to have any further number printed at their own expense. All arrangements as to such extra copies to be made by the Authors with the printer to the Association.

28. If proofs of papers to be published in the Transactions be sent to Authors for correction, and are retained by them beyond four days for each sheet of proof, to be reckoned from the day marked thereon by the printer, but not including the time needful for transmission by post, such proofs shall be assumed to require no further correction.

29. Should the Author's corrections of the press in any paper published in the Transactions amount to a greater sum than in the proportion of twenty shillings per sheet, such excess shall be borne by the Author himself, and not by the Association.

30. Every *Member* shall, within three months after each Annual Meeting, receive gratuitously a copy of the Transactions.

31. The Accounts of the Association shall be audited annually, by Auditors appointed at each Annual Meeting, but who shall not be *ex officio* Members of the Council.

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BYE-LAWS AND STANDING ORDERS.

1. In the interests of the Association it is desirable that the President's Address in each year be printed previous to its delivery.

2. In the event of there being at an Annual Meeting more Papers than can be disposed of in one day, the reading of the residue shall be continued the day following.

3. The pagination of the Transactions shall be in Arabic numerals exclusively, and carried on consecutively, from the beginning to the end of each volume; and the Transactions of each year shall form a distinct and separate volume.

4. The Honorary Secretary shall bring to each Annual Meeting of the Members a report of the number of copies in stock of each 'Part' of the Transactions, with the price per copy of each 'Part' specified; and such report shall be printed in the Transactions next after the Treasurer's financial statement.

5. The Honorary Secretary shall prepare and bring to each Annual Meeting brief Obituary Notices of Members deceased during the previous year, and such notices shall be printed in the Transactions.

6. An amount not less than the sum of the Compositions of all existing Life-Members shall be kept at Interest in the names of the Treasurer and General Secretary.

7. The Secretary shall, within one month of the close of each Annual Meeting of the Association, send to each Member newly elected at the said Meeting a copy of the following letter:—

Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art.

Sir,—I have the pleasure of informing you that on the of July, you were elected a Member of the Association on the nomination of

The copy of the Transactions for the current year, which will be forwarded to you in due course, will contain the Laws of the Association. Meanwhile I beg to call your attention to the following statements:—

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(1) Every Member pays an Annual Contribution of Ten Shillings, or a Life Composition of Five Pounds.

(2) The Annual Contributions are payable in advance, and are due in each year on the day of the Annual Meeting.

(3) Members who do not, on or before the day of the Annual Meeting, give notice in writing or personally to the General Secretary of their intention to withdraw from the Association are regarded as Members for the ensuing year.

The Treasurer's address is—EDWARD VIVIAN, Esq., Woodfield, Torquay.—I remain, Sir, your faithful Servant,

Hon. Sec.

8. The reading of any Paper shall not exceed twenty minutes, and in any discussion which may arise, no speaker shall be allowed to speak more than ten minutes.

9. Papers to be read to the Annual Meetings of the Association must strictly relate to Devonshire, and must be handed, together with all Drawings to be used in illustrating them in the Transactions of the Association, to the General Secretary at or before the first Meeting of the Council on the first day of the Annual Meeting; and all Rules and Standing Orders connected with Papers read to the Association shall be printed in the Annual Circular.

10. Papers communicated by Members for Non-Members, and accepted by the Council, shall be placed in the Programme below those furnished by Members themselves.

11. Papers which have been accepted by the Council cannot be withdrawn without the consent of the Council.

12. The Council will do their best so to arrange Papers for reading as to suit the convenience of the authors; but the place of a Paper cannot be altered after the Programme has been settled by the Council.

13. Papers which have already been printed *in extenso* cannot be accepted, unless they form part of the literature of a question on which the Council has requested a Member or Committee to prepare a report.

14. Every meeting of the Council shall be convened by Circular, sent by the General Secretary to each Member of the Council, not less than ten days before the Meeting is held.

15. All Papers read to the Association which the Council shall decide to print *in extenso* in the Transactions, shall be sent to the printer, together with all drawings required in illustrating them, on the day next following the close of the Annual Meeting at which they were read.

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16. All Papers read to the Association which the Council shall decide not to print *in extenso* in the Transactions, shall be returned to the authors not later than the day next following the close of the Annual Meeting at which they were read; and abstracts of such Papers to be printed in the Transactions shall not exceed one-fourth of the length of the Paper itself, and must be sent to the General Secretary on or before the seventh day after the close of the Annual Meeting.

17. The Author of every Paper which the Council at any Annual Meeting shall decide to print in the Transactions shall be expected to pay for all such illustrations as in his judgment the said Paper may require; but the Council may, at their discretion, vote towards the expense of such illustrations any sum not exceeding the balance in hand as shown by the Treasurer's Report to the said Meeting, after deducting all Life Compositions, as well as all Annual Contributions received in advance of the year to which the said Report relates, which may be included in the said balance.

18. The printer shall do his utmost to print the papers in the Transactions in the order in which they were read, and shall return every Manuscript to the author as soon as it is in type, *but not before.* They shall be returned *intact,* provided they are written on loose sheets and on one side of the paper only.

19. Excepting mere verbal alterations, no Paper which has been read to the Association shall be added to, without the written approval and consent of the General Secretary; and no additions shall be made except in the form of notes or postscripts, or both.

20. In the intervals of the Annual Meetings, all Meetings of the Council shall be held at Exeter, unless some other place shall have been decided on at the previous Council Meeting.

21. When the number of copies on hand of any 'Part' of the Transactions is reduced to twenty, the price per copy shall be increased 25 per cent.; and when the number has been reduced to ten copies, the price shall be increased 50 per cent. on the original price.

22. The Bye-Laws and Standing Orders shall be printed after the "Rules" in the Transactions.

23. All resolutions appointing committees for special service for the Association shall be printed in the Transactions next before the President's Address.

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REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

As presented at the General Meeting, at Ashburton, July 25th, 1876.

IN presenting this their Fourteenth Annual Report, the Council have the gratification to renew those congratulations on the progress and prosperity of the Association which it has been their pleasure uniformly to offer since the Association was originally established. The high character and great merit of the papers offered for acceptance continue to be maintained, and there is no diminution in the progressive growth of the number of members.

The Fourteenth Annual Meeting was held at Torrington, under the Presidency of R. J. King, Esq., commencing on Tuesday, July 27th, and continuing on the two following days.

After the Council had transacted its annual business, at three o'clock the members were formally received by the Corporation in the Town Hall, the Mayor (Mr. Jackson) presiding. Mr. Doe (the Town Clerk) read an Address, which expressed the Corporation's deep sense of the honour conferred on the town by the visit of the Association, assuring them that, though they could not boast of any distinguished votaries of science, literature, and art among themselves, they fully appreciated the disinterested labours of students in those branches of learning which have so greatly aided the progress of civilization, and the promotion of human happiness. In offering a hearty welcome to their visitors, they earnestly hoped that the meeting then begun might be gratifying to all engaged in it, and be remembered with feelings of pleasure, unalloyed with disappointment or regret.

The Mayor then presented the Address for the acceptance of the meeting, and in doing so added his hearty welcome. The Address was accepted on behalf of the Association by the Rev. Treasurer Hawker, and acknowledged in graceful and appropriate terms.

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The General Meeting was then held, and their labours having been completed, the Members made their way to the Castle Green, where, under a large tent erected for the occasion, an excellent dinner was provided by the Mayor and Corporation, covers being laid for about two hundred guests.

In the evening, at 8 p.m., the President delivered his Introductory Address to a large and appreciative audience.

On Wednesday, the 28th, the Association met at 11 a.m., and commenced the reading and discussion of the following programme of Papers:

The History of Great Torrington . .	*Rev. Frederic T. Colby*, B.D., &c.
The Examination of Two Barrows near Torrington	*Geo. Doe.*
Miscellaneous Devonshire Gleanings .	*W. Pengelly*, F.R.S., F.G.S., &c.
Sketch of Risdon	*Rev. Treasurer Hawker*, M.A.
The Comparative Meteorology of Devonshire	*W. C. Lake*, M.D.
Fauna of Devon, Part XII.—Fishes .	*E. Parfitt.*
Thomas Benet: a Biographical Sketch .	*Paul Q. Karkeek.*
A Biographical Notice of the late Mr. Thomas Fowler, of Torrington, with some account of his Inventions .	*Rev. Hugh Fowler*, M.A.
On the Sand and Clay Beds on the Hoe, Plymouth	*R. N. Worth*, F.G.S.
Tawton; the first Saxon Bishoprick of Devonshire	*J. R. Chanter.*
Notes on Boulders and Scratched Stones in South Devon	*W. Pengelly*, F.R.S., F.G.S., &c.
On the Drift Gravels on the Cliff at Langstone Point of the South Coast of Devon	*E. Parfitt.*
Memoranda	*W. Pengelly*, F.R.S., F.G.S., &c.
The Population of Sidmouth from 1260 to the present time	*Peter Orlando Hutchinson.*
Economic Geology of Devon . . .	*R. N. Worth*, F.G.S.
The Economic Geology of Devon .	*E. Appleton*, F.I.B.A.
Notes on an Incisor Tooth of *Machairodus Latidens* in the Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter . . .	*W. Pengelly*, F.R.S., F.G.S., &c.
Some recent Cases of Witchcraft. Devonshire	*Paul Q. Karkeek.*
The Common Seals of Devon. Part iii. .	*R. N. Worth*, F.G.S.
Notes and Queries on Folk-Lore . .	*R. J. King*, M.A.
Devonshire Farm Lads	*Rev. Treasurer Hawker*, M.A.
Notes on Recent Notices of the Geology and Palæontology of Devonshire .	*W. Pengelly*, F.R.S., F.G.S., &c.

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On the Decay of Limestone Fragments in the New Red Sandstone on the Coast of South Devon . . .	*E. Parfitt.*
The Five Cistercian Houses of Devon. I. Buckland	*J. Brooking Rowe*, F.S.A., F.L.S.
Anthracite; or, Culm of North Devon .	*Townshend M. Hall*, F.G.S.
Devonshire Gleanings from Manningham's Diary	*W. Pengelly*, F.R.S., F.G.S., &c.
The Natural History of *Euglena viridis*	*E. Parfitt.*
Verbal Provincialisms of South Western Devonshire	*W. Pengelly*, F.R.S., F.G.S, &c.
The Conchology of Torbay. Communicated by W. Pengelly, F.R.S., &c. .	*D. Pidgeon.*

In the evening the Association Dinner took place at the Globe Hotel, when about eighty members and associates sat down together, under the Presidency of R. J. King, Esq., who was supported by the Mayor and several of the Vice-Presidents. The dinner was an excellent one, and well served. The company then adjourned to the Town Hall, to be present at an attractive concert, to be given by the members of the Torrington Choral Society, under the conductorship of Mr. Weymss Morfill, and at which Mr. Charles Fowler, the eminent pianist of Torquay, who is a native of Torrington, was announced to play. The programme was of a most classical order, and reflected great credit on the conductor's good taste in catering for a scientific society's entertainment. The thanks of the Association were conveyed by the President to the ladies and gentlemen who had afforded such a thoroughly enjoyable treat.

On Thursday, the 29th, the Association met at 10 a.m., and the reading and discussion of the residue of papers from the previous day was resumed, and continued without interruption until the programme was exhausted, at about 3 p.m.

A Council Meeting and General Meeting then followed; and in the evening about forty of the members, under the President's guidance, in three large waggonettes, made a most delightful excursion to Frithelstock and Weir Gifford, a pleasant termination to the Torrington Meeting, which may be ranked among the most successful the Association has held. The Local Secretary was indefatigable in his exertions, and the Local Committee performed their duties in a spirit of thorough devotion.

It having been decided that the next Meeting be held at Ashburton, the following were elected officers for that occasion:

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President: Rev. Treasurer Hawker, M.A. Vice-Presidents: P. F. S. Amery, Esq., Portreeve of Ashburton; Baldwin J. P. Bastard, Esq.; J. B. Paige-Browne, Esq., M.A.; R. Dymond, Esq., F.S.A.; A. Champernowne, Esq., M.A., F.G.S.; F. H. Firth, Esq.; C. J. Follett, Esq.; R. Jardine, Esq.; Rev. P. Jackson, M.A.; R. J. King, Esq., M.A.; J. Robinson, Esq.; J. Tozer, Esq.; Robert Tucker, Esq.; Rev. W. H. Thornton, B.A.; J. Woodley, Esq.; Rev. C. Worthy, M A. Hon. Treasurer: E. Vivian, Esq., M.A., Torquay. Hon. Local Treasurer: W. S. Gervis, Esq., M.D., F.G.S. Hon. Secretary: Rev. W. Harpley, M.A., F.C.P.S., Clayhanger, Tiverton. Hon. Local Secretary: John S. Amery, Esq.

The Council have published the President's Address, together with the papers read before the Association; also the Treasurer's Report, a list of Members, and the Rules, Standing Orders, and Bye-Laws.

Copies of the Transactions have been sent to each member, and to the following societies: The Royal Society, Linnæan Society, Geological Society, Ethnological Society, Royal Institution (Albemarle Street), Devon and Exeter Institution (Exeter), Plymouth Institution, Torquay Natural History Society, Honiton Literary Institution, Barnstaple Literary and Scientific Institution, Royal Institution (Cornwall), the Library of the British Museum, and the Secretaries of the London and South Western and South Devon Railway Companies.

The Council desire to call the attention of the members to what may be termed a new feature in the working of the Association; namely, the appointment of Committees for special purposes. In July last a Committee of this kind was appointed for the purpose of making and obtaining observations on a uniform system on the Meteorology of Devonshire; also a Committee for the purpose of noting the discovery or occurrence of such Facts in any department of scientific inquiry, and connected with Devonshire, as it may be desirable to place on permanent record, but may not be of sufficient importance in themselves to form the subjects of separate papers; and a Committee for the purpose of collecting notes on Devonshire Folk-Lore; and at their winter meeting another was added, viz., a Committee to prepare a report on public and private Collections of Works of Art in Devonshire. The Council thought that the objects sought by these Committees would be attained more efficiently by the conjoint efforts of several, than by the unaided exertions of individual members.

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Treasurer's Report of Income and Expenditure during the Year ending July 25th, 1876.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Balance in Treasurer's hand 24th July, 1875	18	1	8
Drawn from Deposit Account	45	0	0
Arrears of Annual Contributions for 1874–5	3	0	0
Annual Contributions for 1875–6	129	10	0
Ditto ditto 1876–7	8	10	0
Life Composition	5	0	0
Ladies' Tickets sold at Torrington	1	0	0
Interest on Deposit to June 30th, 1876	5	15	5
Sale of "Transactions," 6 copies for 1862 0 9 0			
Ditto ditto 6 ditto 1863 0 12 0			
Ditto ditto 7 ditto 1864 1 1 0			
Ditto ditto 7 ditto 1865 0 17 6			
Ditto ditto 6 ditto 1866 0 18 0			
Ditto ditto 5 ditto 1867 1 10 0			
Ditto ditto 4 ditto 1868 1 6 0			
Ditto ditto 4 ditto 1869 2 0 0			
Ditto ditto 4 ditto 1870 1 4 0			
Ditto ditto 4 ditto 1871 1 6 0			
Ditto ditto 2 ditto 1872 1 10 0			
Ditto ditto 2 ditto 1873 0 12 0			
Ditto ditto 2 ditto 1874 0 17 0	14	2	6
	£229	19	7
Annual Contributions remaining unpaid for 1874–5	2	0	0
Ditto ditto ditto 1875–6	15	10	0
	£17	10	0

PAYMENTS.

	£	s.	d.
Deposited at Interest in Torquay Bank	15	0	0
Brendon & Son for Printing "Transactions" (1875)	152	6	0
Ditto Illustrating ditto	26	0	0
Ditto Postage and Carriage of Parcels	11	18	6
Ditto Printing Cards, Circulars, &c.	3	11	0
Ditto Stationery	0	10	0
Fowler for Printing Programmes	0	15	0
Torquay Directory Co. for Printing Circulars	0	16	0
Hon. General Treasurer for Petty Expenses	4	1	4
Hon. General Secretary ditto	5	13	6
Advertising in 1875	4	3	6
Balance in Treasurer's hand 21st July, 1876	5	4	9
	£229	19	7

(*Signed*) EDWARD VIVIAN, TREASURER.

Torquay, July 21st, 1876.

We have compared the Books and Vouchers presented to us, and find them correct,

(*Signed*) GEO. E. HEARDER,
CALEB WEEKS, FOR E. APPLETON, } AUDITORS.

Torquay, July 22nd, 1876.

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STATEMENT OF THE PROPERTY OF THE ASSOCIATION,

July 25th, 1876.

					£	s.	d.
Deposit at Interest in Torquay Bank (Life Compositions of thirty-four Members)					170	0	0
Balance in Treasurer's hand					5	4	9
Arrears of Annual Contributions valued at					8	10	0
"Transactions" in Stock,	1862 ..	22	copies at	1s. 6d.	1	13	0
,, ,,	1863 ..	104	,,	2s. 0d.	10	8	0
,, ,,	1864 ..	121	,,	3s. 0d.	18	3	0
,, ,,	1865 ..	120	,,	2s. 6d.	15	0	0
,, ,,	1866 ..	96	,,	3s. 0d.	14	8	0
,, ,,	1867 ..	95	,,	6s. 0d.	28	10	0
,, ,,	1868 ..	66	,,	6s. 6d.	21	9	0
,, ,,	1869 ..	14	,,	10s. 0d.	7	0	0
,, ,,	1870 ..	41	,,	6s. 0d.	12	6	0
,, ,,	1871 ..	38	,,	6s. 6d.	12	7	0
,, ,,	1872 ..	5	,,	15s. 0d.	3	15	0
,, ,,	1873 ..	44	,,	6s. 0d.	13	4	0
,, ,,	1874 ..	46	,,	8s. 6d.	19	11	0
,, ,,	1875 ..	19	,,	10s. 0d.	9	10	0
					£370	18	9

(*Signed*)

W. HARPLEY,

Hon. Secretary.

"When the number of copies on hand of any part of the 'Transactions' is reduced to twenty, the price per copy shall be increased 25 per cent.; and when the number has been reduced to ten copies, the price shall be increased 50 per cent. on the original price."—*Standing Order, No. 20.*

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RESOLUTIONS APPOINTING COMMITTEES,

Made by the Council at the Meeting at Ashburton,

JULY, 1876.

That Mr. C. S. Bate, Rev. W. Harpley, Rev. Treasurer Hawker, Mr. R. J. King, and Mr. W. Pengelly be a Committee for the purpose of considering at what place the Association shall hold its Meeting in 1878, and who shall be invited to be the Officers at that Meeting; that Mr. Pengelly be the Secretary; that their attention be directed to the fact that an invitation was received from Stonehouse a few years ago; and that they be requested to report to the next Winter Meeting of the Council.

That Mr. P. F. S. Amery, Mr. H. S. Ellis, Mr. H. S. Gill, Dr. W. C. Lake, Mr. E. Parfitt, Mr. W. Pengelly, Dr. W. T. Radford, Rev. T. R. R. Stebbing, and Mr. E. Vivian be a Committee for the purpose of making and obtaining observations on a uniform system on the Meteorology of Devonshire; and that Dr. Lake be the Secretary.

That Mr. George Doe, Rev. W. Harpley, Mr. N. S. Heineken, Mr. H. S. Gill, Mr. R. J. King, Mr. E. Parfitt, Mr. W. Pengelly, and Mr. J. Brooking Rowe be a Committee for the purpose of noting the discovery or occurrence of such Facts in any department of scientific inquiry, and connected with Devonshire, as it may be desirable to place on permanent record, but may not be of sufficient importance in themselves to form the subjects of separate papers; and that Mr. Pengelly be the Secretary.

That Mr. P. F. S. Amery, Mr. R. Dymond, Rev. W. Harpley, Mr. P. Q. Karkeek, Mr. R. J. King, and Mr. J. Brooking Rowe be a Committee for the purpose of collecting notes on Devonshire Folk-Lore; and that Mr. King be the Secretary.

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That Mr. R. Dymond, Rev. Treasurer Hawker, Mr. P. Q. Karkeek, Mr. R. J. King, and Mr. R. N. Worth be a Committee to prepare memoirs on Devonshire Celebrities; and that the Rev. Treasurer Hawker be the Secretary.

That Mr. R. Dymond, Rev. Treasurer Hawker, Mr. R. J. King, and Mr. R. N. Worth be a Committee to prepare a Report on the Public and Private Collections of Works of Art in Devonshire; and that Mr. King be the Secretary.

That Mr. C. Spence Bate, Mr. W. F. Collier, Mr. J. Divett, Mr. R. Dymond, Rev. W. Harpley, Rev. Treasurer Hawker, Mr. R. J. King, Mr. W. Lavers, Mr. G. W. Ormerod, Mr. W. Pengelly, Mr. J. B. Rowe, and Rev. W. H. Thornton be a Committee for the purpose of influencing public opinion in favour of preserving the Historical Relics on Dartmoor; that Mr. W. F. Collier be the Secretary; and that they be requested to report at the next Winter Meeting of the Council.

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PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—If the fate of Icarus befalls me, I trust that the Dædaluses, whose kind partiality has tempted me to soar too high, will, by accepting my unfeigned distrust, save me from absolutely perishing in the depths of their contempt. When I look back on the roll of my predecessors in this distinguished position, I feel (I should be less or more than man if I did not feel) how perilously near I am to destruction from my giddy elevation.

That quaint but pithy poet, George Herbert, says, in his *Church Porch*—

> "Pitch thy behaviour low, thy projects high;
> So shalt thou humble and magnanimous be:
> Sink not in spirit: who aimeth at the sky
> Shoots higher much than he that means a tree."

This perhaps sounds a little like hypocrisy; but Herbert was too good a man to intend by his advice any thing approaching to double-dealing; neither do I pretend to say that I do not value exceedingly the great honour of presiding this year over the Devonshire Association for Science, Literature, and Art.

My simple aim in the address I have the honour to offer you will be cursorily to show how science, literature, and art affect socially the masses in the present day—always, we may boldly say, beneficially; for if he is a benefactor who makes two blades of grass grow where one only has grown, those who promote the happiness, the intelligence, the refinement of their fellow-creatures, are the true friends and princes of humanity.

> "Peace hath her victories,
> No less renown'd than war."

Now it would be violating the rule I have laid down for myself, if I attempted to descant or say much upon that of which—I confess it sadly—I know nothing; *i.e.* science, in the common acceptation of the word.

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A brighter epoch has opened upon the rising generation. Our sons and daughters have happily opportunities for studying natural science, which did not belong to my early days. Yet it is not, I hope, impossible to perceive and appreciate with lively gratitude, if not with full understanding, the *results* of this improved state of things; and the most unobservant can scarcely fail to see the enormous benefits conferred upon our social life by the advance of science.

To quote words of Sir John Herschel, so long ago as 1833: "The advantages conferred by the augmentation of our physical resources, through the medium of increased knowledge and improved art, have this peculiar and remarkable property —that they are in their nature diffusive, and cannot be enjoyed in any exclusive manner by a few."

Many, I repeat, who do not the least understand the process, acknowledge thankfully the gainful fruits of successful invention.

The young lady in the railway carriage, who said once to our Bishop, as she looked out of the window, "The letters must be very small, sir, to go through such little wires," would have quite appreciated the value of telegraphic communication, if it had been necessary to enquire at the end of her journey about missing luggage, or to announce her safe arrival.

The consolations which science can offer to unscientific persons at large, bringing together, Ariel-like, the ends of the earth, and making "the whole world kin," were strikingly seen last year in the terrible wreck of the *Schiller* on the Scilly Isles. There, whilst the interment of the dead was actually proceeding, telegrams were received from friends in America of two requesting that the bodies might be unburied until further communications could be received.

Thousands of unheeding sailors have been saved by the adaptation of lightning-conductors on the principle of a distinguished Devonian, Sir William Snow Harris, whose high scientific attainments and unwearied energy at last induced the Admiralty to adopt generally his simple, yet ingenious and original plan.

So all of us are affected by the changes—I may surely say ameliorations—in our social life, wrought out through scientific progress, however ignorant we may be of the various steps and processes by which success has been won.

It is for the philosopher after, it may be long years of patient labour, to cry, "Eureka!" it is for the thoughtless, too often thankless, masses to enjoy the fruits of unrequited

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toil and study. "Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes," was the pathetic appeal of Virgil for a just acknowledgment of his copyright, as in substance it has been of many, who have sunk in the fray, and been trodden ruthlessly under foot.

It is, I venture to say, not the least good of such an Association as ours that it gives the opportunity of paying honour, however imperfectly, to science, of which the greatest part of us must be ignorant.

And more than this, it gives an opportunity for those who in any degree, from position or keenness of observation, or a love of some special subject, are qualified to be teachers, to give utterance to what they know.

How many names stand forth in the old Gentile world, like, for instance, Pythagoras—great, majestic, followed in their day by crowds of reverent disciples, and yet beyond a few broken echoes across the breadth of centuries, mute and unrecorded.

To all there is untold good in such opportunities and such gatherings as these; for the oftener they occur, and the oftener we meet on common grounds of earnest search after truth, the greater likelihood, whatever may be our different paths, of our drawing nearer to each other in substantial agreement.

"'Different sciences"—I have read lately these, as they seem to me, wise words in a remarkable volume of sermons by a Scotch divine—"which seem at first discordant, advance at last to join hands in reconciliation and religion, which springs from the basis of the spiritual, may appear for a while in strange contrast, or even conflict, with the discoveries of the material universe, and yet be found in the end to be in full harmony with them."

I do not claim absolutely the curious lines of Æschylus, where he, by chance or a kind of inspiration, seems to predict the discovery of steam, for I would fain hope that science and old faiths have never been drawn up in battle array against each other, except through misunderstanding; but now there is certainly growing up a desire for an honourable alliance, and I may appropriate the verses, "*ξυνώμοσαν γὰρ ὄντες ἐχθίστοι τὸ πρὶν* Πῦρ *καὶ θάλασσα.*" (Agamemnon.) "Now sworn allies are those who were of old most hostile, fire and water." And if the persecution of Galileo or others be quoted against me, I would quote in return the illustrious name, more than 1,100 years old, of Bœda, a monk of Jarrow, "first among English scholars, first among English theologians,

Sermons, by Rev. John Ker, D.D., Glasgow, p. 230.

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first among English historians;" "the father," so the eloquent writer of the *History for the English People* continues, "of our national education; in his physical treatises, the first figure to which our science looks back."

Be it as it may, the most narrow-minded fanatic will not object to the improvement of sanitary matters by the application of science; a study now happily increasing more and more. "The greatest happiness for the greatest number" is here the desideratum of thinking and benevolent men, for here pre-eminently what is good for one is good for all. In hygienic progress all of us have an interest. The rich man—we can remember more than one conspicuous example—has no immunity from the deadly fever which still, to our national shame, sweeps away its victims in the crowded, ill-drained courts and alleys of our towns. Yet the masses of our artisans, and the labouring classes in general, are those who are alike most concerned from their ignorance and their inability to help themselves in these matters. Facilities of locomotion have done, and will, we trust, do much for them. But on the whole they are wofully restricted to extravagant, inconvenient lodgings, nurseries of weakness and disease and unloveliness for their growing families. Or, if we ascend a little higher in the scale, we find tenements of very different construction, and in very different situations from "the stately homes of England."

Legislation has done something, and is doing more; but legislation of the present day is, perhaps necessarily, of such a permissive character, that science and enactments for the carrying out of scientific results hardly march *pari passu*.

It is probably better in the long run, as it is more in agreement with the character of our institutions, that private enterprise should work out these social problems. We may deplore an apparent waste of time and money and energy, but the victory once won is sure and likely to be undisturbed, because it has been wrought out according to principles recognized by all. Thus, in this matter of dwellings for the working classes, I am told that a company, of which Sir Sidney Waterlow is chairman, has succeeded admirably. It pays five per cent. Its houses are taken before they are built, and there is no sensible abatement in the demand for them.

Yet there would seem to be certain exceptions where the Government might interfere with a sterner front than it does. For instance, the Sanitary Act of 1866 directs that the authorities designated under it *may* (the authorities are the vestry, where no other board existed before 1865), if they

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think expedient so to do, provide a supply of water for the use of the inhabitants of the district by digging wells, making reservoirs, &c.

Some may be aware of the wretched supply of pure water in most of our country villages; some too have had experience of country vestries; all know the convenient loopholes of "may," and "if they think it expedient so to do." Devonshire, of all counties, I may remark, should not anywhere lack a bountiful supply of the purest and most delicious water. Dartmoor is one great reservoir; and, as has been pointed out to me more than once by a companion Moormaniac, if I may use a term applied to certain lovers of the Moor, might in a score of places have dams thrown across the mouths of gullies and natural basins, and there would be an enormous amount of never-failing water. Much has yet to be done in this direction.

For science has pointed out—Dr. W. Budd, of Clifton, a native of North Devon, wrote a powerful treatise on the subject—that typhoid fever is induced and propagated by dirt accumulating in odd corners, escaping from drains and sewage pits into wells and streams, generating germs of noxious matter, which, entering the human frame, work their deadly end. Whether science will ever arrest for a coming race the inhalation of this impalpable poison we need not speculate. Science has done something and will surely do more for our safety by pointing out how the obnoxious particles of excreta may be neutralized before they fly abroad to slay their thousands and tens of thousands in the dark.

An admirable paper by Mr. Appleton, dealing with this topic from an engineering point of view, is recorded in the *Transactions* of our Teignmouth Meeting, 1874.

One of my own profession has introduced a system of providing for excreta, which is slowly making its way into our public institutions and privately. Not only is it, with ordinary attention and proper precaution, a preventive of disease from the deodorising qualities of dried earth or ashes, but the agricultural and horticultural productions of a country might be enormously increased by this simple, innocuous preservation of that which is now often greatly in the way, a nuisance and a waste. Here seems to be a possible solution of the enormous difficulty under other conditions of dispersing sewage without polluting our streams and rivers; at any rate, for villages and small places, where there is most carelessness about the supply of pure water.

To have no care beyond that of getting rid anyhow, even

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in the most objectionable and wasteful manner, of what might be used with the most advantageous results, is a retrograde movement in social science, and a blot on our civilization.

The application of such potent means for good must be left to those whose brains are as active as their hearts are large, and who frequently, like medical men, make their own personal gain or aggrandisement the last consideration in their laborious investigations. We have a conspicuous instance of this in one of our most distinguished members, whose regular, careful work in Kent's Cavern would be wearisome drudgery, were it not a work of love.

There is another branch of science connected with the cultivation of the land which concerns us all, inasmuch as the king lives by the plough; I mean meteorology.

It may be presumptuous in me to give any opinion on the matter, yet I suppose that this branch of science is literally quite in the clouds. Possibly the time will come when certain conclusions can be founded on certain data, which will enable us to prognosticate the weather for a fixed or approximate number of days; when people, English people, living in an English climate, living in dear Devonshire, close to Dartmoor, will meet each other, not with the stereotyped formula of greeting, "Very wet," "Very fine;" but with, "Have you seen this week's tables? Four rainy days, and then dry weather." Even now country-people manage by the rule of thumb—not to speak contemptuously of what is, after all, the result of their observation of certain common signs—to hit the mark, after a rough fashion, within a short period. Why then may we not expect that science will yet explore hidden realms of nature, and tell us positively what we are to have in coming seasons—heat or cold; wet or dry?

What suffering might have been prevented, if the memorable winter of 1854–5 could have been foreseen! Frost, it will be remembered, set in about the middle of January, and lasted for ten consecutive weeks; the allied armies of England and France perishing in the trenches of Sebastopol; our own peasantry and artisans at home sorely pinched from the price of wheat.

Again, there was the terrible drought during the summer of 1870; so that not only were all kinds of fodder at famine cost almost during the winter, but in the following spring of 1871 a destructive mortality of young sheep and other young stock nearly ruined flock and cattle owners, the effect of which is still felt in the high prices of meat.

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I heard it said once, and with perfect agreement on my part, by a thoughtful man, that the ability to tell farmers what the next fortnight's weather would be ought to render all legislation on their behalf unnecessary, if such prescience could ever be.

An interesting paper on "The Influence of the Sunspot Period upon the Price of Corn" was read at the last meeting of the British Association (1875) by Professor W. Stanley Jevons, F.R.S., in which, *inter alia*, he said that Mr. Schuster has pointed out that the years of good vintage in Western Europe have occurred at intervals approximating to eleven years, the average length of the principal sunspot period.

The serious inundations of late years, too, call for the consideration of science and the efforts of local government to make such expensive ravages impossible. In summer we often sorely need the water which in winter damages our fields and floods the lower parts of our towns and villages. We cannot regulate the rainfall; but we can to some extent at any rate utilize it.

It has been officially announced that the amount of damage caused by the inundations in the South of France in 1875 exceeds four millions of pounds sterling.

Some approach has been made in the prognostication of the weather by the wind-charts, now published in the newspapers, and by the establishment of storm-signals at different points on the coast.

It appears from a return recently presented to Parliament that of the storm warnings issued by the Meteorological Department during 1874, 78·2 were justified by the subsequent weather, and 16·4 were not justified.

The proverbial recklessness of sailors demands more paternal care than is needed for most classes, and the researches of science can hardly be turned to better account than by furnishing them with conclusions, drawn from data, generalized from scientific observations by scientific men. There are not, I imagine, many people, even among the more educated, who are able to read the barometer with skill and intelligence.

Is it lowering the honourable post I fill by the mention of another subject—of a sublunary character I allow—on which science might be brought to bear with infinite benefit to all of us? I mean cookery, man being distinctively a cooking animal. Without at all desiring a state of things when men live to eat instead of eating to live, I am sure that if a little more knowledge of physiology and economy

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were spread amongst those on whom we are dependent for our daily meals, our digestion would be better, our butchers' bills would be less, and our tempers would be improved. The waste and vexation occasioned by the ignorance and rule-of-thumb practice of cooks need not be enlarged on in England. Soyer used to say that he could feed a hundred thousand people every day in London with what was thrown into the dust-holes of the vast city.

There are certain laws, hygienic and otherwise, which any one may learn; the violation of which entails far more harm and misery than many at first sight can believe.

Again, how powerful is science to help the masses in the matter of provident societies! Only a few are either patient enough or competent to generalize from scattered, disproportioned data and form conclusions, which in the shape of trustworthy tables are of the utmost importance to thousands, who desire to provide for sickness, old age, or for those near and dear to them. It is a difficult subject for the keenest eye; for the multitude of labouring men it is simply impossible to command skill or leisure to enter into abstruse calculations of this kind. They *must* be at the mercy of others.

These are a few obvious points, in which science can confer large and undoubted blessings on the community—doing for the working classes what it is impossible they can do for themselves individually.

Let us note rejoicingly that in every age there has been a Prometheus, ready at any cost of personal gain, and able from superior intelligence to enlighten and enrich his fellow-creatures.

From the first this Association has taken the position of welcoming all scientific topics in any way connected with the county whose name it bears. And whether such topics have been of great or apparently small importance; with immediate or remote results; their discussion has invariably been, I am bold to say, beneficial; truth will ultimately always be served by them. The counterfeits of truth—the fallacies of opinion—such as we see in outbreaks of credulity, or hasty, shallow distrust of everything, will be detected by close handling and free passages of arms. When the surface rubbish is cleared away, the old, solid foundations stand out in primeval grandeur, whose strength none can gainsay.

Superstition in its primary meaning is simply, to quote Coleridge in his *Aids to Reflection*, when "the surfaces of things become to the unlearned substance." "Virium et proprietatum, quæ non nisi de substantibus prædicari possunt,

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formis superstantibus attributio, est Superstitio." (*Aphorism* iv. p. 142.)

Sir Thomas Brown, in his *Religio Medici*, says — how wisely!—"There is no danger to profound these mysteries, no *sanctum sanctorum* in philosophy; the world was made to be inhabited by beasts, but studied and contemplated by man; 'tis the debt of reason we owe to God, and the homage we pay for not being beasts. The wisdom of God receives small honour from these vulgar heads that rudely stare about, and with gross rusticity admire His works; those highly magnify Him, whose judicious enquiry into His acts and deliberate research into His creatures, return the duty of a devout and learned admiration." No one indeed happily can stay the onward march of science, any more than the Danish king the waves of the flowing tide.

> "For all experience is an arch where through
> Gleams that untravell'd land, whose margin fades
> For ever and for ever as we move."

And one of the deepest thinkers, as well as one of the greatest bishops of the English Church, has written words, with which I may fitly close this part of my address: "Every secret which is disclosed, every discovery which is made, every effect which is brought to view, seems to convince us of numberless more which remain concealed, and which we had no suspicion of before."*

Literature.

If, then, science is spreading downwards, and adapting its literature to the wants and enjoyments of the masses, so that one may say, "Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay," we may assert with even more confidence that literature in these days and among us is continually extending her range and dominion over the peoples. Her votaries may not drink so deeply as the few great scholars and students, *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, who in dark ages kept alive the lamp of learning, but they undoubtedly are now a mighty host in numbers, a countless army. Thousands and tens of thousands are stirred and elevated by the outpouring of books from the modern press "thick as leaves in Vallombrosa."

There is, as I have hinted, a peril in this facility for reading; people may get into a habit of reading, as of travelling now, furiously; but it is a peril which is far outweighed by the diffusion of knowledge, lighting up and penetrating into

* Bishop Butler.

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the darkest corners. The sources of knowledge, and therefore of the highest pleasure, have now been opened wide, and no one can stay the flood.

Happy is it that so it is, for, as Wordsworth says—

> "Books, we know,
> Are a substantial world, both pure and good,
> Round them, with tendrils strong as flesh and blood,
> Our pastime and our happiness will grow."—*Prelude.*

No worse sign, it has been truly pointed out, could exist for a country's real prosperity than a faint demand for a cheap and abundant literature or a scanty, intermittent supply of popular intellectual food. The revival of learning has always been identical with periods of tranquillity, of ease, of rapid progress in civilization and refinement. With these conditions must be included freedom, which is essential to literature generally; to poetry above all. Savages, or those who have to live, so to speak, a savage life in a new and unsubjugated country, have no high aspirations, or if they have, lack the opportunity of expressing them fitly. Their immediate bodily wants are too pressing and absorbing.

Even America, with its burning energy and latent power, has yet to produce names like the giants of the old world. And the Antipodes, the future Europe of the globe, has done nothing in prose or poetry that I know of. They will both, I venture to prophesy, catch the divine flame, and whatever may become of the mother-land, will not only inherit, but produce a Shakespeare or a Gibbon, a Wordsworth or a Tennyson. The disappearance of old social distinctions, which inevitably takes place in a new country, is doubtless already paving the way for an intellectual and moral equality. More's *Utopia* is fast being realized by the republic of letters.

When books were few and costly, so that a wandering scholar, like Erasmus, wrote, "I have given up my whole soul to Greek learning, and as soon as I get any money I shall buy Greek books, and then I shall buy some clothes;" it was impossible for any to be learned, except those who had abundant leisure and belonged to communities, within whose cloisters were deposited the rare and valuable works of authors past and present.

Yet now, as then, for deep knowledge, for profound scholarship, it is needful to do more than skim the surface. There never has been, and there never will be, any royal road to learning. But a great deal of labour and time may be saved in the pursuit of literature by a judicious selection of books. And a far wider range of subjects is open to the student from

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the wonderful energy of publishers, who, like the railway companies with third-class passengers, find their main recompense in the multitude of readers. Among the Sosii of modern times, Charles Knight stands out, *facile princeps*, in bringing works of merit within the reach of the masses. He gradually improved the popular taste by a judicious selection of authors, whose style and topics led people almost insensibly to purer and higher aspirations. His mantle has fallen on many, on none perhaps more conspicuously than on Cassell and Co. (a member of the firm being, I am told, a Devonian), whose list of publications is legion.

One of their issues—the *Popular Educator*—has already received the imprimatur of Mr. Robert Lowe as entirely justifying its aim and title. It is a complete *multum in parvo*, the list of subjects being over sixty. The price for each part, 8½d., puts it within easy reach of the poorest youth, who has a desire to be something more than a hewer of wood and drawer of water. Then a vast boon has of late been conferred on those of higher education, who have had no opportunity of acquiring Greek and Latin. Hitherto the untold wealth of those giants of old time—the poets, the philosophers, the historians of a thousand years and more—has been locked up, comparatively speaking, amongst the possessions of a few.

A series of *Ancient Classics for English Readers* has recently been issued by Messrs. Blackwood, each volume giving an account of Herodotus, Homer, Virgil, Tacitus, Sophocles, Horace, and the like, with a notice of their works and translations here and there by competent scholars. So that now our daughters may taste of classic waters, not far removed from the fountain-head, and even those of the sterner sex, who in earlier days went through the curriculum of a public school or university, may refresh their memories at an easy rate.

So, again, manuals of science, or science primers, are constantly sent forth in a portable, concise form at a cost not beyond a schoolboy's reach, which explain at least the rudiments of their respective subjects.

Few of the services of scientific men are, I believe, to be more highly valued than their attempts to bring within popular scope those studies, or the results of those studies, whereby they have made themselves such mighty men of knowledge.

I know no more remarkable proof of the gradual appreciation of popular support and interest than the *History of*

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England written expressly by a distinguished Oxford professor for the people. "The aim of the following work," he says in his preface, "is defined by its title; it is a history not of English kings or English conquests, but of the English people:" "of the missionary, the poet, the printer, the merchant, or the philosopher." * And all this material, all these instruments of higher life, will not, indeed cannot, now remain untouched or unused. Their fitting employment is now being taught, far and near, throughout the land. The educational endowments, given in past times by men of keen sight and large hearts, are becoming more and more available for the masses, and are supplemented by the wise liberality of the nation. The lowliest labourer's son—I wish that I could add girl—can put his foot on the first step of the ladder, and there is nothing, save himself, to hinder him from mounting to the top. Let us rejoice therein for ourselves and all others. The diffusion of knowledge, the abundance of books, will not only raise high the national standard of intelligence and cultivation, but will enormously increase the personal happiness of every individual who is brought within reach of such influences.

I do not forget the profound works that issue from the exhaustive scholarship of Germany, and the enterprise which has produced the Tauchnitz Editions, when I say that England is pre-eminent in her literature for the masses. Europe, and more than Europe, will bear testimony to this, if only from the well-known handbooks of Mr. Murray, so constantly seen with sedulous tourists as to be called somewhat profanely "the Englishman's Bible." They have greatly facilitated foreign travel, and some of them (as the one for Spain by Mr. Ford) are of lasting value, from their wide information and acute criticism. They are far beyond mere itineraries.

What has been done for our own land in this direction most know from the invaluable handbooks of our counties and cathedrals; indeed the very brutes of the earth share in the benefit of such widespread literature. What is entitled *The Humanity Series of Lessons for Schools*, will certainly do a good work in teaching our children the great lesson of kindness and consideration to dumb animals.

Let me sum up this part of my address by venturing to foretell a bright future for the land we all love.

Without going so far as to say that literature will of itself give "a sweet reasonableness" to all the rugged, sour natures of ignorant and uncultivated people in town and country, I

* *A Short History of the English People*, by J. R. Green.

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am sure that a humanizing and elevating work is being carried on by the spread of books and various branches of knowledge. If a Gifford and an Ireland could emerge from the depressing influences of "chill penury," and win their way to eminence in scholarship by well nigh their own unassisted efforts a hundred years ago, and, earlier still, another native of Ashburton (Dunning), rise to the foremost ranks of a noble profession by dauntless perseverance; if a poet, like Herrick, could put aside the little cares and common things of a remote, unsympathizing country parish, and there store up material for some of the most finished lyrics in our language—I had almost said of any language—what may we not look for henceforth with the facilities for mental culture and improvement that are accessible in the remotest corners of English-speaking lands?

Ex uno disce multos. A young man employed on the railroads in India, and living in frequent solitude amongst natives beyond the limits of civilized society, told me that his life would be unendurable were it not for the regular supplies of books which he got from Mr. Mudie, the well-known distributor of current literature. And what literature can do for old age in the dark days, when men must say of the active pursuits of life, "I have no pleasure in them," may be gathered from such words as those which Mr. Grenville, a turfite and man of pleasure, uses at the close of his memoirs. In their measure they represent what the few have felt from the beginning, and what the many — I say it once more exultingly — are feeling, and will feel increasingly. Mr. Grenville writes as follows (iii. 128): "And then again, when I look forward to that period which is fast approaching, 'when . . . a sprightlier age comes tittering on, to drive one from the stage,' I am thankful that I have still something in store; that, though far below the wise and the learned, I am still something raised above the ignorant mob; that, though much of my mental substance has been wasted, I have enough left to appear respectably in the world, and that I have at least preserved that taste for literary pursuits, which I cling to as the greatest of blessings, and the best security against the tedium and vacuity, which are the indispensable concomitants of an idle youth and an ignorant old age."

Art.

As I approach the remaining part of what I am endeavouring to say, I feel more difficulty, not only from my

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ignorance of the subject, but from the contradiction involved in it. A love of art is, I believe, implanted in every human being; the means of gratifying that love are, as far as I can see, a long way off from being commensurate. Whilst there is an ever-increasing demand for cheap and good books, which meets with a ready response, in England at any rate, there is no such expressed desire in matters of art, and no large attempt, if any, to create a taste for high art—certainly not in the direction of painting, with its cognate subjects.

Something—perhaps I ought to say much—has been done in music. Witness the popular concerts in London, the oratorio societies of our large towns, the efforts of village choirs, and of individuals here and there, such as the delightful violinist of Torrington last year. The Education Department is greatly helping the movement by its recognition of singing in our elementary schools. Musical instruments, too, are creeping into dwelling-houses, where they would have been considered greatly out of place fifty years ago. Farmers' daughters can play on the piano or harmonium; mechanics employ their evenings profitably and pleasantly in their own homes with the violin or flute or concertina. The readiness to collect round a band of musicians in a town or village argues a fondness, if not a capacity for music, which might be developed, one would think, into as large a national movement in this direction as has long been manifested in Italy or Germany. Few greater social pleasures, nay, benefits, can be conferred on a people than the encouragement of musical education by those who have knowledge or power.

To turn to another department of art, those of us who are old enough to recall what was considered sufficient, even beautiful, forty or fifty years ago, in the way of architectural skill, may well rejoice that such strides have been made since then, especially in ecclesiastical buildings and their accessories. Yet it will not, I hope, sound flippant or presumptuous in me, if I say that we are still a long way off, speaking generally, from those grand conceptions of our forefathers which designed and wrought out the noble proportions of our cathedrals and churches, where the ornamental details are merely subsidiary to the general scope of the building.

However rude or unpretending the main work might have been in olden times, there was almost always a unity of aim, or a skilful adaptation of former work, which produced a marvellously fine general effect. All minor details were subordinated, and viewed with reference to a great whole.

Poverty of ideas is often now covered up by profusion of

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ornamentation, confusing and deceiving the eye of the uninitiated, who should be instructed and informed by such things.

Take, for instance, the illuminated Scripture texts in so many of our modern or restored churches—

"The scrolls that teach thee to live and die;"

their original intention, no doubt. Written in the characters of the period, they were intelligible to the men of the period. Written now in the same characters, they are simply unintelligible to the multitude, and frequently a puzzle to the more practised few.

People have a right to expect such an amount of invention as is capable of adapting the old, when it is good, to the new, if the old is desired.

Oddly as it sounded, I thought there was something in the objection of a retired waggon-master in a parish I once had, who, when asked to contribute to a painted window in the church, and shown the sketch, many years ago, looked at it grimly, and observed, "Rather mediæval, sir, isn't it?"

And even if more comfortable, which I doubt, the dwelling-house of a labourer or mechanic in the present day is too often an eyesore rather than "a thing of beauty." This is not a matter of expenditure merely, for it is not more costly to raise up a pretty-looking building than an ugly one. Beauty and utility are not opposed to each other, even in the practical view of pounds, shillings, and pence.

Those who know the edifices erected by Mr. Brunel on the South Devon line, when it was to be worked by atmospheric pressure at every six miles, will acknowledge that the most prosaic purpose need not shut out grace or embellishment. Wherever excavations have been made (I speak on the high authority of Mr. Gladstone's speech at Greenwich, in distributing prizes to Science and Art Classes), where the ancient Greeks lived, the common instruments and implements of the ordinary working man have been found stamped and sealed as it were with a form of beauty. So with Italians of the middle ages.

What the domestic architecture of the world's old civilization was we have necessarily small knowledge, but the remains of Egyptian or Oriental, or Greek, and Roman public works tell us of marvellous skill in producing the grandest effects by the adaptation of consummate art on a colossal scale to statues, columns, temples, theatres, and the like.

I am afraid, too, that little more can be said in favour of

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the inner adornment of the houses of the masses as to furniture or ceramic and pictorial art. The hideousness of the paper patterns on the walls of the ordinary mechanic's or small tradesman's house cannot be exaggerated. So with the chimney ornaments: vases without grace or shape; staring monsters of images; animals of the most tawdry and unnatural colours; feeble religious prints alternated with coarse objectionable love scenes. Can the best ornamental metal work or the best jewellery of Birmingham be compared with the productions of a third-rate workshop at Rome, or almost any Italian city? is a question that I have heard asked, and it is one which must have been answered, until recently, unfavourably.

I do not forget what has been done for the multitude by photography. How happy it has made many a mother to hang up on the cottage walls a likeness of the distant sailor or soldier, or the firstborn of the married daughter; yet the secret thought on seeing such productions is, that if justice has perforce been done mercy has been omitted, and that what the manipulator calls catching a passing smile has somehow resulted in a stolid grin.

No doubt large means are required for the surroundings and possessions of high art, means such as we cannot all have—"Non cuivis contingit adire Corinthum." Therefore I venture to say a word for good imitations of good art work, whether in pottery, or statuary, or pictures, so that graceful forms and beautiful outlines and bright colours are brought within the compass of limited means. Shams in one sense they may be, but they are better than nothing, and a great deal better than what is bad and vulgar. The Arundel Society has done something for ordinary people, a good deal indeed. It is a clear gain to get at such small cost reproductions after a fashion of the noble frescoes and paintings of the Italian, Flemish, Spanish, and other schools scattered over the Continent; yet we should be the better for cheap, well-executed prints that would be within easy reach of the artizan and labourer. The schools of art, due, I believe, in their origin to the persistent suggestions of a Devonshire painter, Haydon, have done and are doing a great deal in promoting national good taste. There are now 140 of these schools of art in this country, with between 20,000 and 30,000 pupils. As Mr. Disraeli said at the Royal Academy banquet this year: "It is not an exaggeration to expect that the future of the country with regard to its taste, and upon its taste the manufacturing skill and success of the country

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greatly depends, it is no exaggeration to say that we may expect very considerable results as regards the national taste and manufacturing skill from these schools."

There is assuredly a mine of wealth, looking at the matter in a financial view only, amongst the hard-handed sons of toil, if graceful outlines and well-arranged colours were brought within their reach. Germany has done a good deal in this direction by bold, skilfully-drawn sketches, Biblical and otherwise. Many years ago the present Dean of Chichester helped to publish some cheap and excellent Scripture prints. This, my native county, has a proud roll of artists, to whom I should rejoice to see added the name of some one who would popularize, not vulgarize, true and high art productions. There would be a very valuable instrument for educating the masses, if such were more easy of attainment by our people. Taste and a critical eye must be cultivated. Love for beautiful scenery does not come naturally. A child, even when born and bred in Devon, does not appreciate its loveliness immediately. As we get older we drink in more eagerly the fairness and pleasantness of earth; probably it is a merciful provision for the alleviation of the infirmities and physical privations that belong to our declining years. "And this sense of beauty is not," I am again quoting Mr. Gladstone's eloquent words, "under natural and equal circumstances the favoured inheritance of the few, but is meant to be and may be the universal inheritance of civilized mankind."

Now and then we come across tokens of an innate love for art, that has only to be developed by opportunities, which should be offered to all.

I remember many years ago being in the National Gallery, and seeing a man in working clothes come hurriedly in, as if intent on one object only, and make his way straight through the rooms until he arrived at Correggio's "Ecce Homo." He placed himself before it, and gazed as if riveted with the intensest admiration; possibly more. What he did thirty years ago, thousands, I would fain believe, have done since, and tens of thousands, I will venture to foretell, will do henceforth, as such means for intellectual enjoyment and cultivation are brought more and more within the reach of all classes. Public galleries, public museums, public libraries are not only promoters of material civilization, they are something, aye, a great deal, more. All these things are helping to make men more happy, more gentle, more useful, more in accordance with the intention of their being, to gain a loftier and more noble life—

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"Up from unfeeling mold
To seraphs burning round th' Almighty throne,
Life, rising still on life, in higher tone
Perfection forms, and with perfection bliss."
Castle of Indolence, xlviii.

Our Association, I do not claim too much for it, is swelling the onward stream, as the widening river near this fair town is aided in its course towards the deep ocean by many a tiny brook pouring into it its watery meed from the hillsides of Dartmoor. I had a proof, as I thought it, of this last year at Torrington, which struck me forcibly, and it gave me hearty pleasure to know that we were leaving a crumb of good where we had received so warm a welcome, and such genuine hospitality. The attendant at the Townhall, where the papers were read, was an eager-looking, serious man of humble life. Towards the close he abruptly accosted me as I was passing, and said in a modest, yet fervid tone, "Oh, sir, this has been good for us; you've all lifted me up and helped me. I read every morning before I go to work, and what I have heard will be an encouragement to me. We shall all, I hope, meet again."

My distinguished predecessor concluded his address with an eloquent tribute to the memory of the scholar, the poet, the accomplished Charles Kingsley. I do not even know the name of my lowly friend, but I trust and believe that he is a type of hundreds of working men upon whom there is dawning a fresh era, a *formosissimus annus*, a flood of light, the limits of which none of us can see or grasp. So may it be, we shall all say! For the man who can be raised up by science, or literature, or art out of things earthly and debasing, is so far lifted up towards a better and a purer existence. The more men search into and unfold the secrets and mysteries of human knowledge, the more likely they ought to be, the more likely they are, to reach the conclusion of the enquirer of old when he asked, "Where shall wisdom be found? and where is the place of understanding?" and made answer to himself in noble words that have been wedded to glorious music.

"The depth saith, It is not in me: and the sea saith, It is not with me. It cannot be gotten for gold, neither shall silver be weighed for the price thereof. . . . Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil, that is understanding."

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Obituary Notices.

COMPILED BY THE REV. W. HARPLEY, HON. SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

I.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR JOHN TAYLOR COLERIDGE was the second son of the late Colonel James Coleridge, of Heath's Court, Ottery St. Mary. He was born at Tiverton on the 9th July, 1790, and was educated first at Ottery St. Mary, under his uncle, the Rev. George Coleridge, and then at Eton as a colleger, and at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he gained a scholarship in 1809. He won the Chancellor's University Prize for Latin Verse in 1810, the subject being "Pyramides Egyptiacæ;" and took his Bachelor's Degree in Easter Term, 1812, obtaining a first-class in "Literæ Humaniores," standing *alone* in that proud position. Soon afterwards he was elected to a Devonshire Fellowship at Exeter College, and also to a Vinerian Scholarship. In 1813 he carried off both the Bachelor's Prizes for Essays in English and Latin, the subject of the former being "Etymology," and of the latter "The Influence of the Censorship upon the Morals of the Roman People."

One of his brother scholars at Corpus was the late Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, with whom, notwithstanding wide divergence of views, he maintained a close and affectionate friendship to the last. His graphic letter, with reminiscences of their glad undergraduate days, which forms one of the most interesting chapters of Dean Stanley's *Life of Arnold*, will be recalled with pleasure by all who have read that book. Mr. Keble, author of *The Christian Year*, was another of the distinguished band of Corpus scholars, and he and Sir J. T. Coleridge were knit together in loving brotherhood from early youth to ripe old age, so that no one was more qualified

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to write the life of the former than the close friend of so many years.

The fact of offering himself as a candidate for the Vinerian Scholarship at Oxford implied *per se* that he had already made up his mind to choose the bar as his future profession; and so it was almost a matter of course that he should read law in London, and in due season be called to the bar. His call was at the Middle Temple, and dates from 1819. He then went the Western Circuit, in this selection following his own very natural predilection as a West-countryman. Half a dozen years of his professional career as a practising barrister had hardly run out when, in 1825, he published a carefully-annotated edition of Blackstone's *Commentaries*. A nephew of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and a near relative of several other Coleridges who had already made their mark, it was no new thing for one who bore his name to be devoted to literature in early life. Accordingly, during the first few years of his practice at the bar, Mr. Coleridge was a frequent writer in the *Quarterly Review*, which indeed he edited for a year, after the resignation of Mr. Gifford. On the resignation of Mr. Coleridge, Mr. Lockhart was appointed editor. But soon the pressure of the duties of a more lucrative profession left him but little time to do more than contribute at rare intervals to its pages.

He was elected Recorder of Exeter in 1832, and in the same year was made a Serjeant-at-Law; and three years later, in 1835, he was promoted to the Judicial Bench, and received the honour of knighthood. As a Judge, it is little to say that his knowledge of law was equally sound and extensive, and that he was particularly happy in the facility with which he could bring precedents to bear upon the subjects before him, however refined and intricate the latter might be. His charges were noted for their lucid exposition of legal points, and their elegance of diction. Attaining his seat on the Judicial Bench at the early age of forty-five, he held it for twenty-three years, having discharged with signal honour to himself the high duties which devolved upon him.

Eventually, when in 1858 he had nearly approached the allotted age of man, and when his bodily, not his intellectual, powers seemed to require rest, he obtained the repose he had nobly earned. His retirement from the Judicial Bench was signalized by his formal enrolment among the Privy Councillors of the Sovereign. He afterwards frequently took part in decisions in appeals before the Privy Council, where his knowledge of ecclesiastical law and his acquaintance with

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church matters and parties was often of service to the public; and not unfrequently he had intrusted to him the duty of arbitrating in questions of the highest importance.

Six years prior to Sir John's retirement for the enjoyment thenceforth of lettered ease, he received from the University of Oxford, in which forty years previously he had obtained his education, the honorary degree of D.C.L.

During the latter years of his life he lived for the most part at Heath's Court, near Ottery St. Mary, occasionally visiting London—the head and stay, in every sense, of loving and loved relations, the cultivated, genial host of "troops of friends" far and near, the promoter, with ungrudging aid, of every good enterprise. The restoration of the fine old church at Ottery St. Mary, with the building of three district chapels, was due more or less to his exertions and munificence, not to speak of many another instance of deep attachment to his own faith. His interest was always excited in the work of education, and up to the present time, out of a very moderate fortune, he defrayed the whole expense of a curate and schoolmistress in the village of Alfington, having first built, entirely at his own charge, the church, the parsonage, the school and schoolmistress's house, on a small property which he had purchased for the purpose. This work of his father it is, we believe, the intention of Lord Coleridge to continue and to complete.

He joined this Association in 1868, on the occasion of its visit to Honiton, and was present at the Meeting, his son, Mr. Coleridge, occupying the Presidential chair at that time. At the banquet given by the Mayor and Corporation to the Association, Sir John, in a most racy speech, proposed the toast, "Prosperity to the Association."

Mr. Justice Coleridge married, in 1818, Mary, second daughter of the late Rev. Gilbert Buchanan, LL.D., Vicar of Northfleet, Kent, and Rector of Woodmansterne, Surrey, by whom he had a family, and who predeceased him by twenty-two months only. One of his daughters is the wife of Dr. Mackarness, Bishop of Oxford; his younger son is in Holy Orders in the Roman Church; and his eldest son is Lord Coleridge, now Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who was born in 1821, and was successively scholar of Balliol College and Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, M.P. for Exeter, and Solicitor and Attorney-General. His other daughter lived with him till his death, and is unmarried.

The late judge's handsome and intelligent face, his kind, graceful, and even courtly manners, and his friendly demean-

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our in private life, will not speedily fade from the memory of a large circle of attached friends. He died very quietly, 11th February, 1876, sinking from weakness, but retained consciousness almost to the last.

II.

JOHN AUGUSTUS PARRY, eldest son of the late John G. Parry, Esq., was born in London on the 1st May, 1797. Intended for the legal profession, he received the education and passed the examinations necessary for this purpose, but never engaged in practice. Early in life he spent a good deal of time on the Continent, and eventually married an Italian lady, and settled down at Lee, near Ilfracombe. Of an active turn of mind, he soon took part in local matters, social and political. His sympathies in this latter point were warmly liberal, or, as would then have been said, radical, and soon brought him into connection with the leaders of the party in North Devon. But although feelings ran high in these matters some forty years ago, his genuine cordiality and kindliness of disposition saved him from making enemies, and ensured him many friends.

At Lee his first wife died, and in 1846 he married a second time. In 1851 the gold discoveries in Australia made him desirous to visit the new El Dorado, and in the latter part of that year he went out to Melbourne. At Melbourne and at Ballarrat he engaged in business, and after four years of Australian life realized his property and left the colony.

On his return to Europe he travelled for two years in Germany and France, and then turned his steps again to North Devon, where, among many old friends, he spent the rest of his life. In 1867 he became a member of this Association, and contributed at the Barnstaple Meeting a paper "On the Remains of Ancient Fortifications in the neighbourhood of Bideford." At various times Mr. Parry has shown a warm interest in the objects of the Association, frequently attending its meetings; and he was an assiduous member of the Local Committee, and Honorary Local Secretary of the Association during its visit to Bideford in 1871. On this last occasion, besides discharging his official duties, he contributed a highly interesting paper, entitled "A Brief Sketch of the Early History of Bideford."

Failing health of late years began to tell upon him gradually, and on the 3rd November, 1875, he died at Bideford, at the age of 78. He was a man who all through life, to use the old words, had friends, and showed himself

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friendly. Advice and help, as far as lay in his power, were always at the service of any who needed, and to work for others was with him a labour of love.

III.

RICHARD NAPOLEON THORNTON (commonly called Dick Lee at Oxford) was the son of Mr. Richard Thornton, of Cannon Hill, Merton, in the county of Surrey, who, by successful operations in business, amassed £2,800,000 of the riches of this world, of which he bequeathed £400,000 to the subject of this memoir. Mr. R. N. Thornton was born on the 15th May, 1833, educated at Oxford, studied for the Bar, and was admitted a member of the Middle Temple on the 26th January, 1860, and joined the Home Circuit. He did not, however, actually practice for any length of time, appearing to prefer the more genial life of a country gentleman, in which sphere he doubtless found far greater facilities for exercising the dictates of his truly generous nature.

Active and athletic in his youth, he became an accomplished player of the noble game of cricket, distinguishing himself as such at Oxford, and in the matches for the Surrey Club and county matches, and his attachment to the game seems never to have waned. During the latter ten years of his life, when he resided at Sidmouth, he continued to encourage it in others, when he was unable to take part in it himself. In order to effect this more completely, he took a fourteen years' lease under the Manor of the Fort Field, a noble site for a cricket ground, and it was his pride to bring it into first-rate condition—as smooth as a billiard-table, and as velvety as Venetian pile—and for nearly ten years his presence and his liberality kept the game in a very flourishing state.

The property formerly known as Knowle Cottage belonged originally to the late Lord Le Despencer, who erected a dwelling-house there in a rustic style of architecture about the commencement of the present century. It was purchased in or near 1820 by Mr. Fish, who adorned the grounds and filled the cottage with jewellery and works of art, and he threw it open to the public every Monday in the summer months during the long space of forty years, so that its fame as a show-place was generally known all over the county. Mr. Fish bequeathed it to his friend Mr. Marson, who made many alterations, by clearing away much of the dense foliage and throwing the grounds more open. On his death the estate was bought by Mr. Thornton, who, in his turn, made great

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alterations. He added largely to the house; made the kitchen-garden; erected the conservatory; purchased Ayshford, a house and lands lying nearer the town of Sidmouth and on the station road, pulled the house down and entirely swept it away, throwing the whole into his own grounds, and erected the lower lodge; he also added many acres to the estate by purchasing fields in the direction of Jenny Pyne's Corner and Broadway, and built the higher lodge. The members of the Devonshire Association will not easily forget the splendid entertainment he gave them in these grounds on Thursday, the 24th July, on the occasion of their meeting at Sidmouth in 1873, when he became a member, and was one of the Vice-Presidents of the Association.

As infirmities crept upon him, he gradually withdrew himself from society, and he died at Sidmouth on the 28th May, 1876, at the early age of forty-three. His first family consisted of three boys and a girl, who survive him, and he has left a widow and one son.

Mr. Thornton's great virtue, which is a very wide one, was liberality, and he gave of his wealth with a free hand wherever he thought he could do any good by it.

The deaths of four more members during the past year must be recorded; namely, Mr. W. CAWDLE, Mr. J. SYMONDS, Mr. A. TURNBULL, and Dr. HEARDER.

Mr. Cawdle had long been a member of the Association, having joined it at its third meeting, held at Torquay, in 1864; he was not present however at any of the subsequent meetings. He died at his residence, at 26, Union Street, Torquay, on the 6th January, 1876, aged 63 years.

Mr. Symonds was elected a member of the Association in 1873, but never attended any of the meetings. He died at Hinton Manor, Farringdon, Berks, on 16th June, 1875.

Mr. A. Turnbull joined the Association so long ago as 1865. The infirmities of old age prevented him from taking any active part in its proceedings, but he ever exhibited a warm interest in its progress, and was instrumental in adding some new names to its list of members. He died at Parkwood, Torquay, on the 4th May, 1876, at the advanced age of 84 years.

Dr. Hearder died at Plymouth, on Sunday, the 16th July, aged 66 years. He was one of the earliest members of the Association, and contributed several papers. An obituary notice of him is reserved until the next annual meeting.

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FIRST REPORT OF COMMITTEE

ON

DEVONSHIRE FOLK-LORE.

BY R. J. KING, M.A.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

SINCE our last meeting the following notices have been communicated to me as editor of the "Folk-Lore," collected by a Committee of the Devonshire Association, appointed in 1875, with the object of preserving such remains. Many of them relate to customs and beliefs which are very well and generally known; but recent instances of their occurrence are worth recording. Others are rarer and more curious; and one or two I believe to have been hitherto unnoticed.

RICHARD JOHN KING.

The first two are from Miss Pinchard, Tor, Torquay.

Blessing the Apple Trees.—A few years ago, hearing that the ceremony of "blessing the apple trees" had been celebrated a night or two before in an orchard close to my house, in the parish of Tormohun, I sent for one of the party who had been officially engaged in the affair to tell me all particulars concerning it.

He told me that, after partaking of a good supper provided by the owner of the orchard, they all, men, women, and children, proceeded to the orchard, carrying with them a supply of bread, cheese, and cider. They then, all being assembled under one of the best apple trees, hoisted a little boy up, and seated him on a branch. He, it seems, was to represent a tomtit, and sat there crying out, "Tit, tit; more to eat;" on which some of the bread and cheese and cider was handed up to him. He still sitting in the tree, the whole party stood round, each being provided with a little cup, which was forthwith filled with cider, and they then sang the following toast:

"Here 's to thee, good apple tree,
To bear and blow, apples enow,
This year, next year, and the year after too;
Hatsful, capsful, three-bushel bagsful,
And pay the farmer well."

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They then drank all round, and fired a salute to the trees, making as much noise as possible with all the pistols, guns, or other old firearms they could collect; or, failing such, with explosions of gunpowder placed in holes bored in pieces of wood, accompanying the salute with loud cheering, and then firing into the branches of the trees.

They then again stood round, and, after another cup of cider, sang:

"To your wassail, and my wassail,
And joy be to our jolly wassail;"

which concluded the ceremony. This is done in dead of winter; and in some cases buckets of cider, with roasted apples floating in them, are carried out, and the apple trees pelted with the apples; but I am not sure whether he said this was done on the occasion of which I write.

May Dolls.—There is a very pretty custom existing in the parishes of Tor and Upton, and I believe elsewhere, on the 1st of May. At an early hour every little cottage girl in whose family there is a doll is astir, completing preparations that have been begun days before. The doll, whether large or small, is dressed in her best, and laid in a long cardboard box. She is then decorated with the best flowers the little ones have been able to procure from field or garden; and happy is the little damsel who has a gardener for her father, or uncle, or brother; for then the display is often rich in lovely greenhouse or other flowers.

The doll herself is nearly hidden by flowers, and her bed and pillow also. She is then covered carefully over, and the owner, accompanied by a following of little sisters and friends, all neat and in their best, sallies forth. The little party call at every gentleman's house, with "Please to see the May doll?" as their appeal. Sometimes they succeed in getting them carried to the mistress, and sometimes not. It depends in part on whether the leaders are known to the family. I myself always now leave word with my servants whose dolls may be brought in; but in former days I used to be overwhelmed by their number. I have known as many as thirty carried to the bedside of a sick child, to whom the day was quite a delight.

Of course the children expect, and receive, a few pence; and I am told that this is faithfully and equally divided between the seven or eight children who usually accompany each doll; the whole being collected in a little bag, and then shared at the close of the day.

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Notes contributed by PAUL Q. KARKEEK, of Torquay, begin by an extract from the *Western Times*, of May 19th, 1876.

1. "*Pixey-led: A Night's Ramble by a Chagatonian.*—It has been said that steady perseverance in any course will attain the desired end; but this, like every other rule, has its exceptions, as is proved by the following story: On Saturday a Chagford man was sent by his employer to Drewsteignton. He appears to have accomplished the outward journey without any mishap; but on his return, he went in the reverse direction to Crockernwell, from thence back again to Drewsteignton. There he left the Chagford road, and pursued his way to Dunsford. Finally, about two a.m., the police discovered him walking rapidly down a narrow path leading into the Teign. On being questioned as to his destination, he said he was going home to Chagford, and wished to make his way into the turnpike-road—mistaking the gleam of the river for the dusty highway. It was with great difficulty that the police succeeded in convincing him of his error, and thus prevented him taking a cold bath at that unseasonable hour. How or whether he has reached home yet has not been told, but when he was discovered by the police he must have travelled at least thirty miles to accomplish a journey of twelve."

Whether this individual's vagaries were caused by Pan or Bacchus matters little. It is worthy of notice, however, that the idea of being pixey-led has not been forgotten, and that it serves as an excuse when needed.

2. In the neighbourhood of North Bovey the belief still exists that it is requisite to put bee-hives in mourning on the death of their owner.

"All of 'em dead, sir; all the thirteen! What a pity it is!"

"What 's a pity, Mrs. ——? Who 's dead?"

"The bees, to be sure, sir. Mrs. Blank when she buried her husband forgot to give the bees a bit of mourning, and now, sir, all the bees be dead, though the hives be pretty nigh full of honey. What a pity 'tis folks will be so forgetful!"

Mrs. —— continued to explain, that whenever the owner or part owner of a hive died, it was requisite to place little bits of black stuff on the hive, otherwise the bees would follow the example of their owner.

Mrs. —— husband, who listened while this scrap of folk-lore was being communicated by his wife, now added, "My wife, sir, be always talking a lot of nonsense, sir; but this about the bees is true, for I 've seed it myself."

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3. Many years ago there used to be held, every year, on September 19th, a fair at Denbury; and this fair coming at the end of harvest, when money was plentiful among the working-classes, was very fully attended, the expression of "everybody" going to the fair being nearer the truth than usual. It was an outing and pleasure-making looked forward to by the inhabitants of a large district, and at one time lasted two days, if not more. It was not entirely confined to pleasure, but a good deal of business was done, certain goods in particular being bought and sold; cheese, for instance, being sold in large quantities.

I have been informed by a Mr. Crockwell, of Torquay, that some thirty or more years ago he was in the habit of trading, on the coast of Labrador and Newfoundland, in dry-fish. He found there the custom of Denbury fair kept up on September 19th, and from his enquiries ascertained that such had been the case for many years. The inhabitants there were descendants of settlers who originally came from South Devon, and who brought the custom with them. Strange to say, however, the origin of the fair was unknown there. No one knew if Denbury was the name of man, woman, place, or thing. They did as their forefathers had done, and seemed quite content with the merry-making which took place on the occasion.

Folk-lore gleanings. By FABYAN AMERY, of Druid, Ashburton.

1. *Richard Warren*, Belmont, Ashburton, at one time was ill; he had a "heart to work," but no strength; took various advice. One evening on entering his door he saw a great toad, which he killed with a pitchfork, and threw into the fire. The next evening he saw another at the same place, and did the same with it. They were the largest he ever saw; he believes they were witches. Soon recovered, and has not suffered the like since.

2. *Snake-charming.*—In February I was shooting with a party, when we came on a snake, which we killed. An old man present said that he would not be afraid to put a viper in his bosom, as he had a charm which would render any snake harmless: he believed in the Bible, and it spoke of snake-charming.

3. *Judas Steak.*—In reference to the derivation of the term "Judas steak," mentioned in last year's Folk-lore page by

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Mr. Karkeek, I would suggest that it may be derived from its colour or appearance; for in the tapestry so much in vogue during the middle ages certain persons were indicated by hair or complexion of a particular tint. Cain was given a sallow complexion not unlike Naples yellow, which was therefore known as Cain-colour; and Judas Iscariot being always represented with red hair, this came to be called Judas-colour.

4. *Cursing by aid of Gunpowder.*—At Widecombe a short time since a person was seen in the act of calling down a curse on another in the following manner. She spread the ashes of a hearth fire, and placed a train of gunpowder in a circle the size of a dinner-plate, pronouncing, as she ignited it, the name of the devoted person who had offended her in some way, and then exclaimed that now the old wretch was suffering.

5. *Cursing by Turning Stones.*—The threat to "*turn stones*" for an offender with the view to bring ill luck as a punishment is occasionally heard in the neighbourhood of Ashburton; but how the act is performed, or if it really is now performed, I have been unable to find out. The following case came under my own notice. An old woman who rather liked to be considered uncanny, as by that means she gained a respect from her neighbours, which her disposition did not warrant, threatened to "*turn stones*" for the owner of an adjoining field to the one she occupied, because he ordered her cattle, which constantly trespassed over it, to be driven to the parish pound. The dread of the consequences of this threat was so great that it was with difficulty, and only after repeated and fruitless trials of other means, that a man was induced to execute the order. It seems that at the time she was under notice to quit her field, which was ultimately purchased by the neighbour, who has never suffered from the curse.

In *Notes and Queries*, March 18th, 1876, under the head "Folk-lore," a similar custom is described as extensively prevailing in some parts of Ireland: "It is called the 'fire of stones,' and the malediction is usually fulminated by tenants who suppose themselves to be in danger of wrongful eviction. The *modus operandi* is extremely primitive, simple, and original; how far it is effective it is difficult to say. The plaintiff (if I may use the term) collects from the surrounding fields as many small boulders as will fill the

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principal hearth of the holding he is being compelled to surrender. These he piles in the manner of turf-sods arranged for firing; then kneeling down, he prays that until that heap burns, may every kind of sweat, bad luck, and misfortune attend the landlord and his family to untold generations. Rising, he takes the stones in armsful and hurls them here and there in loch, pool, bog-hole, or stream, so that by no possibility could the collection be recovered."

The same writer also quotes some lines from an Irish poem, translated by Dr. Samuel Ferguson, in illustration of this custom—

> "They hurled their curse against the king;
> They cursed him in his flesh and bones;
> And even in the mystic ring
> They turned the maledictive stones."

From R. DYMOND, F.S.A., of Blackslade, Widecombe.

Cure by Passing through a Split Ash Tree.—Passing lately through a wood at Spitchwich, near Ashburton, a remark on some peculiarity in an ash sapling led to the explanation, from the gamekeeper (W. French), that the tree had been instrumental in the cure of a ruptured infant, and he afterwards pointed out four or five others that had served the same good purpose. With evidently perfect faith in the story, he stated that when a young infant is afflicted with rupture a small maiden ash is split for a length of five or six feet down the middle, as it stands growing in the wood. The split halves being forced asunder, the naked infant, squalling as becomes him, is passed three times in the same direction through the opening, and henceforth the defect is cured. The tree is then restored to its natural shape, and as it thrives so the child thrives. My informant instanced several well known young men of the neighbourhood who had been subjected to the process in their babyhood, and had grown up strong and healthy. In one case, in which the tree had evidently suffered from the experiment, he referred to the deformity and sickly growth of the youth who had been passed through it.

A scrap from the *Western Morning News*, of June 17th, 1876, is communicated by Mr. PENGELLY, and is worth preserving.

"*The Seventh Daughter of the Seventh Daughter of the Seventh Daughter.*"—At the meeting of the Plympton Board of Guardians yesterday, Mr. C. Bewes said that in consequence of a request from the relieving officer, Mr. Pearse,

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he had visited a pauper woman named Whiddon, living at Plympton. She mentioned that she had paid a Mrs. Cox, a herbalist, of Plymouth, a sovereign to cure her. She had received some medicine, and was to get some more from the herbalist, which she was to bury underground, and that would make her quite well. In company with Mr. Pearse, Mr. Bewes said he went to the house of Mrs. Cox, in Cambridge Lane, and told her he was a magistrate, and asked her if Mrs. Whiddon had not consulted her. The herbalist said she (Mrs. Cox) was a very clever person, and knew more than most people; and in order to show conclusively that this was the case, and get rid of any scepticism there might have been on the part of Mr. Bewes and Mr. Pearse, she stated, as an explanatory fact, that she was the seventh daughter of the seventh daughter of the seventh daughter. She also observed that she was in the habit of curing scores of people that medical men had given up, and many that Dr. Square and Dr. Hingston had declared to be incurable. People from all parts of the county came to her to have their cows cured. After that she gave a history of herself and her occupation, and Mr. Bewes informed her that he had come there on Mrs. Whiddon's behalf, and demanded the sovereign. The seventh daughter of the other daughters immediately handed it over, and the relieving officer was now in possession of it.

Cure for a Ting [*Tang* = *Tongue*] *Bullock.*

When our blessed Lady set and sowed,
Her sweet son he set and played,
There come a tin-worm from the onder-wood
That stinged her swete son by the foot.
The bladder blawed, but didn't bust.
He that shall on thee call by his name Cobere,
In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.
(Say the Lord's prayer afore and arter.)

Charm for the cure of worm in bullock's tongue.

J. Brooking Rowe.

The following illustrations of the superstitions and folk-lore of the South Hams were collected for me by my daughter, Miss Lydia Worth. She wrote them down, at my request, as she had them from a country servant, who was far more communicative on such subjects to her than she would have been to any one older.

1. Two women were working in a hay-field; one being much poorer than the other. When work was over, the poorer went home and began to fry meat and potatoes for her

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children. When the meat was ready, and she was going to throw it up, she saw a black cat with fiery eyes watching her. She did not take much notice of this, but poured up the dinner, and as she did so it turned to ashes. She was grieved about this, but fried more meat and potatoes, and all went on right until she poured it up, and then, directly it touched the dish, it turned to ashes as before. Then she took her last piece of meat and the few remaining pieces of potatoes and fried them. When she came to pour it up she saw it turning as before, and threw the boiling gravy right in the cat's face, for it had watched her all the time. The cat then vanished, and very soon after the children of the other woman came running in to ask the poor woman to help their mother, who had got her face scalded all over. When she went down she found that the woman was scalded in exactly the same place as she had scalded the cat.

2. There was an old woman whose husband was dead, and who had but one son; he used to wonder what his mother did every night so long down stairs, and one night he watched. At twelve o'clock he saw his mother take several toads out of a jar, and place them on the floor, where they remained without moving until the mother took a straw and put it before them. Then they all at once began to follow her round the room. When they had gone round the room in this manner three times, she turned them about, and said, "Get out, you little devils, and mind you do your work well!" The following day the next farmer's hay-stack was found to be burnt.

3. A farmer had a wife who was a witch, though no one knew it. She one day said to her son, "Come, Jack, go and fetch me three straws out of each of Farmer H——'s corn-stacks." Jack, who was lazy, thought his father's stacks would do as well, and fetched the straws thence. His mother asked if he was sure he had fetched them from Farmer H——'s, and he replied "Yes," so she sent him away. The next morning he came down and saw the dog outside the door lying dead, and ran in to tell his mother. At the same time his father came in, and said that all the horses were dead. The wife turned pale, and asked Jack where he had fetched the straw from, and he was so frightened that he told the truth. The farmer's wife fell into a chair, and sobbed out that all the four-footed cattle were dead. She had intended to kill Farmer H——'s, to whom she owed a spite; but the straws made it fall on her own people.

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4. Signs and tokens are still seen, but we of the present day do not see so many of those things as the people of old. A hollow loaf is a sign of death, and so are dogs howling and stags (young cocks) crowing in the night. A person was dying, and a white stag was seen to walk up to the door of the sick room and there stop and crow three times, and then vanish. Chairs have been seen to move about the rooms where people lay dying. A woman was watching her sick boy, and hearing a noise, looked round, and saw a glass that was quite sound break right in half, as clean as if it had been cut with a diamond. One half fell off the dresser, where the glass stood, to the floor. The boy soon afterwards died. If anything is broken you are sure to break three things before long.

5. Pixies are never really seen, but in some cases white spots are seen moving about in the dark, and then they are heard talking, but we cannot understand their words. They are very easily frightened. If you put a penny on your table, they will come in the night and clean the house, and take the penny as their wages. R. N. WORTH.

From F. H. FIRTH, Cator, Widecombe.

The Sun Dancing on Easter Day.—April 16 (Easter Sunday), 1876.

I was awoke at daylight by gravel being thrown against my window, and on lifting the blind found that it proceeded from old John, who had come to call me to see the "sun dance." I soon hurried on my clothes, not waiting for my bath, and called my sons, who had the evening before expressed a wish to accompany me if the morning proved propitious, which it certainly did; there was a splendid "gloaming," and not a twig stirred.

On mounting the side of Corndon Torr old John would occasionally turn round toward "sunrise" and remark how fortunate we were in having so favourable a morning for our observation. *We* did not follow his example, reserving ourselves for the *coup d'oeil* at the summit; and in a few moments we were amply repaid, for a scene of unparalleled splendour broke upon our view, through a cloudless sky and rare atmosphere.

"How long will this continue, John?" "Why, maister, up along ten o'clock; but not so *strong* when the sun has more power. I saw it Good Friday morning *preparing;* but on *this* morning it is ordained to dance to remind us of the

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Saviour's rising from the grave. See how red it is at the edges! Now it is going round again beautiful!" And so the old man, with uplifted hand and streaming eyes, had his gaze fixed upon the now bright morning sun. No wonder that it went "round and round, and was dark at the edges." There was the same flickering, radiating effect that is seen at sunrise from any high summit. We took a pair of binoculars with us, and it was an amusing sight to see us adjusting them to the old man's vision; his hat was off, and with outstretched legs he exclaimed, "Oh yes, it's beautiful now on the edges; but I can't see it, I reckon, as keen as you, maister." (We wondered that he could see at all.) "All is movement; the elements is of a scarlet colour, just as the Saviour's robe. When I lived at Venton, well up forty years gone, I was a little boy, we used to go to Rippon "Tar;" but I lived many years in the world afore I heard tell of it, and now we go to Corndon Torr. Maister, we shall have a change; I hear the Broadstones 'crying,' or else 'tis Jordan Ball." The Broadstones are in the bed of the Dart. Jordan Ball is near the river. The "crying" of the Dart foretells rain.

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FIRST REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

ON THE METEOROLOGY OF DEVONSHIRE.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

THE committee appointed for making and obtaining observations on a uniform system on the meteorology of Devonshire, in making their report to the Council of the Devonshire Association, have necessarily rather to record the preliminaries to such investigations than the investigations themselves, and simply to detail the steps they have taken for the eventual carrying out of the objects for which they were appointed. The points then they had to consider were—

1st. The range of observations they would seek for.

2nd. The means by which they would endeavour to obtain uniformity of observation.

3rd. The localities from which they would desire observations to be recorded.

As to the first point, they decided to make the range of observations sought for as extensive as possible, and that they should include observations of the barometer and attached thermometer, of the dry and wet bulb thermometers, of the maximum and minimum thermometers in the shade, of the vacuum solar radiation thermometers, and of the terrestrial radiation thermometer; also of the direction and force of the wind, of the amount and character of cloud, of the amount of ozone, and the amount of rain; and besides this, of the number of days on which rain, snow, sleet, or hail had fallen, and on which snow had been lying, on which fog partially or entirely had obtained, and on which thunder and lightning had occurred; the monthly means or totals of the various elements of observation being required, and the maximum and minimum points of the thermometer and barometer. While making thus, however, the range of observations sought for so extensive, they were ready and desirous to receive observations even of any one meteorological element from any locality taken in the mode and with the instruments they should stipulate.

Next, on considering the means by which they would endeavour to ensure uniformity in the observations taken, and

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capability of their strict comparison one with another, they determined to render imperative the placing of the thermometers in the shade in a Stevenson's or similarly constructed stand, the stand itself to be placed in an exposed and open situation. They have required that the instruments used should be standard and verified instruments, and that the observations should be taken at the same time of day. The time they have fixed on has been nine o'clock a.m., as the one most generally convenient to observers. Certain observations are habitually taken at this hour, as those of the dry and wet bulb thermometers, and of the rain; and though nine p.m. is a preferable time for observations of the maximum and minimum temperatures, yet it appeared to the committee best to fix upon the former time for all observations as the one likely to be most generally available, while in the cases where the extreme thermometric elements were recorded at the later time their monthly mean values would not be appreciably affected.

They now came to the question of the localities from which observations should be solicited; but this was one whose satisfactory answer was necessarily limited by the possibility of obtaining observers willing to conform to the stipulated conditions at such localities. Application has been made to those whom they thought likely to assist them, and observers at the following localities have been secured.

At Princetown, Dartmoor, at a height of 1,400 feet above sea-level, observations by the barometer, and those of temperature, moisture, and rainfall, are recorded.

At Monkwell House, Horrabridge, 540 feet above sea-level, observations of temperature and of rainfall are taken.

At Druid, Ashburton, 584 feet above sea-level, observations of temperature, moisture, and rainfall are recorded.

The rainfall is also recorded from Holne Vicarage, near Ashburton, at an elevation of 650 feet.

At Plympton, rainfall observations are taken at a height of 116 feet.

At Tor Crest Hall, Torquay, at a height of 400 feet, observations of temperature and rainfall are taken, and also observations of rainfall at Lamorna, Torquay, at a height of 200 feet.

From Teignmouth, at a height of 70 feet above sea-level, barometric observations are recorded, and at a height of 45 feet those of temperature, moisture, and rainfall. From Sidmount, Sidmouth, 149 feet high, observations of temperature, moisture, and rainfall are recorded.

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At Exe Villa, Tiverton, 230 feet above sea-level, observations of temperature and rainfall are taken.

At Bramford Speke, observations of rainfall, at a height of 140 feet, are taken.

At Langtree Wick, near Torrington, 451 feet high, observations of temperature, moisture, and rainfall are taken.

At Gittisham, near Honiton, rainfall observations are taken; and rainfall observations are recorded from Cleveland, near Lyme, at a height of 463 feet.

It will be observed from this list, that from a large tract of the county no observations taken in accordance with the stipulations of the committee have been recorded. There are none from Plymouth or Devonport, nor from Exeter; none, with the exception of Langtree Wick, from the North of Devon, and none from the towns on the north coast; none from that part of the county bordering on Cornwall, and hardly any from the whole of the eastern part of Devonshire.

It is much to be desired that these gaps should be filled up, and also that in many neighbourhoods more than one observer should be enlisted; for the committee would draw the attention of the Council to this, that these observations must be regarded as recording the meteorology strictly of the individual localities at which they are taken themselves, and not necessarily that of the surrounding or neighbouring places. The temperature and rainfall, for instance, recorded at Tor Crest Hall, Torquay, at a height of 400 feet above sea-level, must be taken as the temperature and rainfall of that locality alone, but cannot justly be regarded as representing those meteorological elements for the town of Torquay generally. Yet these observations will have a value peculiarly their own, both as enabling us to compare the effect of altitude on the elements recorded as compared with those derived from similar observations in differently placed localities in the same neighbourhood, and also as enabling us to compare observations taken at such an altitude close to the sea with similar observations taken at a similar height in inland parts of the county. The variety of comparison which the varied local circumstances of Devonshire can thus afford induces the committee to urge the more strongly on those interested in the subjects, both of climate and meteorology, to seek to obtain a still larger number of workers in a field whose extent is so great, and whose promise so abundant.

W. C. LAKE, M.D., Secretary.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

HENRY S. GILL, Chairman.

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HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE PARISH OF CHAGFORD.

BY G. WARREING ORMEROD, M.A., F.G.S.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

A COUNTRY parish, remote, and until the last few years rather difficult of access, in most cases would not be an object of interest; but Chagford has for ages been a well-known and important spot, and in the following pages an attempt will be made to draw attention to portions of its history upon which I have hitherto scarcely touched, and which necessarily can only be noticed briefly here. The geological features of the district and the pre-historic period will only be occasionally referred to, as they have been already described in memoirs communicated to this or other societies. (Appendix, note A.)

Much information has been gathered from an imperfect series of accounts of various wardens and guilds, which extends from 1480, 20th Edward IV., to 1599, 41 Elizabeth, and are of the same general character as those at Chudleigh and Ashburton. There were thirteen different wardenships. 1. The wardens who under various names discharged the duties of the present churchwardens. 2. The high cross, who were mostly concerned in matters relating to lamps and lighting at the church, and at funerals. 3. The young men's store, or "howde," who had the management of the musical department at the church, and partly of the bells. 4. The wardens of our lady's store, and the wardens of the chapel; these were originally two wardenships, and became condensed into one; the wardens of the chapel were females, they had the care of the chapel, and sang. 5. The four men who had the supervision of all the accounts, and had equal power with the churchwardens. 6. The waywardens. 7. The market-wardens. 8. St. George's. 9. St. Nicholas'. 10. St. Salvy's. 11. St. Eligius'. 12. St. Anthony's. The duties of the five last mentioned were chiefly connected with the

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brewing and selling of ale. 13. St. Katherine's. This was an important guild in connection with the parish, In 1536, when it was in its most flourishing state, ten parishes subscribed to it, and one year the prior of Tor Abbey made a donation. In 1530 it consisted of 145 brothers and 129 sisters, who paid a subscription of not less than twopence each. This guild rented the church-house, and had a field called Katherine's Hey. On the anniversary of their patron saint they had a celebration; and their funds seem to have been applied to that purpose, and the payment of a priest to pray for the souls of the fraternity, and to deliver an address from the pulpit. The annual salary of the priest was £5 6s. 8d., and five shillings for a chamber. This wardenship, and all those not connected with parish duties, seem to have virtually come to an end at the death of Henry VIII., although their names occur occasionally afterwards.

These accounts I have arranged in chronological order, and have prepared elaborate abstracts and indices to the same.

The name of this parish has been spelt in various ways. In *Domesday* it is written Chageford; and it appears in that way, or with an additional central "g," in most of the public records or conveyances up to 1472. In the parish accounts from 1487 to 1599 the name, with few exceptions, appears as Chageford, or Chagford. In the Hundred Roll of 3 Edward (1272) the name is spelt two ways in the same paragraph, "Thomas de Chagford, tenet, vill de Chaghford." In the taxation of Pope Nicholas (1285), the name is spelt "Schaggeford;" and in the Valor Ecclesiasticus of Henry VIII. it appears as "Chaggford." The name has been generally written as Chagford, or Chageford, but most frequently as Chageford. The name is probably derived from the Cornish word "schaf," an adjective, meaning "rapid." (Williams' *Dictionary of the Cornish Language.*)

The greatest length of the parish is about six miles, from Whiddon Park on the north-east to near Kingsoven on the south-west, on the border of Dartmoor; the greatest breadth is about three miles and a half, taken in a direction from north to south through the town of Chagford. It contains, including commons, roads, houses, &c., 7492 acres, and of this amount nearly 3,000 acres are arable.

The elevation above the sea-level at the lowest point—the Teign at Whiddon Park—is in round numbers about 400 feet, and at Kestor, the highest point, about 1,400 feet. Granite underlies the entire parish. Tin lodes occur in several places, and that ore is found in small quantities in the brooks and

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drains. The river Teign was formerly streamed for tin; and particulars of these workings were laid by me before this society at the meeting at Tavistock, in 1866. Doubtless it was on account of its central position on the eastern side of the Dartmoor range, and the existence of tin in the neighbourhood, that Chagford was selected, in 1328, as one of the stannary towns. In a writ enrolled amongst the letters patent, 10th Edward III. (1336), shortly before the creation of the Duchy of Cornwall, the charter is recited which former kings had granted to the tinners of Devon, authorizing them to sell at pleasure, and without impediment, all the tin duly weighed at the three coinage towns, Tavistock, Ashburton, and Chagford, upon payment of coinage dues. The enclosed lands, save for a short distance, do not extend to the forest of Dartmoor; and the intervening space has been occasionally a cause of dispute, the Duchy of Cornwall claiming rights over it not admitted by the inhabitants of the neighbouring parishes, who in their turn claim Venville rights on the moor, which are disputed by the Duchy. A cloud lies over the early history of this border-land. In places the remains, called by some sacred circles and avenues and Druidical remains, are found. These are now by Mr. Ferguson stated to have been probably erected in the first ten centuries of the Christian era, and to be perhaps the records of ancient battles. He says that there is no evidence of their being connected with Druidism. The small hut circles, which sometimes, as in the westerly portion of this parish at Teigncombe, form villages, are generally supposed to have been the dwellings of the tin streamers in early ages.

Until the Domesday Survey there is not any reliable historical evidence connected with this district. This parish has, from time immemorial, for parochial matters, been divided into the Chagford, Meldon, Teigncombe, and South Teign quarters. The manor of Chagford is situate in Chagford and Meldon quarters. A "Teigncombe" is mentioned in *Domesday*, but it is not certain whether Teigncombe quarter or some other place is meant: in this quarter is the manor of Collerew. In South Teign is the Prince's manor, or manor of Great Week, belonging to the Duchy of Cornwall. The courts-leet, or courts-baron, are held for these manors. There are reputed manors of Shapleigh and Rushford, but for these courts are not held.

In *Domesday*, A.D. 1086, it is stated that Dodo held lands in Chagford; and in the Exeter *Domesday*, that the Bishop of Constantine had a manor called Cageford, held by Dodo.

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Hugh de Chagford and Isabella his wife had lands in Chagford in the 12th Henry III., 1210. In the hundred roll of Edward I., James de Moleton held the manorial rights at Chagford; but his name does not occur again. In the same roll it is stated that Thomas de Chagford held the vills of Chagford and Teigncombe as two fees, by homage and service, from Geoffrey de Canville, and Geoffrey from the king. In 1299 Thomas de Chagford sold the manor and advowson of Chagford, with other matters, to Simon de Wibbery for one hundred marks. The manor of Teigncombe, or Collerew, also passed to the Wibberys, as shown by various grants, and the calendar of *Inquisitiones post mortem*. In the inquisition, on the death of John Wibbery, 1399, it is stated that the privilege of grinding corn is held from the castle of Barnstaple. In the inquisition, on the death of Leva, the widow of John Wibbery, in 1439, the manor of Chagford and tenement of Collerew are mentioned. This property then went into the female line, and the manors of Chagford and Collerew are mentioned in the inquisitions on the deaths of several of their descendants. These two manors and the advowson then passed together through successive owners until the "Restoration," when Roger Whiddon sold the advowson of Chagford to Mr. William Hayter, the head master of Exeter school, in whose family it still remains.

A list of the incumbents, extracted for me by the late Dr. Oliver from the diocesan registry at Exeter, is placed in the Appendix. (Note B.)

This list commences with "Simon," who resigned the living in 1319. There have been thirty-four rectors, and one parson of the parish who held the living at the time of the Commonwealth. Two of these have been men of note, M. Lecerdekne, who died treasurer of Exeter Cathedral, in 1442, and John Hayter, who was inducted on March 1, 1779. Mr. Hayter had been a fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and was a distinguished scholar. Disraeli, in the life of his father, Isaac Disraeli, prefixed to the *Curiosities of Literature*, speaks of Mr. Hayter as the classic antiquary who first discovered the art of unrolling the Herculaneum manuscripts.

The tithe rent-charge is £539 10s. 11d., and there are ninety-nine acres of glebe which lie near to the rectory. The rectory is a commodious building of comparatively recent date, and more suitable for the dwelling of the rector than one thus described in the terrier signed by the Rev. W. Read, the rector in 1680.

"To the parsonage-house itself there are two gardens

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belonging; viz., one before the house, and another behind it; the both containing half an acre or more. A green on the foreside of the house containing three quarters of an acre.

"The parsonage-house itself is covered partly with thatch and partly with shingle stone; all the walls belonging thereto are of stone. Its inner rooms are these: viz., one stone kitchen, two parlours planched both with oak; one pastry-house, one dairy, two cellars, and a little wash-house; nine chambers all planched with oak."

The church was dedicated, on July 30, 1261, by Bishop Branscombe: the patron is Saint Michael. It is a spacious building, and consists of a centre aisle, the easterly part of which forms a portion of the chancel, which extends beyond the body of the church, and two side aisles, which have chancels at their eastern extremities. The side aisles are separated from the centre aisle by octagonal pillars supporting five arches, north and south, of two chamfered orders. The shafts of the pillars are octagonal, and of single blocks of granite. The plinths rest upon bases, which project out about five inches beyond the plinths; some of these are octagonal and some circular. These bases do not occur at the two pillars at the entrance to the chancel, and the capitals to those pillars differ from the others. The bases of the two chancel pillars are now nearly concealed by the advanced step leading into the chancels. It seems probable that formerly the floor of the church was level from the western arch to the eastern side of the vestry door; but, judging from the screen-work and the Whiddon monument, a considerable period must have elapsed since the level of the chancel floor was raised.

The decorated geometrical window, with interlacing tracery at the west side of the tower, is of a similar character with windows erected in 1260, and is earlier than the windows in the body of the church; but the same pattern was used up to the beginning of the fifteenth century, which has been considered as the date of the windows in the aisles and east-end. The windows in the aisles are very simple—three-light, third-pointed, without tracery. The east window is five-light, flamboyant, with flowing tracery. From an entry in the returns of St. Mary of the chapel a conjecture may be formed as to the date when that window was added. A slight inspection of the church shows that there is every appearance of the body of the church having been erected at the same time; but in the returns of St. Mary of the chapel for 1482 there are entries containing the charges for building a chapel. This entry

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contains the payments for laying the foundation and building, and for the crest of the gable, and it appears that two windows were inserted. This answers the description of the main chancel, the windows being the east window and the northerly window over the tomb of Sir John Whiddon. The window on the south side was added afterwards. Possibly up to 1482 the church did not extend further than the three aisles, and in that year a Mary Chapel was added. In 1531 (27th Henry VIII.) the church underwent a thorough repair. Slaters were employed for a fortnight on the roof, and a window was put in which had a beam above it, and must have reached up or nearly to the roof. No window in the church answers this description save one (now removed), in the worst style of that period, which was in the year 1531 placed on the south side of the chancel, and which doubtless was the window in question. A few fragments of painted glass remained in the upper part of the most easterly window on the north side of the body of the church until 1865. They consisted of a bold flowing pattern in yellow, with black lines, and have been considered as of the decorated style between 1272 and 1461. Within the last few years painted glass has been placed in several windows of the chancel; in 1860, in the east window, in memory of the Rev. W. Hames, formerly rector of the parish; in 1872, in the new window on the south of the chancel, in memory of Col. J. B. Turner and J. Evans, Adjutant of the 88th Regiment; in 1876, in the east window of the south aisle, in memory of Richard Leach Berry, Esq.; and in 1874, in the west window of the tower, in memory of Mrs. Jemima Hayter Northmore.

A fine arch opens from the centre aisle of the church into the tower. This was closed until 1870, when the organ was removed to a chamber at the north-east angle of the church, and the gallery was taken down. The tower is square, and embattled, with pinnacles at the angles; the buttresses consist of a pair standing on each side of the angle.

Bells are noticed in the returns of the wardens for 1480. In 1537 four bells were sold and new bells bought. The prices for which the old bells sold were as follows: The first bell, weighing 5 cwt. 51 lbs., for £4 18s. 2d.; the second, weighing 8 cwt. 18 lbs., for £7 5s.; the third, weighing 11 cwt. 56 lbs., for £10 6s.; the great bell, weighing 13 cwt. 10 lbs., for £12. From the inventory of church goods in the Public Record Office, London, 7th Edward VI., 1553, as stated by the Rev. H. T. Ellicombe in his *Memoir on the Church Bells of Devon*, it appears that at that date there were five bells at the church

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of Chagford. In 1592 a bell was recast at Chagford. There are now six bells, all cast by Thomas Bilbie, of Collumpton; one of them in 1760, and the remainder in 1766.

There is a porch on the south side with a groined stone roof; and on the north side a projecting turret which contains the stairs that lead to the rood-loft.

Within the last few years, in consequence of opening the western arch and removal of the gallery, an organ-chamber has been built over the vestry at the north-east angle of the church. This is the only addition to the shell of the building that has been made; and it is satisfactory to add that the few slight changes that have been made in the external appearance of the church, such as replacing the wooden mullions in the windows with granite, and the large square panes with diamond-shaped, have been done with great taste, and for the most part they are simply the restoration to their original character of parts that had suffered from the fancies of the past clerical authorities.

In the interior of the church many changes have taken place, and a few of the most important will be noticed, and amongst these it is right first to mention the font. During the course of the alterations in 1865 the top of an old font was dug up in the church; it consisted of a square block of coarse granite, measuring on each side twenty-seven inches in length, and thirteen inches in height. On the sides a space of three inches and a half was left uncarved at each end, and the remaining part was occupied by three recessed circular arches. Each of these was formed by a bead one inch and a half wide; the inside perpendicular measure to the centre of the arch was six inches and a half, the width between the uprights was three inches and a half, and there was a space of one inch and a half below the beading at the base and above it at the crown of the arch; the space within the arch was recessed three inches and a half. The basin was circular, and eighteen inches in diameter. A cross within a circle had been carved on the top at each angle; but at a later date the basin and top had been covered with lead. The mouldings and general design resemble those used about A.D. 1160, and this probably was the original font of the church. These particulars, taken when the font was found, in April, 1865, have been set out fully, as the font was broken by the workmen. The remains are preserved in the garden at the rectory. It is not known when this font was buried, but probably it was the predecessor of one which was put up in 1762. This venerable relic was certainly not in keeping

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with the fittings of the church at the middle of the last century. A pulpit mounted on an insulated arch then spanned the centre aisle, and an Ionic reredos of painted wood, with a semicircular pediment, erected in 1750, at the cost of fifteen guineas (£2 2s. paid by the rector, and £13 13s. by the parish), stood below the fine Gothic eastern window. This new font was of Portland stone, and in shape a swelled baluster, and was erected, in 1762, at the cost of three guineas. This was removed in 1859, Mrs. Hayter Hames having on the 29th April in that year presented the present granite font as a memorial for her daughter Kathleen. Over the centre and side aisles and chancels there are cradle roofs with ribs and bosses, and amongst the bosses there is one formed of three rabbits, so arranged that the three ears give the appearance of a pair to each animal. The same device occurs in the churches at Tavistock and Widdicombe-in-the-Moor. The whirlpool, or gurges, appears on various bosses, marking, as Mr. King observes, the time when the Gorges family had an interest in the parish. Many entries in the old accounts relate to charges in connection with the repairs of the church and carrying on public worship; there are a few for decorations and ornamental painting, and among the last named are charges for painting the rood-loft, commencing in the year 1524.

The rood-loft stairs are on the north side of the north chancel, and above is an opening, being the former entrance to the top of the rood-loft; and the line of the passage is shown by openings in the walls, on both sides of the chancel, between the arches of the chancel and the nave. The rood-loft must therefore have stood a little to the east of the position which the screens of the centre and side aisles formerly occupied; namely, the edge of the chancel step. That this position was comparatively recent is shown by the fact that when the plaster was taken off the north wall, in 1865, the northern end of the screen was seen to abut against the centre of a niche which had been concealed by the plaster. This niche, an architectural friend informs me, was probably part of the original church. Possibly, when the rood-loft was removed, portions of it were rearranged as screens. In 1865 the screens between the side chancels and the north and south aisles were found to be so decayed that they had to be removed; the central screen had been previously taken away. The parclose screens between the central and side chancels are crested with an Italian cornice, and still remain.

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The various articles required by the Roman Catholic ritual seem to have been amply provided; altars were erected to St. Katherine, St. Mary, St. Eligius, and St. Anthony. There is no mention of one to St. Michael, the patron saint; but there was an image of him which probably stood out, as there was a charge for painting behind the figure. There was an image of the Trinity, and charges occur for putting up crosses, and making banners belonging to them. There are charges for candelabra and lamps—one of these was painted to burn at the altars—canopies, tabernacle and pix, corporals, desk, and Lent clothes; for vestments, the surplice, alb, and rochet are mentioned; for books, the Antiphoner, Bible, Le Boke, Gradual, Manual, Psalter, and Processional. In the time of Elizabeth, a Dictionary, Dowrish's Disputes, Paraphrase of Erasmus, Disputation of Doctors Jule and Hardyn, Communion Book, Bible, Common Prayer, and Prayers for the Queen's Majesty, were purchased. The Paraphrase of Erasmus was fastened by a chain; and in 1730 there is a charge of twopence for mending the chain to the Book of Martyrs. From the charge, in 1488, of twopence for a new nut for the clock, and frequent payments for repairs, it is evident that a clock has been at the church for very many years. The present clock, made by Benson, and striking the quarters, was put up by subscription in 1867.

In the time of Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, rapid changes took place in the internal arrangements of the church. In 1551 (5th Edward VI.) there are entries of the payment of eightpence for "spoiling of peintures," two-and-eightpence for taking down the altars in the church, and twopence for making a table to minister upon. In 1554 (2nd Mary) there is a charge of one-and-eightpence for setting up of the altars; and the next year there are charges of one-and-a-penny for setting up the "rowdelathe" and making of Saint Katherine's altar, sixpence for "mending of the Trinity," and four-and-sevenpence for putting up the high cross with board and nails. In 1560 (2nd Elizabeth) one-and-fourpence is charged for taking down the images, and sixpence for making of the communion-table.

In February, 1857, the plaster and whitewash were removed from the pillars and arches, and partially from the walls; and it was seen that several of the arches had been coloured in stripes of red, yellow, and blue, and that paintings had been made on the walls above the arches; but the "spoiling" had been done effectually in the time of Edward VI. When the rood-loft stairs were cleared out, in 1876, the heads of four

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granite crosses were discovered. These were possibly placed there at this period.

After the Reformation, the only changes which I have been able to trace are of a recent date, and the most important have been already noticed. An organ, which is mentioned in 1574 (16th Elizabeth) as having eighty-two pipes, had disappeared, and the organist, who then had a salary of ten shillings a year, was, after the lapse of very many years, in 1812, represented by the leader of the parish choir, who was paid five pounds for instructing the singers, and a sum of about two pounds for bass-viol and other strings. The pews were high, ugly, and for the most part uncomfortable, and did not afford as much accommodation as the space that they occupied was capable of affording. At last a change took place; the pulpit was removed from its exalted situation in 1853, and placed by the southern chancel pillar. Mrs. Hayter Hames presented an organ, and the string-band ceased to play. The semicircular pediment that crowned the central portion of the entablature of the reredos was removed, and the remainder of that work of art was, in May, 1861, replaced by the present granite reredos, at the cost of the rector, the Rev. H. G. Hames; and, as before mentioned, a granite font was presented by Mrs. Hayter Hames in April, 1857. In 1865 the great step was taken; the church was re-seated, and the arrangement of the chancel was altered. Further changes have since taken place; the western gallery has been removed, and the arch opened to the tower, showing the western window. An organ chamber has been erected, and the plaster has been removed from the granite walls.

Opinions of course differ as to the correctness of some of these alterations, but when compared with other remote parish churches, this will hold a high position, and for that situation the parishioners are indebted entirely to the energy and, for the greatest part of the cost, to the liberality of the rector and his wife.

Before leaving this part of the subject a short summary may be added as to the probable age of the present church. It appears from the diocesan register that the church was consecrated in 1261. The window in the tower is the style in use in the thirteenth century. The old font and the niche preserved in the north wall are probably of about the same date. The architecture of the body of the present church is, however, of the fifteenth century. In the *Inquisitiones post mortem* there is a return dated 1439, taken on the death of Leva, the widow of John Wibbury, showing that she was

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Lady of the Manor, and had the advowson, and another dated 1461, taken on the death of Leva, the widow of Thomas Bonneville, and heiress of John Gorges (grandfather of John Wibbury), showing that she was the Lady of the Manor, and had the advowson. After the death of Leva Wibbury this property passed in the female line to the Gorges, Bonville, and Coplestone families; and during the early part of that period it was in the hands of the following trustees: Alexander Champernowne, John Gorges, and John Gambon. From this it will be seen that the Gorges family had considerable interest in this parish between 1439 and 1461, and that, judging from the style of the architecture and the whirlpools or gurges on the bosses in the roof, it is probable that the present church was built during the early part of the fifteenth century, and that the great family of Gorges were the promoters of the building.

The markets and fairs belonged to the Lord of the Manor until 1564, when "Master Copplestone" sold them to the parishioners for ten pounds, subject to the rent of sixteen shillings, the amount which the parishioners had previously paid as tenants.

The date when the charter for the market was granted is not known. Mention is made in a return of the four men, dated 1574, of the "charters of the fairs and markets which appertain to the parishioners of Chagford" as being in their custody. Polwhele states that the charter was lost in a fire that destroyed the town at the close of the seventeenth century.

The parishioners, on purchasing the market, repaired and enlarged the market-house; and as there was a clerk to the market, it was probably of considerable importance in the district.

In the Stowe Library there was a tract entitled, "True Relation of the Accident at Chagford, in Devonshire." The book is in black letter, with a woodcut, and dated 1618.

The fall took place 6th March, 1617. The chamber in which the court was held, standing upon decayed pillars, sunk under a greater concourse than ordinary, and Mr. Eveleagh, the steward, and nine others, were killed. The following notice is extracted from the Parish Burial Register:

"Mem. These five persons next in order following wer slayne by the fall of part of the market-house of Chagford upon tin court daie sitting of the court, presently after dinner, on Friday, the sixth daie of March, 1617: John Cann, John Lillycrop, of Crediton; Gregorie Hele, of Colebrooke; William Adams, of Gidleigh; and Timothy Mole, of Ashburton."

A very picturesque, but very dilapidated, market-house

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existed until July, 1862, when it was removed; and on the 28th of that month Mrs. Hayter Hames laid the north-east corner stone of a new building, erected by voluntary subscription, from the designs presented by Mr. Herbert Williams. This property still belongs to the parish, who pay a rent for the same to the lords of the manor.

The management of the roads was vested in four way-wardens, one for each of the quarters into which the parish was divided; namely, Myldon quarter, the Town quarter, Tyncombe quarter, and Southtyn quarter, (the first return is dated 1567) and this arrangement continued until the parish became part of the Crockernwell highway district, under the Highway Act, 1862.

The repairs needful for the bridges were formerly done by the parish wardens, or the four men. The public bridges over the Teign are Dogamarsh, or Sandypark, Rushford, Chagford, Leigh, and Yeo. The three first-named were repaired at the parish expense from 1560 to 1592, as shown by the accounts.

Yeo Bridge consists of one arch, and was rebuilt by the parish in 1829–30. Leigh Bridge is of one arch. Chagford Bridge is mentioned by Leland; it has three arches, and is repaired by the county. Rushford Bridge consists of two arches; it consisted formerly of a narrow bridge, and has been widened. A stone formerly placed in the wall on the left of the river stated that this bridge was repaired by the county in 1690. Dogamarsh, or Sandypark Bridge, formerly stood a little distance higher up the river Teign than the position of the present bridge. This is of one arch, and was built, as I am informed, about the year 1816. According to Polwhele, the former bridge had three arches; this bridge is repaired by the county. All these are over the river Teign. At Holy Street Mill there is a private bridge over the Teign, belonging to the Rev. A. Whipham, consisting of two wooden platforms resting on a central pier, which rises about five feet above the general level of the stream. On 11th January, 1866, a heavy fall of snow took place, which was followed on the 13th by a high flood, which rose three feet above the centre pier, and washed away half of the bridge. The parish bridges over other streams are Crannaford Bridge, built in 1826; Langaford Bridge, rebuilt by the parishes of Chagford and North Bovey in 1839; and Forder Bridge, rebuilt by the parishes of Chagford and Moretonhampstead in 1840.

The old accounts occasionally throw a little light upon the

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social habits of the parish at an early date. In 1513 the parish wardens paid thirteenpence for making a pageant, and in 1514 sixteenpence and eightpence for making five pageants; so it may be presumed that the pageant of the previous year was successful. In 1539 fourpence was paid for mending a pageant; but it does not appear at what time of the year the exhibition took place. There were holidays at Whitsuntide; possibly the pageant was then performed. In 1544 eightpence was paid to Warryn for playing on Whit-Sunday. The expenses at Whitsuntide would probably be covered by the profits on ale sold; these at that feast, in 1543, amounted to £5. The receipts for ale were so important that the parish wardens were sometimes called ale-wardens. Ale was also sold by the wardens of St. Katherine, St. Mary of the Church, St. Mary of the Chapel, St. George, St. Eligius, and St. Anthony; and the latest account is one of the young men's wardens in 1599, which is merely a statement that they had received fifty-eight shillings profit from the sale of ale during the year. The parish wardens had a caccubus, or chettle, which was let out for brewing, and similar vessels belonged to other wardens.

The chief occupations were apparently cattle and sheep farming and tin washing; the last I have noticed in a memoir read before this Association in 1866. In 1485 three fleeces of wool were sold for sixpence; in 1540 an old ewe sold for a shilling; and in 1541 a sheep for one-and-fourpence. Sheep were let for terms of years. St. Michael's wardens, in 1559, let Mr. Richard Loskye five sheep for the term of five years, to pay every year for the rent of them three shillings and fourpence, and at the end of the term to yield again five sheep, or ten shillings for them, to the pleasure of the parishioners; and similar arrangements were made with other persons. In a list of the tithes, dated 15th March, 1584, every spallier (or man who worked for tin) paid a shovell penny. All parishioners, according to the list of tithes before mentioned, were to bring their tithing lambs upon the feast of St. Michael to the churchyard, and the tithe wool was to be brought to the church porch. Although the parson or his deputy was not there, it was sufficient tender. The parishioners were to pay tithe of wax and honey at the parsonage according to their conscience. The same document also states that the parson of the parish ought to yield a feast to the said parishioners on Tuesday in Easter-week, or allow twenty-six shillings and eightpence for the same at the election of the said parishioners.

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Labourers' wages from 1528 to 1574 were about fourpence a day; the skilled labour of carpenters and masons, from seven to tenpence.

Commencing in 1542, entries occur for several years relating to arms and military service. In 1542, and the five following years, there are charges for procuring and cleaning the "harnyse." In 1547 there is a charge for cloth and making of coats for the "king's need." There are entries in 1556 of three and a half sheffe of arrows, twelve shillings; three casketts for them, one shilling; and for feathering and heading, one shilling and fivepence. In 1558, of staves for bills; in 1559, of seven men's harnyss, three bows, three sheaf of arrows, and two bills; in 1561, of three bows and two swords; in 1564, of seven coats and six breeches made for the soldiers and carried to Exeter. A change now took place in the style of armament. In 1587 there are entries of two calivers and eighteen pounds of gunpowder; and from that time to 1599 there are notices of additional arms being procured; but bows and arrows are not mentioned. The last notice of arms is in 1599, when the entries are of gunpowder, match, cap to Morrion, bullet-bag, pike, and leather flask. This last entry is in connection with training at Chudleigh, where it had taken place twice before. At this muster two trained soldiers were paid, for two days' training, two shillings and eightpence, and the muster-master one shilling. Trainings had previously taken place at South Bovey, and several times at Exeter, Totnes, and Ashburton. Entries of a similar character appear in the Chudleigh accounts. It does not fall within the limits of this memoir to point out the probable connection of these armaments with the successive wars in which England was engaged, during the period from 1542 to 1599; but the following extract is worth notice: "1588. Paid T. Yolden, for riding to Exeter, before Sir R. Dennys and Mr. Carie, commissioners, and from thence to Newton to Mr. Raleigh, and from Newton back again to Exeter, before the said commissioners, four shillings." This Mr. Raleigh was probably Sir Walter. He was in 1587 appointed one of the commissioners to withstand any invasion, and had command of the forces in Cornwall, of which county he was lieutenant-general. In July, 1588, after the Armada had passed up Channel, he joined the British fleet with a small squadron.

The registers of weddings and deaths commence in 1598; and the baptisms are for several years entered in the marriage register, and these continue, with a few breaks, to the present time. The parish accounts recommence in 1722, and thus

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the scanty annals are brought down to to-day. During the Commonwealth the "Registere" published the banns of marriage in three successive weeks, either on three Lord's-days at the close of morning exercise, or "three several market days between the hours of twelve and two." Up to 1657 most of the marriages took place before a county magistrate, but after that date generally before "German Golston," the parson of the parish.

During the period from 1599 to the commencement of the present century few matters of any consequence are chronicled. The most important was probably a skirmish that took place between the Royalist army, under Sir John Berkeley, and the Parliamentary forces quartered at Chagford, when Sydney Godolphin was killed. Clarendon mentions it as taking place in February, 1642; but in the burial register of January in the same year there is a memorandum of the burial of four strangers slain in the fight at Chagford: the day of the week and month have been written, but are now illegible. Sydney Godolphin was buried at Okehampton. The death, there called "the murder," of Sydney Godolphin is also mentioned in Lloyd's *Memoris*, 1648, p. 693.

The noble family of Prous resided for many generations at Way, and they took an active interest in parish matters. The names of John Prous, and Johanna his wife, appear on the list of the Fraternity of St. Katherine, between 1523 and 1530, as subscribing the highest sum—three shillings and fourpence. The name of John Prous, esquire, the only name to which esquire is added, appears in 1652 on the list of subscribers to the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts as subscribing a pound. In 1664 John Prous died, without male issue, and the old family disappeared from the parish. A monument to his memory is placed in the south chancel. In a room at Way, worked in plaster on the sloping sides of the ceiling, are crowned roses between the letters C. R.; and below the roses on one side are male, and on the other side female faces with pendants. On the flat of the ceiling there are intersecting squares, with roses at the central, and lilies at the side angles. On the wall at the end of the room, in the centre of a parallelogram formed by a raised bead, are the head and wings of a cherubim between the figures 1636, above are I 27 P, and below I 23 P. The I P doubtless refers to John Prowse, but I have not been able to discover the meaning of the dates; probably they chronicle deaths.

In 1555, Catherine, the widow of John Coplestone, was patroness of the living; and in 1564 "Master Coplestone"

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sold the markets and fairs to the parish; the name then disappears.

In 1619, Sir John Whiddon was lord of the manor. The family of the Whiddons had lived at Chagford for certainly six generations before that date. Sir John Whiddon, grandfather to the Sir John Whiddon just mentioned, was serjeant-in-law 5th Edward VI., judge of Queen's Bench first Mary, and was knighted about 1554. By his first wife, a daughter of Sir W. Hollis, he had one daughter; and by his second, Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of W. Shilstone, he had six sons and seven daughters. He died 27th January, 1575, and was buried at Chagford. A large renaissance monument to his memory is placed on the north side of the communion-table. So marked and upright was the conduct of this eminent judge, that a black swan was granted to him as a crest, with the motto, *Rara avis in terris.* His grandson was knighted at the coronation of King James in 1603, and was patron of the living in 1618–19. He was buried 9th November, 1633; and his son Roger, in 1637, sold the advowson to Mr. W. Hayter, of Exeter. It seems probable that a younger son possessed Whiddon House, in this parish, adjoining the beautiful Whiddon Park, in the parish of Moretonhampstead; and that Sir John and the elder branch possessed the house now known as the Three Crowns, but in former days as the Black Swan. Shortly after the Restoration the Whiddon family became scattered, and disappeared from the parish. The manor then passed successively to various owners, and is now the joint property of Mr. Thomas Taylor Coniam and the Rev. Arthur Whipham.

The remaining family of importance was the Hores, or Hoares, of Rushford. The name appears in the list of wardens of St. Katherine in 1484, and the family seem to have taken an active part in parish work. This family settled at Rushford in the reign of Richard II., having married the heiress of that place. The family became extinct in its principal branch by the death of Charles Hoare, Esq., in 1726. The Rushford estate passed by sale from that family to the late Mr. Fellowes, and was sold by the Earl of Portsmouth to the trustees of Mrs. Hayter Hames.

There were apparently many small, unimportant estates in the parish. One of these, "Holy Street," well known from the picturesque water-mill brought into notice by Cresswick, has been regarded by some antiquaries as a place of note, from an idea that "Holy Street" meant *Via sacra*, and that it had been a processional road of the Druids. On this point

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I will not enter further than to say that I have not been able to find the slightest evidence to confirm it.

At the commencement of the present century fresh animation took place at Chagford, consequent upon the establishment of large woollen mills by Mr. Berry, of Ashburton. As the large waggons belonging to these works regularly crossed over the high moorland country between those two places, it is evident that the road in that direction must have been good. Another line of communication passed from Bovey Tracey and Moretonhampstead to Okehampton, which was made a turnpike-road about the year 1836. The postal communication has for a long time been in advance of that afforded to many much larger places. Formerly the Falmouth mail passed by Crockernwell about eight o'clock in the evening of the day after it left London, and the letters left there were taken on next morning to Moretonhampstead, from which place they were brought on to Chagford, up to 1824, on Tuesdays and Saturdays. In 1824 a post-office was established at Chagford, and letters arrived daily at 8 a.m., having taken thirty-six hours in transit from London, twelve of these being the result of the arrival of the mail at Crockernwell too late in the evening to allow of the letters being at once forwarded to Moreton. When the Bristol and Exeter Railway was opened a mail-cart was established between Exeter and Moreton, which in 1854 was continued to Chagford, and London letters were delivered there about eighteen hours after leaving London. In 1857 a money-order office was established, and the electric telegraph is now in operation.

When the branch railway was opened to Moretonhampstead a great increase in the number of visitors to this beautiful spot took place, and for their accommodation many new houses have been erected, and substantial slated houses have replaced the picturesque but dilapidated old dwellings, where nearly every house had a character of its own.

Few places are so well supplied with good water as Chagford. The beautiful clear stream from the granite hills above the town, which formerly ran in an open channel through the chief streets, supplying the water for household purposes and receiving the drains from the houses and the garbage from the streets, is now preserved from pollution. In 1860 the advice of an able engineer was taken, and the town was perfectly drained, and the stream covered over. In 1869 the comfort of the inhabitants was further added to by the formation of a company, by which both the streets and houses are supplied with gas.

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Those who remember the quaint old town, with its many thatched roofs and casement windows, may possibly look with some regret upon the alterations which have been made; but they are only parts of a series of changes that are everywhere taking place. The fine old church still remains externally almost unchanged. The church-house, where the fraternity of St. Katherine held their meetings, and brewed their ale, still exists, now adapted to the purposes of the infants' school. With the advancement of the times, large parochial schools have been built; and in the place of the chapels at Week, Teigncombe, and Rushford, built when only one religion was tolerated, places of worship have been erected by various sects of Nonconformists.

If we reflect upon the annals of this little town, we shall find that they form a parallel to the histories of the greatest cities in the kingdom. In every case there is a cloud over the early days. The Briton or the Roman generally appears first on the scene; but here the vista extends far deeper into the past. The unknown dwellers in the hut circles on Dartmoor possibly streamed for tin many ages before that period. Doubtless the Briton dwelt here; but of the Roman, save in a few coins, there is no trace.

The Norman invasion is a fixed point from which the chronicles of most places start on equal footing. There was a great lord at Chagford; he had the power of life and death. Families increased, and fresh wants soon arose, consequently the estates of the great lord became divided, and his power declined. Then civil wars and religious differences took place, and political and family dissensions caused the divisions to increase.

A torpor then succeeded until the latter days, when the results of trade and manufactures gradually ramified in every direction. And now at Chagford, as elsewhere, many of the least important relics of the past are gradually giving place to the fashions of the day; but at the same time, those which are solid and valued have been cared for.

If the records had been preserved, a story similar to that of which an outline has here been given could have been told of most places; but too often no care has been taken of these valuable but apparently trifling documents. That which has here been written will probably of itself not be of much importance; but it will serve as a means of preserving a key to information, which possibly may sometime become useful in connection with the history of the county.

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APPENDIX.

Note A.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL MEMOIRS.

"Supposed British and Druidical Remains in the Parishes of Chagford and Gidley, and the adjoining part of Dartmoor."—*Report of Plymouth Institution*, 1858.

"Hut Circles on the Eastern side of Dartmoor."—*British Archæological Association*, 1864.

"The Accounts of the Wardens of Chagford from 1480 to 1559."—*Report of Teign Naturalist Field Club*, 1870.

"The Fall and Restoration of the Cromlech at Drewsteignton, in the County of Devon, 1862."—*Devon. Association*, 1871.

"Notice of Pre-historic Remains formerly existing near Drewsteignton Cromlech."—*Devon. Association*, 1872.

"What is Grimspound?"—*Devon. Association*, 1872.

"On the Fall and Restoration of the 'Spinster's Rock,' or Cromlech, in the Parish of Drewsteignton; and of Stone Circles and Avenues formerly existing in its vicinity."—*British Archæological Association*, 1873.

"Notes on Rude Stone Remains situate on the Easterly side of Dartmoor."—*Read before the Royal Archæological Institute, 30th July*, 1873. [Privately printed.]

"Wayside Crosses in the District bordering on the East of Dartmoor."—*Devon. Association*, 1874.

GEOLOGICAL MEMOIRS.

"Rock Basins in the Granite of the Dartmoor District."—*Q. J. Geological Society*, 1859.

"On the Occurrence of an Earthquake along the Northerly edge of the Granite of Dartmoor District, 28th September, 1858."—*Q. J. Geological Society*, 1859.

"On some Veins of Granite in the Carbonaceous Rocks on the North and East of Dartmoor."—*Q. J. Geological Society*, 1859.

"Traces of Tin Streaming in the vicinity of Chagford."—*Devon. Association*, 1866.

"Carboniferous Beds adjoining the Northern edge of the Granite of Dartmoor."—*Devon. Association*, 1867.

"On the Geology of the Valleys of the Upper Part of the River Teign and its Feeders."—*Q. J. Geological Society*, 1867.

"On some of the Results arising from Bedding, Joints, and Spheroidal Structure of the Granite on the Eastern side of Dartmoor."—*Q. J. Geological Society*, 1869.

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Note B.

RECTORS OF THE PARISH OF CHAGFORD.

DATE OF INSTITUTION.		NAME.
		Simon.*
1319	16th October . .	Laurence de Wilbury.†
		Thomas de Fulford.*
1382	18th July . .	John Tolthorp.‡
1384	18th May . .	Robert Burgess.‡
1391	27th April . .	William Mayon.§
		John Lydeford.*
1429	5th January . .	Robert Chirbury.‖
1434	30th September .	Michael Lecerdekne.‡
1440	2nd April . .	William Ford.†
1447	28th March . .	Thomas Coplestone.‖
1470	29th May . .	Richard Stoyle.‖
		Edward Wylughby.*
1508–9	17th March . .	William Trugge.‖
1517	18th July . .	Robert Becansawe.‖
1525–6	28th February . .	Robert Weston.‖
1531	10th October . .	Francis Coplestone.‖
		Robert Harneman.*
1555–6	23rd March . .	Robert Fisher.‖
		John Slaughter.‖
1618–9	23rd March . .	John Dynham.‖
Commonwealth	. . .	*German Goldston, Parson of the Parish.*
1662	21st October . .	George Hayter.¶
1680	4th May . . .	William Read.‖
1701–2	6th January . .	George Hayter.†
1729	2nd April . .	Thomas Rennell.‖
1742	29th September .	Joshua Hayter.†
1771	15th November .	Joshua Worth.‖
1779	1st March . .	John Hayter.†
1810	8th December . .	William Moore.†
1819	13th January . .	George Hayter Hames.‖
1821	11th January . .	William Hames.‖
1852	5th August . .	Hayter George Hames.†

* Institution not recorded. † Admitted on resignation of predecessor. ‡ Exchanged with predecessor. § Cause of vacancy not recorded. ‖ Admitted on death of predecessor. ¶ Admitted on deprivation of G. Goldston.

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MEMOIR OF JOHN DUNNING, FIRST LORD ASHBURTON.

BY ROBERT DYMOND, F.S.A.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

In the reigns of the later Stuarts there dwelt in the parish of Walkhampton, on the western edge of Dartmoor, three or four respectable families bearing the surname of Dunning, and much addicted to the choice of John and Mary as Christian names for their children. The family was hardly dignified enough to be recorded at the Herald's Visitation of Devon in 1620; but the early registers of the parish distinguish its leading members by the title of "gentlemen."* In 1685 "Richard Dunning, gent.," wrote a quarto pamphlet, entitled "A Plain and Easie Method shewing how the Office of Overseer of the Poor may be managed, whereby it may be £9,000 per annum advantage to the County of Devon," and this was dedicated to "the Right Worshipful my honoured masters the Justices of the Peace for the County of Devon." Lord Macaulay notices this publication as illustrating the state of the peasantry in the reign of James II., remarking that "in the same year, 1685, a gentleman of Devonshire named Richard Dunning published a small tract, in which he described the condition of the poor of that county. That he understood his subject well it is impossible to doubt; for a few months later his work was reprinted, and was, by the magistrates assembled in quarter sessions at Exeter, strongly recommended to the attention of all parochial officers. According to him the wages of the Devonshire peasant were, without food, about five shillings a week."†

* On the induction of the Rev. Charles Pyper to the vicarage of Walkhampton, in 1675, he commenced a new register-book. The previous records are lost. Other families bearing the name of Dunning were settled in some of the central parishes of Devonshire in the seventeenth century, and are still flourishing there, but the name disappeared from Walkhampton in the middle of the last century.

† MACAULAY'S *History of England*, vol. i. p. 416.

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John Dunning, probably a brother of Richard the pamphleteer, lived with Mary his wife at Gnatham, in Walkhampton.* After eleven years of married life he died in 1706, leaving four sons and three daughters. The second of the sons who attained to manhood was born in 1701, and bore his father's name of John. He was bred to the law, and having married Agnes (or Anne), daughter of Henry Jutsham of Old-a-port, in the parish of Modbury, settled down to practice as an attorney at Ashburton.†

It is believed that during the earlier years of his married life Mr. Dunning actually resided and his children were born at Gulwell, a farmhouse in the parish of Staverton, but within a stone's-throw of the boundary of Ashburton. Gulwell, which is close by the railway, and about a quarter of a mile below the Ashburton station, has been held for many generations by the Perry family, who retain a distinct tradition of Lord Ashburton's birth there, and of his occasional visits to the spot in afterlife.‡ In due course Mr. Dunning became the father of another John, who survived but a few months, and was buried at Ashburton in 1729. The name was, however, revived on the appearance of another son, born on the 18th, and christened at Ashburton on the 29th of October, 1731. A daughter, born in 1733, received, as a matter of course, the name of Mary. The family group was now complete in the young attorney, his wife, and their infant son and daughter. When this little son was about five years of age his parents were undoubtedly residing in the town of Ashburton, for, from the year 1736 to his death in 1780, the

* Gnatham is a barton now belonging to Sir Massey Lopes, Bart. With the exception perhaps of an old pound-house, there is no trace left of the buildings which stood there in the time of the Dunnings.

† The Jutshams are believed to have been well-to-do clothiers, or serge-merchants, who carried on business in Ashburton, or its neighbourhood, and invested their profits in the purchase of land. They had intermarried with the Dunnings more than once. The Walkhampton register records the union of Christopher Jutsham and Mary Dunning in 1694.

‡ A plain modern dwelling-house in another part of the homestead now supersedes the ancient dwelling where the Dunning family had a temporary abode. It is to be regretted that the old house should have been allowed to fall into its present ruinous condition, not only on account of its being the traditional birthplace of Lord Ashburton, but also because it affords a remarkably good example of a yeoman's house in the olden time. The external walls are of stone and cob, while the whole of the interior woodwork, including the framed partitions of the rooms, is of oak. A traceried window evidently dates from the fifteenth century. Although the apartments are low, small, and few in number, they furnish evidence in the carving of the woodwork and faded remains of paintings on the oaken panels of a certain amount of luxury and taste in those for whom the building was erected.

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name of John Dunning the elder appears in the parish books as the possessor of a house on the north side of West Street, where Mrs. Franklin now carries on the business of an ironmonger. From the death of her father in 1780, Miss Mary Dunning continued to occupy this house till her own decease in 1817, and it still remains the property of the Baroness de Verte, who succeeded to it in virtue of her somewhat remote connection with the race of Dunning. Day by day, from the age of seven until he was thirteen, did little John Dunning trudge from this house to the ancient Grammar School of Ashburton to receive such instruction as Master Hugh Smerdon could impart. He proved a diligent scholar. A singularly retentive memory enabled him in the course of a few hours to repeat a whole book of Virgil without referring to the text. When little more than ten years of age he is said to have mastered the first book in Euclid, and the diagrams he then drew on the walls were visible long after he had left school. Mathematics, indeed, were his chief delight; and in afterlife Polwhele more than once heard him attribute all his fortune to Euclid and Sir Isaac Newton.

At what is now considered the too early age of thirteen the boy was taken from school, well-grounded in classical as in mathematical learning, and distinguished above all his fellows by the rapidity with which his mind absorbed knowledge. His father's highest ambition was to see the lad a junior partner in a future firm of John Dunning and Son; and that this end might be attained as early as possible, young John at once mounted a stool in the paternal office for five years' service as an articled clerk. Here that regularity of line and diminutive neatness which distinguished his writing through life, were acquired by constant practice in copying law papers and engrossing deeds. The parish chests of Ashburton and its neighbourhood still furnish proofs of his father's extensive practice in parochial business. Judging by the scale of his bills of costs he was not over covetous of fees. One of the heaviest was incurred by the parish of Ashburton in 1737, apparently for the reconveyance of the lands comprised in the charitable endowment of Thomas Caunter, when the total charge for drawing the deed, for attendances, journeys, and probably for stamps also, amounted to just £11 16s. In 1734 the same parish paid him three guineas for his services in the prosecution of one Skinner, who was charged with the murder of John Taylor. The whole of his legal business for the parish in 1741 was recompensed by the time-honoured fee of thirteen-

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and-fourpence.* But "'Torney Dunning's" practice was by no means confined to parochial business. One of his many private clients was Sir Thomas Clarke, Master of the Rolls, whose extensive property near Ashburton was confided to his management. An incident in this stewardship led to important consequences. A legal instrument was prepared by young John Dunning, who forwarded it to Sir Thomas in his father's absence, and was accordingly taken to task for his presumption on his parent's return. A letter was hastily despatched by the latter to his client, apologizing for the errors which he feared must be found in a draft prepared by a youth under nineteen, and which he had had no opportunity of revising. Greatly to the parent's relief, however, the distinguished lawyer assured him that no excuse was needed; and he not only returned the document unaltered, but sought a further acquaintance with the young draughtsman who had shown so much skill and proficiency. So satisfied did Sir Thomas become of the youth's capacity for greater things that he offered to incur the sole charge of fitting him for a career at the bar; and under this patron's auspices young Dunning, in the twenty-first year of his age, was entered as a student at the Middle Temple on the 8th of May, 1752.

It is not difficult to form a fair conception of the town of Ashburton as it appeared when Dunning left it in the middle of the last century. There yet remain many examples of houses of that period with slaty coats of mail to protect them from drifting rain, with picturesquely-gabled fronts and ponderous chimney shafts. From these, and from the occasional appearance of pent-house roofs over shop windows that were once unglazed, we can form some idea of the aspect presented by the old stannary town when it was wholly composed of such edifices. But it is less easy to realize the

* One sample of his bills of costs may edify his professional successors of the present age. It occurs in relation to a presentment of the highways in the parish of Widecombe-in-the-Moor, and is dated 1751, while the future Lord Ashburton was in his father's office.

	£	s.	d.
Attend: Advising the Surveyors after examining their witnesses	0	6	8
Drawing brief and fair copy for Counsel . .	0	10	6
To Mr. Jeffery, with brief	0	10	6
Attending Sessions and Counsel two days, myself and Clerk, at 13s. 4d. per day . . .	1	6	8
Expenses, &c.	0	13	4
	£3	7	8

Out of the above bill Mr. Dunning acknowledges to have received of Mr. Ffortescue 9s. 4d. So there's more due, £2 18s. 4d.

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greater change in the manners of its inhabitants. As compared with the present population, the Devonians of 1752 were rugged, ignorant, and vicious; living on coarse fare, delighting in brutal amusements, and steeped in superstitious fears, which an apathetic clergy did little to correct. It was an age of bull-baiting and cock-fighting; of gaming and hard drinking. The arts of writing, reading, and ciphering were almost unknown to the poor, and to the wives and daughters of the small shop-keepers. The wife of the Vicar of Wakefield thought her daughters were fully prepared for association with persons of quality when she said to Lady Blarney, "I will be bold to say my two girls have had a pretty good education and capacity; at least, the country can't show better. They can read, write, and cast accounts; they understand their needle, broad-stitch, cross, and change, and all manner of plain-work; they can pink, point, and frill, and know something of music; they can do up small clothes, and work upon catgut. My eldest can cut paper, and my youngest has a very pretty manner of telling fortunes upon the cards." Wheeled conveyances did not exist in the country parishes. The goods traffic was conducted on the backs of pack-horses through roads that were little better than water-courses in winter. Necessary journeys were, for the most part, undertaken on horseback by riders well armed for protection against the highwaymen whom a merciless criminal law failed to overawe. Travelling in search of the picturesque was rarely thought of. The frequent spectacle of gibbets disfigured the charming scenery of Devon; and if any appreciation of its beauties existed, it was effectually damped by the dangers and difficulties attending its indulgence. When a great family coach was dragged through country roads, it was preceded by outriders, who warned all travellers of meaner degree out of the way of his honour the squire. It may have been in such a vehicle, though more probably on horseback, that young Dunning accompanied his patron, Sir Thomas Clarke, in a slow progress to the far-off metropolis. He has left us no record of the incidents of this journey, nor of his impressions of the new world upon which he entered when his destination was reached. But the pencil of Hogarth, then in full activity, and the busy pens of his cotemporaries, Smollett and Fielding and Sterne, have made us familiar with the life, costume, and manners of London, and of the English under the earlier Georges. It would seem that the young law student did not finally settle down to his work in chambers until he had kept a few terms at the Middle

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Temple, for we meet with his signature as attesting witness to a deed prepared by his father at Ashburton in November, 1752. His lodgings were afterwards up two pair of stairs at No. 1, Pump Court, in the Temple. Here, by a close application to study, he corrected in a great measure the defects of his early education, and gained a comprehensive knowledge of constitutional history and of the science of law. He had already acquired in his father's office a good practical knowledge of the varieties of legal process, and this was now perfected by close observation of practice in the courts. The method by which his studies were directed may be gathered from the advice he gave in afterlife to a young friend in a similar position: "I would always," he writes, "recommend a diligent attendance on the courts of justice; as by that means the practice of them, a circumstance of great moment, will be easily and naturally acquired. Besides this, a much stronger impression will be made on the mind by the statement of the case, and the pleadings of the counsel, than from a cold, uninteresting detail of it in a report. But above all, a trial at bar or a special argument should never be neglected. As it is usual on these occasions to take notes, a knowledge of short-hand will give such facility to your labours as to enable you to follow the most rapid speaker with certainty and precision. Commonplace-books are convenient and useful; and as they are generally lettered, a reference may be had to them in a moment. It is usual to acquire some insight into real business under an eminent special pleader previous to actual practice at the bar. This idea I beg leave strongly to second; and indeed I have known but few great men who have not possessed this advantage."

A frugal allowance made it necessary for John Dunning to observe the strictest economy whilst keeping his terms. In this practice he found associates in Kenyon, afterwards Lord Kenyon, who succeeded Lord Mansfield on the King's Bench, and in Horne Tooke, who, in 1778, addressed to Dunning that *Letter on the English Particle*, which was afterwards expanded into *The Diversions of Purley*. Out of term these three friends would dine together at a little eating-house near Chancery Lane, at the modest charge of sevenpence-halfpenny each. Tooke and Dunning would generously add to this a penny for the waitress; but the more thrifty Kenyon rewarded the girl sometimes with a halfpenny, and sometimes with a promise.

After four years of hard study and careful living, Dunning was called to the bar on the 2nd of July, 1756 and betook himself to the Western Circuit. For five more weary years

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his prospects remained in a most unpromising condition. Nor is it surprising that a young, unknown, and untried advocate, of singularly forbidding appearance, should fail to attract briefs. Polwhele declares, that "had Lavater been at Exeter in 1759 he must have sent Counsellor Dunning to the hospital for idiots. Not a feature marked him for the son of wisdom."* His growth was stunted, his limbs were misshapen, and his features mean, not to say ugly. Horne Tooke used to tell a story illustrative of Dunning's personal appearance. On one occasion Thurlow wished to see him privately, and going to the coffee-house he frequented, asked the waiter if Mr. Dunning was there. The waiter, who was new in his place, said he did not know him. "Not know him!" exclaimed Thurlow with his usual oaths; "Go into the room upstairs, and if you see any gentleman like the knave of clubs, tell him he is particularly wanted." The waiter went up, and forthwith re-appeared, followed by Dunning.† He alone seemed to be unaware of these personal defects, though the pleasing self-delusion had occasionally to sustain some severe shocks. Anecdotes have been told on this point that will hardly bear repetition now, though they were freely discussed after dinner in an age when it was customary for the clergy to retire to the drawing-room with the ladies. One will serve as an illustration, though it comes too early in chronological order. Dunning was retained for the defence in an assault case, and his object was to disprove the identity of the person named by an old woman as the aggressor. Abandoning his usually overbearing demeanour towards witnesses, he commenced his cross-examination with much gentleness.

"Pray, my good woman," he asked, "are you very well acquainted with this person?"

"Oh, yes, your worship, very well indeed."

"Come now, what sized man is he? Short or tall?"

"Quite short and stumpy, sir; almost as small as your honour."

"Humph! What kind of nose has he?"

"What I should call a snubby nose. Just such a one as your own, sir, only not quite so cocked up like."

"Um! His eyes?"

"Why he has a kind of cast in them, sir; a sort of squint. They are very like your honour's eyes."

"Psha! You may go down, woman."

* Polwhele's *History of Devon*, vol. i. p. 325.

† *The Original.* By Thomas Walker, M.A.

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And down the old lady went in simple unconsciousness that she had touched the weak point in her interrogator.

But though these deficiencies of person and manner stood grievously in his way, Dunning's fellow-barristers learned earlier than the lower branch of the profession that his powers only required opportunity for development. The opportunity came at last in this wise.

After the French had been driven from their settlements in Hindostan, the Dutch East India Company, jealous of the enhanced power of their English rivals, addressed to their home government a remonstrance against the violation of their privileges as neutrals, and alleging sundry acts of unwarrantable interruption of their trade. This memorial was in due course submitted to Lord Bute, then Prime Minister of this country, by the envoy-extraordinary of the States at the Court of St. James. Lord Bute called on the English Company to reply, and the directors accordingly sought the advice of Mr. Hussey, a king's counsel, in the preparation of a counter-memorial. Hussey thereupon introduced young Dunning to Mr. Laurence Sullivan, the chairman of the Directors, as one well fitted for the task, and Dunning at once addressed himself to a work bearing some resemblance to the one performed with such consummate clearness and ability by the present Lord Chief Justice of England in the recent arbitration on the *Alabama* claims. The counter-memorial was soon ready. On the 23rd February, 1762, it was presented to the king, and was afterwards published in the form of a pamphlet of forty-five pages, entitled "A Defence of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, and their Servants (particularly those at Bengal), against the Complaints of the Dutch East India Company; being a Memorial from the English East India Company to His Majesty on that subject."

It is unnecessary to follow the line of argument. In Dunning's time, as in Canning's, it is likely that

> "In matters of commerce the fault of the Dutch
> Was in giving too little, and asking too much."

Opinions differed as to the merits of the performance. By some it was considered a masterly specimen of argumentative writing. To others it betrayed no extraordinary ability. But the surest test of its excellence was its success. It produced a conciliatory change in the communications of the Dutch government, whilst a fee of five hundred guineas expressed the satisfaction of the magnates of Leadenhall Street with the achievement of their young advocate. The tide in

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Dunning's affairs now began to flow in earnest. At this juncture a leading counsel was so considerate as to be laid by with a sudden attack of gout, and the management of his briefs was committed to Dunning. The ability with which he conducted an argument, in which he was matched against Yates, the future judge, called forth a special compliment from Lord Mansfield. "The gentlemen on both sides," said his lordship, "had argued like lawyers; and had uttered not a word too much, or a word too little."

Seven years had now passed since Dunning's call to the bar. Five of these had been years of famine; but now, almost suddenly, he found himself in receipt of nearly a thousand a year—a handsome income in those days. Sir Thomas Clarke's discernment had not miscarried after all; for before his death, in 1764, he had the gratification of seeing his protégé already independent of friendly patronage.

In moments of relaxation Dunning associated with the literary and political frequenters of Nando's and the Grecian and other of the coffee-houses which then supplied the place of the modern club. It was in this way that he contracted a friendship with the notorious Wilkes, to whom he owed many introductions to business, including an engagement as junior counsel in the famous prosecution of the publishers of No. 45 of the *North Briton*, which contained certain strictures on the Speech from the Throne at the close of the session of 1763. Wilkes, as the avowed author of the obnoxious number, had been arrested on a general warrant; that is to say, a warrant directed, not against a specified offender, but generally against the authors, printers, and publishers of the libellous matter. The subject attracted more attention in Parliament than the talent displayed in the article deserved, and the cause lingered in the law courts till, on the 18th of June, 1765, a speech by Dunning on the validity of general warrants firmly established his reputation as a close and subtle reasoner. From this date no member of the bar obtained a larger number of briefs. He was now the leader of the circuit which he had so often travelled as a briefless barrister; and in February, 1766, he won its richest prize by his appointment to the recordership of Bristol. In this office he succeeded the Hon. Daines Barrington, and he continued to occupy it for fourteen years. Another step was gained at the end of 1767, or the beginning of the following year, by his appointment to the solicitor-generalship, on the promotion of Mr. Edward Willes to the judicial bench. At the general election of 1768 a seat in Parliament was secured

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to him for the borough of Calne, in Wiltshire, by the interest of Lord Shelburne, whose leadership he ever afterwards followed; and he was re-elected by the same constituency in 1774 and 1780. His entry into Parliament was hailed as a great gain by the Whig party.

"Among the new accessions to the House of Commons at this juncture," writes Lord Mahon, "by far the most eminent in ability was John Dunning. . . . . He was a man both of quick parts and strong passions; in his politics a zealous Whig. As an orator, none ever laboured under greater disadvantages of voice and manner; but those disadvantages were most successfully retrieved by his wondrous powers of reasoning, his keen invective, and his ready wit. At the trial of the Duchess of Kingston for bigamy, when he appeared as counsel against her Grace, Hannah More, who was present, thus describes him: 'His manner is insufferably bad, coughing and spitting at every word, but his sense and expression pointed to the last degree. He made her Grace shed bitter tears!'"* This painful peculiarity was attributed to "a kind of complaint he was continually labouring under, especially after he became rather advanced in life; which complaint, whether an affection of the lungs, or whatever else, resembled in its effects a continual cold. To such an extent did this latterly operate, that in the House of Commons the members used to be forewarned of his intention to address them by a much more disagreeable mode than was wont to be practised in the days of Elizabeth by old Sir Nicholas Bacon, who, when he got fat and pursy, used to announce the recovery of his breath, exhausted with ever so short a walk, simply by striking forcibly with his staff. The herald of an approaching speech from Dunning was a series of sonorous efforts to clear his throat, which after all he could not succeed in relieving of more than a small portion of the huskiness that choked it. So far, all his disadvantages were his misfortune, and not his fault. For his action in speaking he alone was to blame, except perhaps for one singularity in it (which might be a physical defect, and probably was, since it increased as he grew older and of more feeble health), a constant shaking of the head, very similar to the motion of one afflicted with the palsy. But the mode in which he used to dispose of his hands was altogether his own. He constantly drew them up close together to the height of his breast, whereupon resting his wrists, he kept up a continual paddling with his outspread palms, moving them with a rapidity corresponding to the

* Lord MAHON's *History of England from the Peace of Utrecht*, vol. v. p. 291.

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motion of his tongue. We have heard it said by those who have seen him while thus employed, that his whole appearance reminded them of some particular species of flat-fish (we believe the maid), which may occasionally be seen hanging alive outside the fishmongers' shops in London, the body wholly motionless, but certain short fins in front vibrating up and down unceasingly. To others the exhibition suggested the idea of a kangaroo seated on its hind legs, and agitating its fore paws in the manner that animal is wont to do. All, however, add, that it was only at the first glance they were susceptible of anything about him approaching to the ridiculous. After listening to him for a very few minutes, the attention became wholly engrossed by what he said, and all consciousness of his awkward gesticulations was entirely absorbed in the interest aroused by his discourse."*

It may be mentioned, as a minor defect in his oratory, that Dunning always retained a certain tinge of provincialism in his pronunciation. This was probably not very obtrusive; but Dr. Johnson noticed it when he said to Boswell, "Sir, when people watch me narrowly, and I do not watch myself, they will find me out to be of a particular county. In the same manner Dunning may be found out to be a Devonshire man."† It may have been due in part to his physical defects that Dunning's powers as a parliamentary debater were less conspicuous in the early stage of his senatorial career than they afterwards appeared when they were invigorated by the bracing air of opposition. But it is more probable that he felt the embarrassment of his connection with Wilkes, and, notwithstanding his official position, he absented himself from the division on the motion for expelling the popular agitator from Parliament.

Early in 1770 Lord Shelburne withdrew from Lord North's administration, and Dunning announced that he only held the solicitor-generalship until a successor could be found. In May, 1770, he formally resigned on the appointment of Thurlow, who had entered Parliament in the same year as himself.

Before we follow Dunning to his place on the opposition benches, let us glance for a moment at some of his more domestic concerns.

The expenditure of a bachelor establishment, though dispensed on a liberal scale, still left an ample surplus at his bankers. Whether from a natural yearning towards his birthplace, or at the suggestion of his father, we find him

* *Law Magazine*, vol. vii. p. 331.

† Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, vol. i. p. 460.

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negotiating in 1769 for the purchase of the manors of Spitchwick and Widecombe, a few miles to the north of Ashburton. These estates had been devised by the Rev. John Wotton, in 1746, for a term of 99 years, and the residue of this term was now purchased by Dunning for £4,700. The manors and farms included in this purchase lie amidst the beautiful scenery which forms the south-eastern fringe of the moor. For many miles the winding Dart forms their western line of boundary against the Royal Forest. On the south lie Holne Chace and the romantic woods of Buckland. The pleasure which the new possessor calculated on finding in his purchase is revealed in the following letter, addressed to his only sister Mary, with whom, as with the other members of his family, he maintained an affectionate intercourse.*

"Lincoln's Inn, 16 March, 1769.

"My dear Sister,

"I have at length a few minutes' leisure to write to you, and I employ them to acknowledge the favour of your several notes, which I only wish were longer and more frequent. My cold, or rather the hoarseness which it occasioned, is almost gone, the cold quite so; and my professional attendances in Town, as well as my political ones, will, in a few days, have a respite for a fortnight; but the circuit is too far advanced for me to think of joining it now, though I may possibly return to it in the summer. I am not sure whether I shall not slip down to Bath again to fill up the interval there, as I think I profited by it at Christmas, but this is yet uncertain. Do you know that I have at length agreed for a Purchase at Withecombe, &c.? It is, however, an odd kind of Interest, a term of years of which I think 63 are to come, but I hope I shall be able to get the inheritance, and, in that case, we shall find planting-room enough, I believe, if we can prevail with Trees to grow. I fancy, tho' I don't particularly know my Purchase, it must include large tracts of barren land, and I don't like it the worse on that account, if it be capable of Improvement. Mr. F. and Mr. H., who (as well as Mrs. H.) are yet in Town, do not yet talk to me about Ingsdon. I fear they have drop'd their scheme of parting with it, which I am sorry for, as I fear we shall find nothing like a House at Withecombe. As soon as my purchase is completed, I shall desire you to survey and report to me what can be done with it, and, somehow or other, we must find some amusement about it or it won't answer. Pray let me know how you all do, and whether you have escaped the colds which the changeable weather has made very general here.

"Yours ever, J. D."

* The original letter is in the possession of Mr. R. Cranford, of Dartmouth.

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On, or very near, the site of the ancient chapel of St. Leonard, at Spitchwick, John Dunning erected a mansion-house, now the summer residence of Dr. Blackall, the present lord of the manor. He also planted extensively, and enclosed a large garden with huge blocks of granite. Spitchwick and Widecombe remained in the possession of Dunning's connections until the 99 years' term expired in 1845, when they reverted to the Cresswell family as the legal successors of the Rev. John Wotton. An anecdote connected with his acquisition of these manors amusingly illustrates what was thought of Dunning's roughness of demeanour by his professional brethren. In conversation with the witty "Jack Lee," afterwards solicitor-general, he was relating how he had just completed the purchase of some capital manors in Devonshire. "Aye, in Devonshire," said Lee, "but what a pity it is you can't bring these good manners to Westminster!"

It was while he held office as solicitor-general that Dunning undertook in the recess a journey to Berlin with Col. Isaac Barré, his friend and colleague in the representation of Calne. As distinguished members of the British Legislature the two friends received marked attention at the court of Frederick the Great. When presented by their proper titles, the military chiefs surrounding the throne of the soldier-king naturally concluded that a solicitor-general of England must occupy a high position in the British army. The latter part of the title they could understand, while the prefix of solicitor was doubtless some foreign equivalent to that of major or lieutenant. Clearly the proper way to entertain the English officers was to invite them to a grand review of the Prussian army. The invitation was issued with a courteous intimation that suitable means of conveyance to the field would be duly provided. At the appointed hour the two guests of royalty were ready; Col. Barré in full military costume, and Dunning as fully arrayed in court suit, bag wig, dress sword, and silk hose, with brilliant buckles at knee and instep. On descending to the door of the hotel the latter shrunk back with dismay at finding, instead of the expected chariot, two orderly dragoons holding the bridles of a couple of prancing chargers duly caparisoned for the field. Col. Barré was soon in the saddle; but it was not without some hesitation and the undignified help of the soldiers that the great lawyer succeeded in attaining a like elevation. Once wedged in the hollow of the demi-pique saddle, with its holsters in front, and its raised cantle behind, he felt tolerably secure. But your horse has a quick perception of the capacity of his rider, and the

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proud steed on which Dunning rode chose to exercise his own discretion with regard to his movements. To their unconcealed amusement the great Frederick and his staff were treated to an equestrian spectacle not set down in the programme of the day. Finding at last that these antics were getting somewhat too lively for him to cope with, poor Dunning was fain to beg for assistance in escaping from the back of his wilful quadruped, and the Prussian monarch and his suite became aware that their English allies had generals in Westminster Hall whose charges bore no affinity to charges in the field of war.

To resume, however, our view of Dunning in his appropriate sphere. No longer solicitor-general, not even a king's counsel, he resumed his old position outside the bar, but with a professional income estimated at the probably unprecedented sum of nearly £10,000 per annum. He had now for some time held the foremost place in the courts of law. For poor or oppressed clients he often pleaded gratuitously; and he was distinguished for the conscientious attention he gave to all cases confided to his advocacy, without regard to the amount of the fee endorsed on his briefs. He showed, however, the usual disinclination of a lawyer to engage in litigation on his own account. One night, on returning to his house at Fulham, his man related how he had just threatened his master's legal vengeance against a neighbouring farmer who had audaciously cut down two large trees in his boundary fence. Dunning's only reply was, "Then you must carry on the lawsuit yourself, John, for I shall not trouble myself about it."* Another instance of his aversion to engage in legal contention may be related on the authority of Mr. Perry, of Gulwell. Mr. Perry's grandfather had taken the law into his own hands by hanging some dogs that had worried his sheep. The owner, who lived in the parish of Holne, threatened an action, but was finally induced to leave a settlement in the hands of Counsellor Dunning, who decided that Perry should forfeit a rump of beef and a dozen of wine when called on. The penalty was no doubt exacted.

To the overwhelming amount of legal work laid on

* This servant was no doubt the John Hext of whom the following anecdote has been related to me by a lady of Ashburton. Being sent on an errand in London, he was asked by his master why he had lingered so long in the streets. "I was only listening to a man playing the crowd," replied John. "Crowd, John, crowd; you mustn't say crowd, you must say violin." On another occasion John, remembering his orders, was remonstrated with by his master for waiting about at the Temple Gate. "I was only waiting," replied John, "till the violin of people had gone by, sir."

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Dunning's shoulders were soon added the toils of political warfare as a member of the Opposition under his old leader, Lord Shelburne. With him acted Lord Camden, formerly Lord Chancellor, and a Devonian like himself. His colleague, Col. Barré, was also of the party whose alliance was now sought by the great Lord Chatham. Dunning's personal introduction to this eminent statesman was due to the peer through whose influence he held his seat in Parliament, and Chatham's first impressions of him are thus described in a letter addressed to Lord Shelburne on the 3rd of December, 1770, immediately after a private political meeting held at Shelburne House. "Mr. Dunning's visit yesterday has filled me with the highest satisfaction. He is another being from any that I have known of the profession. I will sum up his character as it strikes me upon the honour of a first conversation. Mr. Dunning is not a lawyer, at the same time that he is the law itself. Among the many things I owe your lordship, I am highly your debtor for the honour and pleasure of this gentleman's acquaintance. I had a singular satisfaction in seeing Lord Camden and him together, and being a hearer of so interesting and instructing a conversation."*

A few days later Lord Chatham's trust in Dunning was evinced in another letter, addressed to Lord Shelburne in reference to the ill-advised motion to clear the House of Lords—a motion directed ostensibly against "strangers," but really against members of the Commons, whom the peers desired to exclude from a debate on the defenceless condition of Gibraltar. On the 12th December, 1770, Chatham wrote: "You mentioned last night an alternative that was in Mr. Dunning's thoughts about the way of proceeding with regard to the insult offered to the House of Commons going up with a bill. I feel how ridiculous it would be to suggest anything to the man in England who best knows how to give clearness and solidity to whatever he touches. I am assured that first essential point will be secured by his unerring judgment."† The bitterness of this unseemly contest between the two Houses was shown by a motion by George Onslow in the Commons, that the House be cleared, "peers and all." Dunning sought to mitigate this violence by moving for a committee "to inspect the journals of the House of Lords of that day, as to what proceedings and resolutions were therein, with relation to the not permitting any person to be present in any part of the said House during the sitting

* *Chatham Correspondence*, vol. iv. p. 41.
† *Ibid*, p. 50.

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thereof." But these moderate counsels were negatived by a majority of forty to twenty-seven.

The opportunities for the display of Dunning's talents in debate followed in rapid succession. One of the first appearances of his rival Thurlow occurred during the session of 1771, on a memorable occasion of breach of privilege. An unfortunate printer had been arrested by order of the House for publishing its debates, and was taken before Brass Crosby, the Lord Mayor, and Alderman Oliver. These civic magistrates not only discharged the printer, but boldly committed to custody the officer of the House who had made the arrest. The Commons were incensed at the violation of their privileges, whilst the populace, instigated by Wilkes, waxed tumultuous in favour of the Lord Mayor and Alderman. By supporting a motion to send the magistrates to the Tower, Thurlow drew upon himself a scathing reply from Dunning, which may be quoted as a specimen of his parliamentary eloquence. "The people," said he, "will naturally enquire how we, their representatives, have executed our trust, and will as naturally execrate our names,

> 'If once we vilely turn that very power
> Which we derive from popular esteem
> To sap the bulwarks of the public freedom.'

Sir, the people have already opposed us by their magistrates, and they will oppose us further by their juries: though were we in fact as much respected as we are already despised, as much esteemed as we are universally detested, the establishment of tyranny in ourselves, who are appointed for no purpose but to repel it in others, would expose us to the abhorrence of every good Englishman. Let us therefore stop where we are; let us not justify oppression by oppression, nor forget our posterity, if we are regardless of our country. Let even the abject principle of self, which actuates, I fear, too many of my auditors, for once operate in the cause of virtue."* The House, however, was in no temper to yield to these enlightened counsels. The motions for the committal of the Lord Mayor and Oliver were carried by overwhelming majorities. But a memorable step had been taken in our constitutional history, and Dunning's part in it should be remembered to his honour. The principle for which he so eloquently contended was virtually established; and the right of publishing the debates of Parliament was never again questioned. His services in this controversy were recognized by the civic authorities, who publicly presented

* Lord CAMBELL'S *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. v. p. 505.

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him with the freedom of London in a splendid gold box. His letter to the City Chamberlain in acknowledging this gift has been thought by some to bear a striking resemblance to one of the famous letters of Junius. Some indeed have attributed to Dunning the authorship of these mysterious productions; but though there was much to favour this theory, the weight of internal evidence is against it; and Junius himself declared, "I am no lawyer by profession, nor do I pretend to be more deeply read than every English gentleman should be in the laws of his country."

"MR. CHAMBERLAIN,

"I am to request the favour of you to represent me to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of London, as duly sensible of the great but, I must add, unmerited honour they have done me; for surely, sir, there is little merit in acting on one's own opinions, and I cannot with a safe conscience pretend to any other.

"Convinced as I am that our happy constitution has given us the most perfect system of government the world has ever seen, and that it is therefore our common interest and duty to oppose every practice and combat every principle that tends to impair it, any other conduct than that which the city of London has been pleased to distinguish by its approbation must, in my own judgment, have rendered me equally unworthy of the office I had then the honour to hold through his Majesty's favour, and of the trust reposed in me as one of the representatives of the people.

"To discharge faithfully the duties of whatever situation we are placed in, is among the first objects of honest ambition. To be thought to have done so, I consider as a second. Consequently, I cannot but feel a high degree of satisfaction in this testimony of the good opinion of so respectable a body as the citizens of London; and it is no inconsiderable addition to that satisfaction that it gives me a nearer relation to men who have been usually among the foremost to assert and maintain those legal and constitutional rights which are essential to the general interests of the community.

"I have nothing to add, sir, but my acknowledgment to you for the obliging expressions you have used in executing your commission.

"*27th March*, 1771." "J. DUNNING.

In 1773, Dunning's parliamentary powers were again tested in the animated debates on the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. It is difficult, in these days of more advanced toleration, to realize the fact that the Tudor law, which proscribed the exercise of all but one form of religion, was still, little more than a century ago, enforced in all its rigour against that

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considerable body of British subjects who adhered to the Romish faith. This jealousy entertained against its professors was perhaps intelligible, if not excusable, in a State which had constitutionally associated itself with a church formed or re-formed by casting off many of those parasitical abuses which had overgrown it in the mediæval centuries. But the time had arrived when the rights conceded to other nonconformists could no longer be denied to the Roman Catholics. They had long submitted in patience, but at length, on the 1st of May, 1773, they presented an address to the Crown, praying for relief as loyal subjects, sincerely recognizing their duty to the Government, and their attachment to the constitution of their country. On the 14th of the same month, Sir George Saville, seconded by Dunning, brought in a bill to relieve them from some at least of the penalties to which they were amenable. These penalties included "the punishment of priests or jesuits who should be found to teach or officiate in the services of their church, such acts being felony in foreigners, and high treason in natives of the realm; the forfeitures of Popish heirs, who had received their education abroad, and whose estates went to the next Protestant heir; the power given to the son, or other nearest relative, being a Protestant, to take possession of his father's or kinsman's estate during the life of the rightful owner; and the debarring of Roman Catholics from the power of acquiring legal property by any other means than by descent. Some of these penalties, said Dunning, had now ceased to be necessary, and others were at all times a disgrace to human nature. They were imposed (this, indeed, is the only palliation for them) in the reign of William, when the people had so lately escaped the danger, and were still impressed with the dread of Popery. It might be said in their defence that in general they had not been put in execution, but in some instances they had; and Sir George Saville declared himself cognisant of cases in which Romanists were living, not only under terror, but even under pecuniary payments to informers, in consequence of the powers that the law conferred."*

When, five years later, Edmund Burke presented himself for re-election to his constituents at Bristol, he defended the course taken by himself in promoting this measure, and referred, in one of the finest passages of a memorable speech, to the action of his friend Mr. Dunning. After a high eulogium on Sir George Saville, he proceeded to declare that "the seconder was worthy of the mover and the motion. I

* Lord MAHON'S *History*, vol. vi. p. 360.

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was not the seconder," he continued, "it was Mr. Dunning, the Recorder of this city. I shall say the less of him, because his near relation to you makes you more particularly acquainted with his merits. But I should appear little acquainted with them, or little sensible of them, if I could utter his name on this occcasion without expressing my esteem for his character. I am not afraid of offending a most learned body, and most jealous of its reputation for that learning, when I say he is the first of his profession. It is a point settled by those who settle everything else; and I must add (what I am enabled to say from my own long and close observation) that there is not a man of any profession, or in any situation, of a more erect and independent spirit; of a more proud honour; a more manly mind; a more firm and determined integrity. Assure yourselves that the names of two such men will bear a great load of prejudice in the other scale before they can be entirely outweighed."

"With this mover and this seconder agreed the *whole* House of Commons, the *whole* House of Lords, the *whole* bench of bishops, the king, the ministry, the opposition; all the distinguished clergy of the establishment, all the eminent lights (for they were consulted) of the dissenting churches. This according voice of national wisdom ought to be listened to with reverence."*

In the hot debates on the American war, Dunning steadily advocated a course similar to that which is now adopted as the settled policy of English colonial ministers. In these debates he had more than once come into conflict with his old antagonist Thurlow. On one occasion he strongly objected to the term "rebels," as applied by Lord North. This roused Thurlow to a vehement onslaught upon the colonists. After enumerating a fearful list of their breaches of allegiance, he wound up by exclaiming, "Now, sir, if this is not rebellion, I desire the honourable and learned gentleman to tell us what is rebellion." He maintained that they were rebels, and ought to be treated as such.

This antagonism did not diminish the personal respect with which Thurlow always regarded his rival, for when, in 1779, he gave his first dinner as Lord Chancellor, he called on Dunning to take the place of honour at his right hand. As his guest hesitated, Thurlow, with his usual bluntness, insisted on his not keeping the dinner cooling in this way.

An instance of Dunning's sharpness of repartee occurred in the course of the American debates. Chatham had moved

* Burke's *Works*, vol. iii. p. 394.

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an Address to the Crown urging a more conciliatory mode of dealing with the revolted colonists. The motion was ably upheld by Lords Shelburne, Camden, and Rockingham, and they were supported by the vote of the Duke of Cumberland, who had openly joined the ranks of the opposition. His Royal Highness was one day complimenting Dr. Price as the author of a powerful pamphlet in favour of the Americans. "I sat up to read it last night," said the duke, "so late that it had almost blinded me!" "On the greater part of the nation," observed Dunning, who was standing by, "it has had exactly the opposite effect; it has opened their eyes!" *

Although Dunning was now but little more than forty years old, the toils of political and professional labour were evidently telling upon a frame never robust. At the end of 1772, Lord Shelburne remarked to Chatham that he feared "Mr. Dunning was too well; that is, well enough to be tempted to return to business next term contrary to the advice of his friends;" and Lord Chatham's reply to this, dated from Burton Pynsent on the 5th of January, 1773, affords further proof of the estimation in which he held his legal colleague. "I hope," writes his lordship, "that reason and persuasion will triumph over this sally of returning health. If Mr. Dunning can for a time forego the bar, he may live long and prolong the life of the declining constitution of our country, and most probably will one day raise up again the Great Seal. How many professors of the law he may chance to outlive gives me no solicitude; I only pray he may not outlive the law itself, a danger perhaps not quite visionary."†

But with all his heavy public and legal duties, Dunning found time to mix freely with the best society, and he especially delighted in associating with the keenest wits and foremost men in the literary and artistic circles of the age. The days of sevenpenny dinners at the Chancery Lane eating-house had been left far behind. He now rejoiced in the possession of a country retreat at Fulham, to which it was his pleasure to resort on Saturday nights with a few congenial friends, whom he would entertain with liberal hospitality, till Monday morning recalled the party to their several engagements in town. What manner of men they were with whom Dunning thus sought relaxation we may

* Lord Mahon's *History*, vol. vi p. 34.

† Lord Chatham here alludes to old Serjeant Maynard's reply to the Prince of Orange on his having outlived the great lawyers of his time. "Yes, sir, and I should have outlived the law itself, if your Highness had not come over to our assistance."

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readily form a notion, when we remember that he was a member of the literary club founded in 1764 by his friend Dr. Johnson. "This club," we are reminded by Lord Macaulay, "gradually became a formidable power in the commonwealth of letters. The verdicts pronounced by this conclave on new books were speedily known over all London, and were sufficient to sell off a whole edition in a day, or to condemn the sheets to the service of the trunk-maker and the pastry-cook. Nor shall we think this strange when we consider what great and various talents met in the little fraternity. Goldsmith was the representative of poetry and light literature, Reynolds of the arts, Burke of political eloquence and political philosophy. There too were Gibbon, the greatest historian, and Jones, the greatest linguist of the age. Garrick brought to the meetings his inexhaustible pleasantry, his incomparable mimicry, and his consummate knowledge of stage effect."* Amongst such companions Dunning was well calculated to shine. That Johnson and he entertained a mutual admiration of each other's talents is evinced by a conversation between the great doctor and his satellite. "I told him," writes Boswell, "that I had talked of him to Mr. Dunning a few days before, and had said that in his company we did not so much interchange conversation as listen to him; and that Dunning observed upon this, 'One is always willing to listen to Dr. Johnson.' To which I answered, 'That is a great deal from you, sir.' 'Yes, sir' (said Johnson), 'a great deal indeed. Here is a man willing to listen, to whom the world is listening all the rest of the year.'"†

Now and then Dunning's home associations were revived by a visit from his father; and once at least his mother ventured on the long journey to London to look after her son's domestic concerns. But so far from manifesting any gratification at the proofs of John's social advancement, the good lady took him roundly to task for his shameful extravagance of living. It was to no purpose he urged that the variety of costly dishes, the choice wines, the delicate cookery, and the ample service were fully justified by an income of ten thousand a year. The careful matron would not be convinced, and would remain no longer to countenance doings that must certainly end in ruin. The effect on the father was of a different kind. The pride of the Ashburton attorney was kindled by all this display of luxury. He found his fondest parental ambition far more than realized, and prob-

* Macaulay's "Biography of Johnson" in *Encyclopædia Britannica*.
† Boswell's *Life of Johnson*.

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ably felt even more gratification at his son's position than did the son himself. It is said that during a visit to London he had occasion to call at one of the Inns of Court to sign the usual bond for a young friend about to enter into commons. The sub-treasurer, noticing the name, enquired if he bore any relationship to the great Mr. Dunning. "I am John Dunning's father, sir," was the reply, as the old man drew himself up with a flush of pride. The parents, however, were not destined to behold the full development of their son's career. Mrs. Dunning died in 1771, while her husband survived her till December, 1780. Both were buried at Ashburton; and their daughter Mary continued to lead a tranquil spinster life at the old house in West Street till she too died, and was laid by her parents and her illustrious brother in 1817.

John Dunning was nearly fifty years old before his thoughts were seriously turned towards matrimony. It may be fairly conjectured that during his circuit journeys he had formed the acquaintance of Mr. John Baring, one of the many woollen merchants then flourishing in Exeter. This gentleman was the posthumous son of Dr. Franz Baring, of Bremen, and had come to Exeter, in 1720, to learn the business of serge-making. In 1723 he became a naturalized British subject; and in 1729 he was fortunate in a marriage with Elizabeth Vowler, daughter of an opulent grocer of Exeter. Aided by his wife's shrewd wit and business-like talents, Mr. Baring rapidly attained to affluence, and at his comparatively early death, in 1748, he left two sons, who founded the great house of Baring Brothers, and one daughter, Elizabeth. This young lady was about half his age when she was married to John Dunning at the little rustic church of St. Leonard's-by-Exeter on the 31st of March, 1780.* The bridegroom was at this juncture ardently engaged in fomenting a ministerial crisis, and the wedding tour must have consisted in a hurried journey to the metropolis; for exactly one week after his marriage, Dunning brought forward in committee of the House of Commons his famous motion, "That it is the opinion of this committee that the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." After a fierce debate, he succeeded—for it was mainly his task—in carrying the motion by a majority of eighteen.

* This little church was replaced by the present structure in 1832. The parish register records the marriage on the above date of "John Dunning, of Spitchwick Park, Devon, Esq, and Elizabeth Baring, of St. Leonard, spinster." Witnesses, S. Short and John Baring. The latter was the bride's eldest brother, and was then M.P. for Exeter.

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Dunning followed up this by supplementary propositions asserting the right of the House to control every department of public expenditure, and that the purity and independence of Parliament required the production of periodical accounts of all sums payable to its members out of the public funds. Though still successful in carrying these motions by bare majorities, the efforts of the ministerial party were strenuously exerted to prevent the passage of a subsequent motion for an Address to the Crown praying that Parliament might be neither prorogued nor dissolved until the popular grievances set forth in numerous petitions before the House had been redressed. Lord North succeeded in parrying this attack upon his administration by a majority of fifty-one, and the ministerial victory was confirmed by a majority of forty-six against Dunning's motion for the disqualification of certain office-bearers in the royal household for seats in Parliament. To comprehend the full significance of this contest, it must be remembered that discontent prevailed throughout the kingdom to a dangerous degree. The people were restive under taxation arising out of the war with the American colonists—a war which had been conducted without credit, and had ended without success to the mother country. The popular resentment had been increased by the lavish bestowal of sinecure places on undeserving men, by numerous abuses of the pension list, and by a careless, if not corrupt, expenditure in every department of the government. Indignant meetings were held in the great centres of population, and the House was inundated with petitions from all parts of the country. The Parliament had reached the sixth year of its existence, and as it must shortly expire, the Opposition desired to appeal to the country at a general election with the popular cry of Economical Reform. But a dissolution took place with a suddenness for which the Opposition were unprepared, and the general election of 1780 resulted in re-establishing the majority by which Lord North held power. This power, however, was of brief duration. On the 15th of March, 1782, a direct motion of want of confidence, though negatived by a majority of nine, proved fatal to the administration; and the Premier, fearing the result of another attack, announced the resignation of his ministry. Thus after twelve years passed in "the cold shade of opposition," the Whigs entered once more on the responsibilities and prizes of office. The formation of a new administration was undertaken by the Marquis of Rockingham. Lord Shelburne became a Secretary of State; and through the intervention of this

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steadfast friend, Dunning's exertions in securing the triumph of his party were rewarded by a coronet. His patent of nobility bore date the 8th of April, 1782; and thus the gifted lawyer, whom we have hitherto known, and who will always be best remembered as plain John Dunning, rose by a single step to the peerage as Baron Ashburton. Six days later he acquired a seat in the Cabinet as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

It might have been better for Lord Ashburton's future fame if his ambition had rested satisfied with this brilliant reward. Up to this time he could boast that every guinea of his enormous fortune had been earned by his own incessant industry. None had denounced more vigorously than he the bestowal of sinecures and exorbitant pensions, and now he not only accepted a sinecure office, the abolition of which he had repeatedly urged, but when the Marquis of Rockingham's death placed Lord Shelburne in the position of Prime Minister, he accepted the enormous pension of £4,000 per annum. It would be going too far to assert, as some have done, that this blemish upon Lord Ashburton's fame presents no palliating feature. The fact that his prudence had preserved the fruit of his toil afforded no just reason for stinting any political reward to which he was entitled. He accepted a subordinate office in the Cabinet when he might fairly have aspired to the Great Seal; and had he been appointed Lord Chancellor of England, instead of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, the office would have carried with it still greater emoluments.

There is but little to record of Lord Ashburton's achievements in the Upper House. In his case, as in many others, the peculiar talents which had been displayed to advantage in the Commons were less adapted for the serener atmosphere of the Lords. His powers were subdued by failing health, and at the age of fifty-one his constitution was already broken. The loss of the elder of his infant sons in April, 1783, was a heavy blow to his affectionate nature, and aggravated his natural tendency to paralysis. He had been accustomed to spend a few weeks of every summer at Spitchwick, or at some watering-place on the coast of his native county. In the summer of 1783 Lord Ashburton was advised to try once more the invigorating effect of sea breezes. Travelling westward by easy stages, he met at Bagshot his old competitor, the attorney-general Wallace, on his way to London for medical advice. The circumstances of their meeting were not happy, but nevertheless the evening was

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passed cheerfully in recalling the incidents of many a keen forensic and political encounter, and the two friends parted after supper with the expression of mutual hopes that their intercourse might be renewed in the next winter. But these hopes were not to be realized. Wallace lingered till November, but Dunning expired at Exmouth on the 18th of August, 1783, after repeated attacks of paralysis. His remains lie interred in a vault of Ashburton Church, where a marble tablet on the wall of the south aisle bears an inscription to his memory, which is said to be the production of his friend Dr. Johnson.

IN MEMORY OF
JOHN DUNNING, LORD ASHBURTON,
A NATIVE OF THIS TOWN,
WHO BY HIS PRIVATE VIRTUES
UNITED WITH THE EXERTION OF RARE AND EXCELLENT TALENTS,
ROSE TO THAT PRE-EMINENCE
WHICH NEITHER BIRTH NOR TITLES CAN BESTOW.
HE MARRIED ELIZABETH, DAUGHTER OF JOHN BARING, ESQ.,
BY WHOM HE HAD TWO SONS,
JOHN AND RICHARD BARRE: THE YOUNGEST OF
WHICH ONLY SURVIVED HIM.
HE DIED 18TH AUGUST, 1783. AGED 51.

The title, and a fortune estimated at £180,000, now devolved on Lord Ashburton's sole surviving child, then fifteen months old, and named Richard Barré Dunning, in compliment to Col. Barré, his father's old friend and associate in the representation of Calne. The second lord developed as he grew up considerable literary taste, and is best known by his *Genealogical History of the Royal House of France*, published after his decease. This rare and sumptuous volume, a copy of which is in the excellent library of the Devon and Exeter Institution, must have been the fruit of many years of industrious research. His lordship married, on the 17th September, 1805, Anne, the daughter of William Cunninghame, Esq., of Lambshaw, in Argyleshire, and through her became allied with the Cranstoun family, to whom a large portion of his ample possessions passed at his death, without issue, in February, 1823.* Thus ended the ennobled line of the

* Mr. Cunninghame married, in 1780, Margaret, one of the daughters of George, youngest son of William, fifth Baron Cranstoun. It is believed that the late Lord Cranstoun became owner of the second Lord Ashburton's landed estates under his will or that of his widow, though neither were actually related to the Cranstoun family.

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family of Dunning; but the title of Baron Ashburton was afterwards revived in the allied race of Baring, by whom it is still supported with credit and dignity.

In reviewing the story of his life, one is so forcibly reminded of the many points of similarity between Dunning and the great Athenian orator, as to be tempted to claim for him the title of the Demosthenes of Devonshire. His insignificant person, his defects of voice and manner, and the absence of a liberal education in youth, were special obstacles in his way. Nor must it be forgotten that circumstances confined his opportunities of acquiring fame almost exclusively to his practice as an advocate in the courts of law, and to his position as a member of parliament without office. He had not the chance afforded to his cotemporaries, Pratt and Thurlow and Mansfield, of filling any of those judicial appointments which of themselves confer on the holder a place in history; and there are but few instances, like those of Dunning and Follett of our own county, in which lawyers have been able to secure permanent distinction, unless they have attained it on the bench as well as at the bar. That Dunning should have succeeded in doing so is a proof that his talents as a lawyer were of the highest order. Nearly the whole of his parliamentary career being passed in opposition, he had no opportunity of displaying such administrative powers as he possessed, and yet he could always command the respect and rivet the attention of the House, not merely by his argumentative skill and the ever fresh and original style of his eloquence, but by his dignity, his high patriotism, and his profound constitutional knowledge. In the highest flights of oratory, and in broad statesmanship, he ranks below Burke and Pitt and the giants of that age; but he was a bright particular star of the second magnitude.

We are fortunately in possession of a minute analysis of Lord Ashburton's character from the pen of one who not only knew him intimately, but who was of all men best qualified to form a clear judgment, and to state it in effective language. Sir William Jones's essay on this subject is so complete, and is so far superior to any summary that I can furnish, and moreover the series of volumes in which it occurs is so rarely to be met with, that I venture to submit it to the reader in the form of an appendix. It is necessary, however, to remember that the distinguished writer's admiration of his friend's character was warmed by the sense of favours obtained through his influence. On setting sail for India with his bride, just five months before Lord Ashburton's

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death, Sir William wrote him a letter teeming with expressions of gratitude to the author of his fortunes, and acknowledging that he had long accustomed himself to set the highest value on every word he spoke and every line he wrote.* But, with due allowance for the warmth of interested eulogy, Sir William Jones's analysis of the character of Lord Ashburton is the best monument that has been constructed to his memory. The town in which we are assembled has just reason to point with pride to the fact, that in the brief space of a single generation she produced Dunning, Gifford, Ireland—and the greatest of these was Dunning.

APPENDIX I.

THE CHARACTER OF JOHN, LORD ASHBURTON.

Sir William Jones's *Works* (1799), vol. iv. p. 577.

THE public are here presented, not with a fine picture, but a faithful portrait; with the character of a memorable and illustrious man, not in the style of panegyric on a monument, but in the language of sober truth, which friendship itself could not induce the writer to violate.

John Dunning (a name to which no title could add lustre) possessed professional talents which may truly be called inimitable; for, besides their superlative excellence, they were peculiarly his own; and as it would scarcely be possible to copy them, so it is hardly probable that nature or education will give them to another. His language was always pure, always elegant; and the best words dropped easily from his lips into the best places with a fluency at all times astonishing, and, when he had perfect health, really melodious. His style of speaking consisted of all the turns, oppositions, and figures which the old rhetoricians taught, and which Cicero frequently practised, but which the austere and solemn spirit of Demosthenes refused to adopt from his first master, and seldom admitted into his orations, political or forensic.

Many on the bar and at the bench thought this a vitiated style; but though dissatisfied as critics, yet, to the confusion of all criticism, they were transported as hearers. That faculty however, in which no mortal ever surpassed him, and which all found irresistible, was his wit. This relieved the weary, calmed the resentful, and animated the drowsy; this drew smiles even from such as were the objects of it, scattered flowers over a desert, and, like sunbeams sparkling on a lake, gave spirit and vivacity to the dullest and least interesting cause.

* See Lord TEIGNMOUTH'S *Life of Sir William Jones*, p. 281.

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Not that his accomplishments as an advocate consisted principally in volubility of speech or liveliness of raillery. He was endued with an intellect sedate yet penetrating, clear yet profound, subtle yet strong. His knowledge, too, was equal to his imagination, and his memory to his knowledge. He was not less deeply learned in the sublime principles of jurisprudence, and the particular laws of his country, than accurately skilled in the minute but useful practice of all our different courts. In the nice conduct of a complicated cause no piece of evidence could escape his vigilant attention, no shade of argument could elude his comprehensive reason. Perhaps the vivacity of his imagination sometimes prompted him to sport where it would have been wiser to argue; and perhaps the exactness of his memory sometimes induced him to answer such remarks as hardly deserved notice, and to enlarge on small circumstances which added little to the weight of his argument; but those only who have experienced can in any degree conceive the difficulty of exciting all the mental faculties in one instant, when the least deliberation might lose the tide of action irrecoverably. The people seldom err in appreciating the character of speakers; and those clients who were too late to engage Dunning on their side never thought themselves secure of success, while those against whom he was engaged were always apprehensive of a defeat.

As a lawyer he knew that Britain could only be happily governed on the principles of her constitutional or public law; that the regal power was limited, and popular rights ascertained by it; but that the aristocracy had no other power than that which too naturally results from property, and which laws ought rather weaken than fortify. He was therefore an equal supporter of just prerogatives and of national freedom, weighing both in the noble balance of our recorded constitution.

An able and aspiring statesman, who professed the same principles, had the wisdom to solicit, and merit to obtain, the friendship of this great man; and a connection planted originally on the firm ground of similarity in political sentiments, ripened into personal affection which nothing but death could have dissolved or impaired. Whether in his ministerial station he might not suffer a few prejudices insensibly to creep on his mind, as the best men have suffered because they were men, may admit of a doubt; but if ever prejudiced, he was never uncandid; and though pertinacious in all his opinions, he had great indulgence for such as differed from him.

His sense of honour was lofty and heroic, his integrity stern and inflexible; and though he had a strong inclination to splendour of life, with a taste for all the elegances of society, yet no love of dignity, of wealth, or of pleasure could have tempted him to deviate in a single instance from the straight line of truth and honesty.

He carried his democratical principles even into social life, where

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he claimed no more of the conversation than his just share, and was always candidly attentive when it was his turn to be a hearer. His enmities were strong yet placable; but his friendships were eternal; and if his affections ever subdued his judgment, it must have been in cases where the fame or interest of a friend were nearly concerned. The veneration with which he constantly treated his father, whom his fortune and reputation had made the happiest of mortals, could be equalled only by the amiable tenderness which he showed as a parent. He used to speak with wonder and abhorrence of Swift, who was not ashamed to leave a written declaration "that he could never be fond of children;" and with applause of the Caliph who on the eve of a decisive battle, which was won by his valour and wisdom, amused himself in his tent with seeing his children ride on his scimitar and play with his turban, and dismissed a general, as unlikely to treat the army with lenity, who durst reprove him for so natural and innocent a recreation.

For some months before his death the nursery had been his chief delight, and gave him more pleasure than the Cabinet could have afforded. But his parental affection, which had been a source of so much felicity, was probably a cause of his fatal illness. He had lost one son, and expected to lose the other, when the author of this painful tribute to his memory parted from him with tears in his eyes, little hoping to see him again in a perishable state.

As he perceives without affectation that his tears now steal from him, and begin to moisten the paper on which he writes, he reluctantly leaves a subject which he could not soon have exhausted; and when he also shall resign his life to the great Giver of it, he desires no other decoration of his humble gravestone than this honourable truth:

> With none to flatter, none to recommend,
> Dunning approved and marked him as a friend.

APPENDIX II.

DUNNING PORTRAITS.

THERE are three known oil portraits of Dunning; one, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1773, was presented by Thomas Baring, Esq., M.P., to the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery in 1860, and was formerly in the possession of Lady Ashburton. It represents Dunning down to the waist, looking towards the right, dressed in a stuff gown, with wig and bands—the wig being the ordinary one of the period, and not a counsellor's wig as now worn. The features are so presented to view as to mitigate their defects, and this has caused them to assume rather a weak aspect. The picture is protected by glass; and I was informed by the Director

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of the Gallery (George Scharf, Esq., F.S.A., to whose courtesy I am much indebted) that the Baring family are in possession of the agreement by which Sir Joshua specially bound himself to paint this portrait in durable colours, as it was intended to send it to India.

The portrait was admirably engraved in stipple by Francis Bartolozzi in 1787. Size, 8 by 6½ inches, the form being oval, and not square as in the original.*

In 1782 Sir Joshua Reynolds painted Dunning in a group with two of his principal political friends. This picture is on canvas 58½ by 86½ inches, and represents Lord Ashburton in his robes as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (?). By his side stands Col. Barré, in plain dress, with one hand resting on a table. The other figure is that of Lord Shelburne, seated in his robes of the Garter, with his face turned towards his friends.† In this picture Dunning's features are older—more marked and expressive than in the earlier portrait by Sir Joshua mentioned above. The scornful turn of the upper lip is more decided, and the countenance more fully bears out the description given by his cotemporaries of Dunning's personal appearance. This picture is in the possession of Lord Northbrook, and was by him lent for exhibition last winter in the Royal Academy's collection of works of the old masters and of deceased masters of the British School.

The full length figure of Lord Ashburton in this picture was engraved by F. Bartolozzi in the mixed manner in 1790. Size, 16¾ by 13¼ inches. A smaller copy of this engraving was executed by William Bond, and dedicated to Thomas Erskine, Lord Erskine, by John Britton and William Bond, who published it in 1809. The whole group was also engraved in mezzotinto (size, 26 by 18 inches) by William Ward, and is usually misnamed "Portraits of the Baring family."

Besides the two paintings mentioned above there was a third in the possession of the late Lord Cranstoun, which is said to have represented Lord Ashburton and his sister Mary. At Lord Cranstoun's decease this was offered for sale to the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery, but declined, as they already possessed a genuine likeness by Sir J. Reynolds. It was recently, and may probably still be, at the residence of the Dowager Lady Cranstoun, Duncroft Lodge, St. John's Wood.

An excellent likeness of Dunning, in crayons, by an unknown artist, is in the possession of a lady of Ashburton. It bears the initials J. D., and the date 1780.

* See *Catalogue Raisonné of the Engraved Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds from* 1755–1820. By Edward Hamilton, M.D. Colnaghi. 1874.

† See *Life and Times of Sir Joshua Reynolds.* By C. R. Leslie, R.A., and Tom Taylor, Esq. Murray. 1865.

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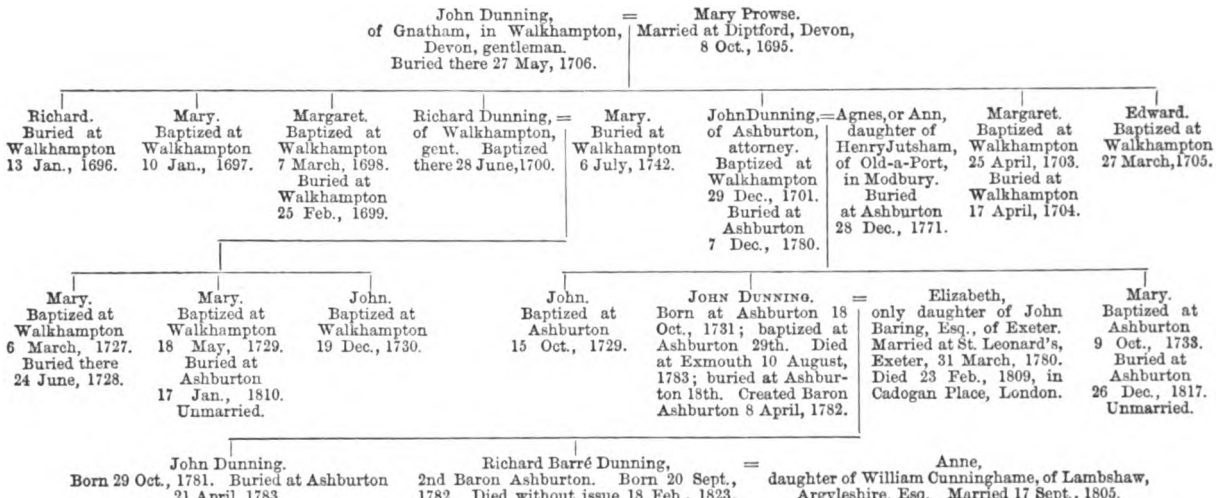
APPENDIX III.

DUNNING PEDIGREE.


John Dunning, of Gnatham, in Walkhampton, Devon, gentleman. Buried there 27 May, 1706.
=
Mary Prowse. Married at Diptford, Devon, 8 Oct., 1695.
Richard. Buried at Walkhampton 13 Jan., 1696.
Mary. Baptized at Walkhampton 10 Jan., 1697.
Margaret. Baptized at Walkhampton 7 March, 1698. Buried at Walkhampton 25 Feb., 1699.
Richard Dunning, of Walkhampton, gent. Baptized there 28 June, 1700.
=
Mary. Buried at Walkhampton 6 July, 1742.
John Dunning, of Ashburton, attorney. Baptized at Walkhampton 29 Dec., 1701. Buried at Ashburton 7 Dec., 1780.
=
Agnes, or Ann, daughter of Henry Jutsham, of Old-a-Port, in Modbury. Buried at Ashburton 28 Dec., 1771.
Margaret. Baptized at Walkhampton 25 April, 1703. Buried at Walkhampton 17 April, 1704.
Edward. Baptized at Walkhampton 27 March, 1705.
Mary. Baptized at Walkhampton 6 March, 1727. Buried there 24 June, 1728.
Mary. Baptized at Walkhampton 18 May, 1729. Buried at Ashburton 17 Jan., 1810. Unmarried.
John. Baptized at Walkhampton 19 Dec., 1730.
John. Baptized at Ashburton 15 Oct., 1729.
John Dunning. Born at Ashburton 18 Oct., 1731; baptized at Ashburton 29th. Died at Exmouth 10 August, 1783; buried at Ashburton 18th. Created Baron Ashburton 8 April, 1782.
=
Elizabeth, only daughter of John Baring, Esq., of Exeter. Married at St. Leonard's, Exeter, 31 March, 1780. Died 23 Feb., 1809, in Cadogan Place, London.
Mary. Baptized at Ashburton 9 Oct., 1733. Buried at Ashburton 26 Dec., 1817. Unmarried.
John Dunning. Born 29 Oct., 1781. Buried at Ashburton 21 April, 1783.
Richard Barré Dunning, 2nd Baron Ashburton. Born 20 Sept., 1782. Died without issue 18 Feb., 1823.
=
Anne, daughter of William Cunninghame, of Lambshaw, Argyleshire, Esq. Married 17 Sept., 1805.

Arms of Dunning.—Bendy, sinister of eight, or and vert. A lion ramp. sable.

Crest.—An antelope's head couped proper, attired or.

Supporters.—Two antelopes proper, attired, hoofed and charged on the breast with an acorn slipped proper, and gorged with collars; bendy of eight, or and vert.

Motto.—Studiis et rebus honestis.

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DEVONSHIRE TOKENS.

Part III.

BY H. S. GILL.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

Since my last paper on "Devonshire Tokens," vol. vi. p. 159, ten more specimens of the seventeenth century series belonging to this county have been discovered, which were not before known to the large collectors of London and elsewhere. One only of them passed for a halfpenny, the rest were farthings. Before I proceed to describe them, it may be noted that a leaden token attributed in a previous paper (see vol. v. p. 232, No. 117) to a female issuer, "Mary Moore," has since been found to be a sacrament token, struck for the use of the communicants of St. Mary Major, Exeter. That church was formerly called "Mary Moore," also "Mary the Moor" (see Dr. Oliver's *History of Exeter*, p. 121), which Mr. W. Cotton suggests may have been a corruption of S. Marie-la-Mère.

The token (which I have lately bought) reads thus:

O. MARY . MOORE . 1651 — EXON . (across field)
R. DRINK . YEE . ALL . OF . THIS — A communion cup.

At that date Exeter was in the hands of the Puritans, and as the Presbyterians had then the ascendancy, it is probable their form of worship was adopted at St. Mary Major's.

In the Presbyterian Church it has always been the rule, even down to the present time, that no person shall be permitted to partake of the sacrament who does not bring with him or her a metallic check, previously procured from the church officers, which is given up to the elders when the communicants come forward to take their place at the Lord's-table; and doubtless this interesting token was one of those so used at the sacred ordinance, 225 years ago.

Referring to another token, by Thomas Powell, Plymouth, described in vol. vi. p. 162, No. 312, as having the two last figures of the date illegible, it has been found since, from a more perfect specimen, to have been struck in 1669.

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SEVENTEENTH CENTURY DEVONSHIRE TOKENS NOT IN PREVIOUS LISTS.

BOVEY TRACEY.

320. *O.* WILLIAM . PERIAM — An axe with handle.
R. IN . BOVEY . TRACY — W . A . P ¼

This token is in the Royal Albert Museum, Exeter, and is included in the valuable collection of gold, silver, and copper coins bequeathed to the Museum by the late Mr. Henry Matthews, of Bradninch. The writer is indebted to the worthy curator for the above description. It is the only token known to have been issued at Bovey Tracey. The Periams are an ancient and noted family in the annals of Exeter, and some respectable members of it are still residing in the county.

CREDITON.

321. *O.* IONATHAN . FRYER — Arms in shield.
R. OF . CREDITON . 1668 — I . T . F ¼

This token is thus described in a MS. list of old coins in the library of the Numismatic Society, London; and a specimen was recently shown to the curator of the Exeter Museum which exactly corresponded to the above description of it.

EXETER.

322. O. ELIZABETH . HAKENS — 1663
R. IN . EXETER — E . H ¼

It is probable this may be a corruption of Hawkins, which is a common Devonshire name. This hitherto unknown token was presented to the writer by a gentleman of Guildford, who cannot remember how or when it came into his possession. It is the only specimen known to exist.

323. *O.* WILL . POPLESTON — The Grocers' Arms.
R. IN . EXON . 1663 — W . P ¼

This specimen was acquired by the late Mr. A. G. Beer, of Exeter, a short time before his death.

HONITON.

324. *O.* IOHN . HALL — 1667
R. IN . HONYTON — I . R . H ¼

John Hall issued a token in 1663 (see *ante*, vol. v. p. 234, No. 154), but when four years afterwards his stock became exhausted, he sent out a fresh issue; but it is evident he made the same die serve, only altering the date of the year. I have both dates in my collection.

ORESTON.

325. *O.* WILLIAM . AND . ARTHVR — A man.
R. COLLINGS . OF . ORSON — W . A . C ¼

This token, which is in the Museum of the Royal Institution, Truro, was issued at Oreston, an old populous hamlet in the parish of Plymstock, near Plymouth. The place is still locally pronounced as it is spelt in the phonetic style on the coin.

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PLYMOUTH.

326. *O.* EDWARD . GEFFERY — The arms of Plymouth.
R. IN . PLYMOTH . 1664 — E . E . G ¼

We learn from Mr. R. N. Worth's *History of Plymouth* that a William Geffery was mayor of the borough in 1657-58. He may have been the father or elder brother of the issuer. The token is in the Exeter Museum.

SOUTH MOLTON.

327. *O.* EDWARD . BROAD — The Mercers' Arms.
R. IN . SOVTH . MOVLTON — E . M . B ¼

Two months ago the writer was in the coin and medal-room of the British Museum. He went there to enquire if they had in their large collection of above five thousand seventeenth century tokens a specimen of the rhyming token, issued by Edward Broad, of South Molton, described in our *Transactions* for 1872 (page 239), and which the writer has recently bought. This rhyming token (the only one known of Devonshire) was *not* there; but they had the above farthing by the same issuer, which the authorities kindly permitted to be copied. It was not known before that such a token existed, and the writer believes that if the authorities of the museum were to adopt the same plan as Mr. Boyne did in his excellent work on *Tokens issued in the Seventeenth Century in England, Wales, and Ireland by Corporations, Merchants, Tradesmen, &c.* (London, J. R. Smith, 1858), many more unpublished specimens might be found in that fine national collection; but instead of having the counties kept separate, with the names of the towns in alphabetical order, and the issuers of the said towns under them, as in Boyne, the counties and towns are ignored, and the whole collection is arranged alphabetically, according to the issuers' names, with the towns and counties mixed up in the most heterogeneous manner. The consequence is, that on one side of Edward Broad, of South Molton, comes Ann Broad, of Southwark, and on the other side "George Broadbent, in Sheffield," which it is self-evident is not so good an arrangement as that adopted by Boyne.

TIVERTON.

328. *O.* AT . THE . RED . LION — A lion rampant.
R. IN TIVRTON (*sic*) 1657 — T . I ¼

This token, in the collection of the writer, is a very interesting one, the inn, with the same old sign, having been in existence for more than two hundred years. The name of the issuer represented by the initials T . I . is not now known.

UFFCULME.

329. *O.* ION . . . AN . BERELD — HIS . HALFEPENY.
R. OF . VFCVLME . 1671 — I . M . B ½

This is the third token of Uffculme that has turned up since Mr. Boyne published his standard work in 1858. It is in the Exeter Museum, and formed part of the collection of the late Mr. Matthews, of Bradninch. Unfortunately it is in poor condition, part of the Christian name being undecipherable.

Proposed transfer of token to Devonshire.

In page 438 of Boyne, under Sutton (county Surrey), we have this description:

O. SAMVEL . SEELEY — The Grocers' Arms.
R. OF . SVTTON . 1657 — S . S . ½ ½

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There are about fifty Suttons in England, and Mr. Boyne says this is "placed to Surrey without any authority."

Now we learn from Mr. Worth's *History of Plymouth* that in the middle of the seventeenth century the Seeleys were a leading Plymouth family, and gave several mayors to the borough. Moreover, Sutton is the old name of Plymouth, whilst the name is still retained in *Sutton* Harbour, and in one of the ecclesiastical districts of the town, *Sutton*-on-Plym. Therefore I coincide with Mr. Worth's opinion, that we may fairly claim this token as one of Plymouth.

P. S.—After reading the above paper I was informed of another token, issued at Exeter, and previously unknown. It belongs to a gentleman of Totnes, and reads thus:

330. *O.* IOHN . PYM — A boar's head?
R. OF . EXON . 1668 — I . S . P ¼

This makes a total of 82 varieties known to have been sent out from the old City; or, as nearly as possible, one-fourth of the whole county issue. We learn from Isacke's *Memorials of Exeter* (pp. 162, 184, 186), that John Pym, Merchant, was steward of the City in 1653; that by an order of Privy Council, in the third year of James II., 1687, he was appointed one of the Common Council, and in 1688 he was made receiver of the Corporation funds.

H. S. G.

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FAIRFAX IN THE WEST, 1645–46.*

BY PAUL Q. KARKEEK.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

WHEN Prince Rupert had surrendered the city of Bristol, on September 11th, 1645, there remained but very little of the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland faithful to Charles I. The counties of Devon and Cornwall still acknowledged his rule; and his flag still waved over the cities of Oxford, Worcester, and Winchester, and here and there a stronghold like Raglan Castle or Basing House; but all the rest obeyed the commands of the two Houses of Parliament. He had no army out of the West of any importance; and both he and the Parliament saw that the game, such as it was, must be played out there.

In speaking of Devon and Cornwall as being loyal to the king, it must be understood that this was not exactly the truth. Cornwall was thoroughly royal, but Devon was not so much so. The town of Plymouth had been Parliamentarian from the commencement of the war, and often under very trying circumstances; indeed, it may be said that the opposition to the royal cause shown by Plymouth was of the very greatest importance, inasmuch as it required a royal army and large revenues to keep up the constant siege which went on, and which if used elsewhere would have been of great service to the king. The towns of Barnstaple and Bideford were by no means ambitious of serving the king, and were only prevented from breaking out into open rebellion by Royalist garrisons. In the city of Exeter also there was a large rebel party, but not of sufficient influence to defy their opponents.

* In the course of this paper but small mention of Plymouth will be made, because the history of the siege of that town has been treated in a most exhaustive manner by Mr. Worth, and will be found in the reports of the Plymouth Institution. Almost for the same reason I shall make but slight allusion to Exeter, as I understand that a distinguished member of this Association is engaged in writing on that subject. The history of the siege of Salcombe I hope to treat on some future occasion.

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The majority of the great landowners were Royalists; and from sheer necessity their tenants and followers were on the same side. Future events, however, in Devon at least, showed that the people on the whole were tired of the Cavalier rule, and longed for a change. There existed in some parts of the kingdom a large number of neutrals, who had seen enough of the war and its evils; and these were prepared to use their influence in favour of whichever side seemed most likely to win, and this with the view of obtaining peace at any price. The club-men, as they were called, though pretending to be neutral, were in Devon strongly predisposed towards the Parliamentarians even from the commencement of the troubles; but were much more so towards the end, not so much from a dislike to the royal cause as from ill-feeling produced by the enormities committed by the king's troops; and they only waited for an opportunity to join in suppressing what was to them a positive nuisance.

Exeter had been strongly fortified by the governor, Sir John Berkley, though he had rendered the royal cause odious to a number of the citizens by the cruel devastations made by his engineers in destroying houses for strategic purposes. Barnstaple also was in a good posture of defence under Sir Allan Apsley. Tiverton, under Sir Gilbert Talbot, was but badly prepared to resist a siege. At Dartmouth great preparations had been made by Sir Hugh Pollard; but it was a very difficult place to hold on account of its position. Here too the Royalist engineers had been levelling houses, much to the disgust of its inhabitants. Torrington, on the other hand, from its position was a very strong place, and much labour had been expended in improving its advantages. The minor forts, such as Exmouth, under Colonel Arundel, Fort Charles, at Salcombe, under Sir Edmund Fortescue, and Ilfracombe, were all strengthened and garrisoned. In addition to these, many private mansions had been barricaded, and occupied with a view to resistance; foremost amongst these were Powderham, Canon Teign, Ince, and Fulford Houses. There were, however, many others; for each Cavalier seemed to think that it would be highly discreditable to allow a Roundhead to enter his house until the windows had been smashed by musket balls, and the front door blown in by a petard. In Cornwall there were no fortified towns worth mentioning, but only some strong forts; viz., Pendennis, and St. Michael's Mount, and the sturdily-defended Mount Edgcumbe House.

The management of affairs in the district was supposed to

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be in the hands of the Prince of Wales and his council; but in reality there was no management at all. The days had gone by when the leading Cavaliers were ready to sacrifice all and every thing for the good of the cause; and now it was only how to get something out of it. There was a complete absence of unanimity among the leaders; Goring hated Grenville, Grenville hated Berkley; and both Goring and Grenville disliked Hopton. Neither would serve under the other if he could help it; and thus any plan which the council might suggest came to nothing, because all wanted to command, and none to obey. Among the commanders of secondary rank were many gallant and disinterested gentlemen; but those to whom the king had entrusted power and responsibility were in too many instances utterly unworthy of it.

The general nominally in command of the royal forces was George, Lord Goring, and certainly a worse one could not possibly have been found. At the beginning of the war he held a commission under the Parliament, and was placed in a position of trust, which he betrayed, and joined the Royalists. He had at Marston Moor shown that he could be brave; and his style and manners were such as rendered it an easy matter to ingratiate himself in the favour of the king, who possessed to a large extent the Stuart failing of confiding in worthless counsellors. Goring was a drunkard and debauchee, utterly unscrupulous in all his actions, looking only to his own pleasure and interest, and certainly helped more to ruin the cause he professed to serve than any other man who held command during the whole history of the war. He had for his lieutenant Lord Wentworth, eldest son of the Earl of Cleveland, and he bore in too many respects an unfortunate resemblance to his chief.

Goring's army consisted for the most part of Cornish and Devonshire men; but there were Irish and French, and indeed scamps from all parts. There was a singular absence of discipline and order among his men; indeed, they were credited by both friends and foes with being a set of drunken, licentious, and plundering scoundrels. A visitation by them was dreaded by all: it was such an affliction that bribes were paid to their officers to keep them away. Among the Totnes accounts of this date are entries of sums of money paid "to the quartermaster of Lord Goring's horse for keeping them out of the town." The taxes levied by royal authority to pay and maintain the troops were collected by the parish constables, and these officers must have had a hard time when Goring was near. The following is a specimen of a

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requisition found by the Parliamentarians; the paper was sealed with Goring's coat-of-arms (sable, a lion rampant guardant), which the Roundhead chronicler described as a devil rampant in a black field.

> "To the constable of Withbridge: these,
> By God, if thou send me not a horse, or money to buy one,
> God damn me, I will come with my unsanctified troops, which
> shall not leave one stone upon another.
> "*Chumleigh, Dec. 25th*, 1645."

It was all the same to Goring and his men; friends or foes, both were pillaged impartially. Clothes, boots, money, provisions, and horses, all were seized; if nothing else could be found, he would hang an unhappy club-man, to keep the others in order, and compel some of them to serve with him.

There was another army of about three thousand men before Plymouth, under Sir R. Grenville, and these were somewhat better disciplined. But, everything considered, the representatives of the Cavalier party, both officers and men, are found to be very far from answering the popular notion of Cavaliers. Whatever they might have been in the early days of the war, in 1645–6 they were far from being a blessing to the country, and their disbandment was a source of satisfaction to all who knew them.

The restoration of the West to the rule of the Parliament was the duty assigned to Fairfax and his army after the capture of Bristol. It is often asserted that Fairfax was only the nominal commander during the civil wars, and that Cromwell was the moving spirit; and this mistake has arisen from supposing, that because Cromwell obtained the leadership when the fighting was over, that therefore he had done the work. But such was not the case. Cromwell was undoubtedly a great general, and contributed largely to the success of the Parliament party; but any one, who will take the trouble of reading up the history of the war, will find that to Fairfax is assigned the honour of suppressing the Royalists. From the date of the formation of the new model army to the capture of the last royal stronghold, Fairfax was the actual and responsible commander in every sense of the word, whilst Cromwell filled the subordinate position of lieut.-general of the horse. Foremost among his officers were Skippon, Massey, Hammond, Richard Fortescue, Rossiter, Butler, and Hardress Waller. Very few of these men afterwards distinguished themselves as regicides; they had for the most part, like their general, drawn the sword from a sense of duty and love of liberty. The fanatics who com-

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mitted the great political blunder as well as crime of killing the king, held subordinate positions during the fighting days, and only succeeded to higher offices, when their superiors had left the army, in sheer disgust at seeing to what ends it was being used by Cromwell and his party. The majority of the rank and file of the army was composed of men strongly imbued with religious feelings, in excellent discipline and order, and accustomed to victory.

The names of three non-combatants who were with Fairfax during this campaign must not be forgotten; viz., John Rushworth, secretary to the general; Joshua Sprigge; and Hugh Peters, army chaplains. These men, by their reports and correspondence, have rendered great service to the historian.

On October 14th, Fairfax and his army crossed the Devonshire border at Axminster, passing through Honiton to Collumpton on the 15th, where a slight skirmish with the Royalists took place, and from whence Massey and Welden, with their regiments, were dispatched, to effect if possible the reduction of Tiverton. It was necessary that Fairfax should clear the ground as he went, and, if possible, keep Goring to the west of the river Exe; otherwise Tiverton was not of so much importance, as the church and the castle were the only fortified portions. Sir Gilbert Talbot had with him about three hundred foot and some few horse, although the latter were mutinous. For want of better material, he had caused the bags of wool, which were stored for sale in a place under the church-house called the chapel, to be brought out and used to form lines of defence. On Saturday, 18th, Fairfax himself arrived with reinforcements to support Massey, and took up his quarters at Blundell's School. Batteries were erected in commanding positions, and the guns commenced practice on Sunday morning. The general and his officers were in the schoolroom making arrangements for storming when the breach should be declared ready, when a chance shot struck and broke the chain of the drawbridge, which at once fell across the moat. This post had been assigned to Major Sadler, who, either panic-stricken or in treachery, took no pains to guard the bridge, and before his colleagues were aware of the danger, the Parliament soldiers, without waiting for the word of command, poured across the bridge, and appeared in the very midst of the garrison. The defenders fled from their guns, and took refuge in the church; whilst the governor shut himself up in a room in the castle, and hung out a white flag. The church was soon taken, and in it about two hundred prisoners. Sir Gilbert Talbot

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appears to have thought that Sadler had betrayed him; and it is probable that he was right. Sadler had first been on the other side, and then deserted to the king; and now, seeing that there was but a poor chance of being rewarded for his services, may have wished to make his peace with the enemy by an act of treachery. He calculated, however, without his host; for he was at once tried by court-martial, and condemned to death for his former desertion. Managing to escape, he found his way to Exeter, where he fared even worse; for not only was he tried again by the Royalists and condemned to death, but the sentence was carried out on Southernhay. Jenkins says that Fairfax allowed Sadler to escape, and that he was detected at Exeter in a treacherous correspondence with the enemy, and for this was shot.

By the capture of Tiverton, the road became once more open from London to Exeter. The club-men now joined Fairfax in such numbers that Massey formed them into a brigade, which was commanded by Col. Popham, and which rendered considerable service in the siege of Exeter.

Fairfax decided, after much deliberation, to commence at once a blockade of the city of Exeter, his men requiring rest after the long and repeated marches they had lately made. Devonshire lanes and Devonshire rains now began to have considerable weight at all council meetings when the movements of troops were proposed. There were at this time probably no roads worth mentioning, except pack-horse tracks, and these after heavy rain soon became ditches of mud and water. From Tiverton, on the 20th, the army marched to Silverton, and from there, on the 22nd, to Newton St. Cyres, with the view of reaching Alphington the same day, so as to get between Exeter and the West in order to interrupt supplies from that direction. The next day another effort was made to reach Alphington, but without success; the roads were simply impassable. The rain had been falling for days; the men were wet, cold, and worn out; the horses broken down, and the carriages fast falling to pieces. Now would have been the time for Goring to have fallen on the invaders; his troops, composed for the most part of men accustomed to the locality and climate, could have fought with tremendous odds in their favour against foes so much at a disadvantage. But this, like every other chance, was thrown away by those who pretended to watch over the royal cause.

On October 24th, Cromwell, fresh from the capture of Basing House and Winchester, joined the army with his

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brigade; and now it was decided to abandon the west side of the Exe for a time, and to blockade at first only the east. After two days' rest the march was resumed, and Topsham reached on the 27th, bodies of troops being left at Poltimore, Stoke Cannon, and Bishop's Clyst, whilst the head-quarters was fixed at Ottery St. Mary.

During this time Goring and his army of nearly five thousand men, for the most part cavalry, were stationed at Totnes, Newton, Ashburton, and even as near as Chudleigh; while Grenville and a large body of Cornish foot were quartered at Okehampton. Thus far no attempt had been made to interrupt the progress of Fairfax; and it appears as if Goring and the other Royalist commanders were tired of fighting for what they felt was a losing game. Prince Charles wrote to Fairfax for a pass for two of his council to repair to the king, with a view to bring about a general peace. Fairfax declined to grant the pass, but promised to send the letter to Westminster. Next came an attempt from Goring to obtain a personal interview with Fairfax; and this time the project was to unite both armies, and compel both king and parliament to come to terms. This also was declined, the reason assigned being, that no instructions had been given to treat of peace. Seeing that nothing but hard blows were now to be obtained by continuing the fight, Goring decided on leaving his friends to get on as well as they could, and set sail from Dartmouth for France; having first filled his pockets with all the public funds he could lay his hands on, and leaving the command of his troops to Lord Wentworth.

Fairfax completed his line of blockade on the east side of the city by a series of forts, commencing with Topsham and running in a line through Bishop's Clyst to Poltimore. While this was being effected a terrible plague broke out among his troops, and numbers died daily. Rain, cold, and insufficient food and clothing were making havoc among both men and officers; consequently as soon as his lines were completed he moved the head-quarters to Tiverton, and this was effected by December 6th.

The rumour that there was a heavy mortality among the Parliamentarians soon reached the Prince's council, and fresh efforts were at once made to put an army in the field. The blockading army around Plymouth, the garrisons of Dartmouth and Barnstaple, all sent detachments to the head-quarters, which were Tavistock and Okehampton; and the main object of this gathering was to be the relief of Exeter.

Fairfax on reaching Tiverton had commenced forming a line

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of blockade on the west side of the Exe. Powderham Castle was much too strong to be taken by assault, and its governor, Sir W. Meredith, declined to yield on summons; so Powderham Church was fortified by the Parliamentarians, and served as a kind of set-off for the castle. Fulford House was captured and fortified; and Canonteign followed suit on December 22nd. The western line now ran from Crediton, Fulford, Dunsford, Ashton, Canonteign, Chudleigh, and a place called Collatine House, which stood somewhere near the Exe, thus completing the circle. Two regiments were kept at Thorverton and Silverton to meet any attack from the direction of Barnstaple, and Sir Hardress Waller with his brigade were on the look-out for any advance from Totnes. While the line of blockade was being completed, the Royalist efforts were limited to an occasional attack on the outposts, which served no other purpose than that of keeping the garrisons alert. Yet this kind of duty was very trying, and on information being brought to Fairfax of the enemy's growing strength and active preparations, he decided on commencing the attack himself. The Royalists were drawing most of their supplies from the Southhams, which had suffered little by the war, with Dartmouth as head-quarters of the district; and Fairfax concluded that if he could deprive them of this basis they would find it very difficult to get another, the rest of the country being so exhausted, and there being no nearer port than Falmouth. A winter campaign is never the easiest of duties, especially when carried on in Devonshire lanes with snow on the ground; but the circumstances admitted of no alternative. Carriages were of no service, so a baggage corps of pack-horses was organised, and a fortunate arrival of shoes and stockings (which, with clothes, were much wanted) modified to some extent the severity of the work. Some notion of the labour attending this expedition may be obtained by considering the fact that the horses' shoes were frosted every morning during this march.

On January 8th, 1646, all being in readiness, Sir Hardress Waller, with two regiments, marched from Crediton in the direction of Okehampton, where were Grenville's head-quarters, with the intention of deceiving the enemy as to the real route to be taken. At Bow he fell in with an outpost of Royalists, which fled, carrying the rumour that the Roundheads were advancing on Okehampton. Fairfax and his brigade marched to Moreton, while Cromwell, with two regiments of foot and one of horse, proceeded from Tiverton

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to Crediton, where they passed the night, and the next morning marched southwards in the direction of Dunsford, and so by the Teign Valley towards Chudleigh, then suddenly crossing the hill and over the heath slowly approached the village of Bovey Tracey, where was stationed one of Wentworth's brigades. The Royalists had no suspicion of an enemy being near, when suddenly, about six o'clock in the evening, Cromwell's troopers appeared in their midst. The officers, at least some of them, had been playing at cards to pass the time, and now, seeing how closely they were pressed, opened the windows of the house and threw the stakes among the Roundheads, and while the scramble for the silver went on, escaped by the back door. There were captured three or four hundred horses, eighty prisoners, some few being officers, and several colours. Great cry was made over the card-playing, which had been so suddenly interrupted, and many jokes made at the expense of the cavalier officers. Some fled to Ilsington, and barricaded the church, but pursued their flight the next morning to Ashburton, where Wentworth had slept the night before. He drew off his forces in the direction of Totnes and Brent, and rumours of the bloodless battle at Bovey went rapidly westward, increasing in importance in proportion to the distance from the field of action. The next day Fairfax came from Moreton, and held a review of his army on Bovey Heath, and then directed the march to Ashburton, where was found the Royalists' rear-guard, part of which was captured, and the remainder pursued their flight. Here the army rested for two nights, January 9th, 10th, a party of horse only going to look after Wentworth, causing him to make for Tavistock, and then into Cornwall. When the news reached the Cornish regiments encamped before Plymouth, they deserted *en masse*, and went into Cornwall to protect their homes from Wentworth's fugitive troopers. The Royal army dispersed in such haste that guns and ammunition were all left behind, and thus the siege of Plymouth was virtually raised by the encounter at Bovey Tracey.

From Ashburton, on 11th, Fairfax marched to Totnes, and commenced preparations for reducing Dartmouth. This town had been fortified at considerable expense of time and money, but its position was such as would require an enormous army to resist a well-directed assault. At the commencement of the war Dartmouth had declared for the Parliament, and in 1643 was besieged and captured by Prince Maurice. Since then its fortifications had been much strengthened: a wall or

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rampart extended around the town, and forts or batteries were erected on suitable positions. At the mouth of the river, and commanding the entrance, was a castle, now called Dartmouth Castle; and over it, and higher up the hill, was another fort called the Gallant's Bower. Paradise fort and Mount Flaggon guarded the western line; Tunstall Church, with an outwork around it, came next; and lastly, Hardness and Mount Boon protected the north. On the opposite side of the river, at Kingswear, was another large fort, and altogether there were about one hundred and twenty guns. Sir Hugh Pollard was the governor, and with him were Sir Henry Carey, Lord Newport, Colonel Seymour, and about eight hundred men.

Some days were spent in making preparations, and during this time the Parliament soldiers were exposed to great cold and snow, which they are said to have borne patiently; two regiments were located at Stoke Fleming, and the remainder at Dittisham. A sudden thaw set in on Friday, 16th, which rendered the night duty more agreeable, though the marching became more difficult. At length by Sunday all was in readiness. The dragoons, with 200 seamen from Batten's fleet, which blockaded the mouth of the river, were to alarm the Kingswear fort: there was no expectation of taking it, as it was very strong. Fortescue was to attack Tunstall Church; Hammond the west gate, Mount Flaggon, and Paradise fort; while Mount Boon and Hardness fell to the lot of Lieut.-Col. Pride. In the morning divine service was held, during which Peters and Dell, relieving one another, preached suitable sermons; Peters not failing to hint that the officers "must take courage, lest the common soldiers get in before them." The word was, "*God with us;*" and the signal to distinguish them from the Royalists was the shirt worn outside the trowsers. The time of assault was fixed for eleven o'clock, and precisely at that moment each brigade advanced quietly and in good spirits to the point it was to attack. The Royalists must have been very much disheartened, for they offered little or no resistance, and after once firing their guns gave up the struggle. Hammond and Pride, carrying all before them, met at the drawbridge dividing Dartmouth and Hardness; and almost as quickly the earthworks around Tunstall Church had been captured by Fortescue. Kingswear fort, quite satisfied with the alarm to which it was treated, at once surrendered, and Fairfax, only too glad to capture so important a place so easily, allowed Sir Henry Carey to march away with his officers and men, though leaving arms

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and ammunition behind them. The next morning the Gallant's Bower, and the castle containing the governor who had been wounded in the fight, capitulated, on the promise of quarter being given, and thus this stronghold was taken almost without a blow. Two small men-of-war also fell into the hands of the victors, and so a small quantity of prize obtained. Hugh Peters was at once sent to Westminster with dispatches, and the Parliament conferred pensions on both Fairfax and Cromwell for this important service. Among the prisoners were many Cornish, and in order to obtain their good-will, Fairfax dismissed them to their homes with two shillings each to pay their way. This act of liberality was not lost on the Cornish, and it had some influence in smoothing the way of the Parliamentarians when they entered the county of Cornwall.

The country people beginning to see that the Royalist cause was lost, had no longer any fear of Goring's dragoonades, and consequently showed signs of being ardent supporters of the Parliament. No less than 3,000 volunteered at Totnes, and were formed into a regiment. This speaks strongly of the dislike they must have had of the cavaliers. From Dartmouth, Fairfax sent a summons to Sir Edmund Fortescue to yield Salcombe Castle, but without avail. Powderham, however, capitulated on 24th.

It might be a source of surprise to some, that during Fairfax's absence from before Exeter no attempt had been made to relieve that city from the blockade kept up by Sir Hardress Waller; but the fact was, there existed no army that could have been trusted with such a duty. All was confusion and terror among the Royalists, and for a time at least there appear to have been no plans at all. At last the Prince's council decided that the command-in-chief should be offered to Lord Hopton—and he was in every way qualified for the command—but the command had by this time ceased to be worthy of his acceptance. The crowd of fugitives flying westward, formerly under Goring and now Wentworth, had not improved since Bovey fight. Clarendon describes them as "a dissolute, undisciplined, wicked, beaten army. As for the horse, only their friends feared, and their enemies laughed at them. They were terrible in plunder, and resolute in running away." Ralph, Lord Hopton, was one who would have adorned any cause; and his character is all the more striking, from its being seen in such strong relief among the worthless lot who at this time held command in the Royal army. He had seen much fighting on the Continent, and had

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more than once rendered important service to the king during the wars, especially in 1643, by defeating Lord Stamford near Stratton. But he could make no headway against such designing competitors as Goring and Richard Grenville; indeed he was not of that class of men at all likely to get on under a Stuart, consequently had been passed over; and now that the cause was almost hopeless, he was called to the front. Hopton by no means desired the responsibility of leading the mob, which now went by the name of army; but was too noble and brave a man to excuse himself from an irksome service, because there could be no honour attached to it.

The appointment of Lord Hopton to the command-in-chief was a great annoyance to Sir Richard Grenville, who was jealous of any one being placed over his head. This individual, though a brother of that gallant cavalier, Sir Bevil Grenville, resembled him in no one particular. He, like Goring, had changed sides, and even more than once; like Goring, too, his private character would not bear inspection; indeed he seems to have been just such an one, as only a Stuart would have placed in office. Clarendon says: "Though he suffered not his soldiers to plunder, he was the greatest plunderer of this war." He had the management of the confiscated estates, and he managed affairs so well, that never a penny reached the king. He used his military power for enforcing all sorts of feudal customs—sending men to gaol for refusing to grind at his mill, or for fishing in his streams. He would take orders from no one; and yet, strange to say, was considered by Prince Rupert to be "the only soldier in the west." This soldier so much to Prince Rupert's liking had been besieging Plymouth for years, and to no effect; and now, being offered the command of the foot under Hopton, openly refused to obey him. The council then performed the one act of discipline with which it is credited. Grenville was cashiered, and sent a prisoner to St. Michael's Mount. The principal officers in this relic of an army were Peard, Colepepper, Trevor, Slingsby, Wise, Blunt, Borlace, Chichester Wrey, Richard Arundel, Jonathan Trelawny, Bulstrode, and Webb. There were left for Hopton to command, on January 15th, the date of his appointment, simply odds and ends of regiments. In his own report he says: "There remained of foot—of the Guards about 240, General Digby's broken regiment about 500, the Cornish regiments that were under Sir Richard Grenville between 500 and 600, Col. Slaughter's and Col. Wise's regiments about 400. The train-bands of Cornwall shrunk to

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nothing, in effect, there remained with me only Sir Chichester Wrey, Col. Richard Arundel, and Col. Jonathan Trelawny, with about 150 men between the three, and these were all the foot I had; and how full of necessities, complaints, and all sorts of distempers they were, cannot be out of memory. For the horse, there were your Highness's Guards (near upon 800—a very handsome body of men, and very exact upon duty); then there were the horse, under my Lord Wentworth, which we accounted about 2,500. Amongst these were divers gallant men; but in general I cannot say they were exact upon duty, which was one great cause of our misfortune, being thereby never able to surprize or attempt the enemy, but ever liable to be surprized by them." Artillery he had none; so that virtually his army consisted of about 2,000 foot and 3,000 horse, and these utterly demoralized. For want of carriage and ammunition he was obliged to stay at Launceston from January 15th to February 6th, when, though ill prepared, he commenced his march, and reached Torrington by the 10th. Here he proceeded to improve the fortifications; but there was but little material to be had, and the work progressed but slowly. Fortunately a good deal had already been done in this respect. The horse he endeavoured to use as outposts, but these gentlemen were beyond all control; they neither answered roll-call, nor attended in sufficient numbers to mount guard; and when they did, refused to obey their officers. When not in the town, they were away without leave on foraging expeditions; in other words, plundering.

Rumours of Hopton's doings soon reached Fairfax, and as usual they were very much magnified. He was said to have 5,000 foot and 4,000 horse; large flocks of sheep and oxen, with which to provision Exeter; and other preparations on a similar scale. Once more he determined to leave the care of the blockade to Sir Hardress Waller, and to meet this new Royalist army before it should have grown to dangerous proportions. On February 14th the Parliamentary army, consisting of five regiments of horse and seven of foot—nearly 10,000 men—left Crediton, and reached Chumleigh the same day. Of this fact Hopton had notice, not from an advanced outpost, but from a frightened lieutenant and eight troopers, who had found their way to Chumleigh without leave on a plundering expedition.

Torrington is situated on the right bank of the river Torridge, on the top of a high hill, from which is seen one of the loveliest prospects in Devon. The side of this hill is

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very steep, and any force attacking in this direction would do so under considerable disadvantages. On the north side of the town is a large common, and here the horse had been stationed, and from their quarters along the whole of the east side a line of barricades had been erected. Taking everything into consideration, Hopton's position was a good one, and, supposing that his men were fit to meet an enemy, it was almost impregnable.

On Sunday, the 15th, Fairfax limited his operations to sending out small parties of horse in the direction of Torrington to make observations. The next day, in order to prevent any chance of escape eastward, Massey's brigade was stationed on the Barnstaple road; the rest of the army, after a rendezvous at Ash Reigney, marched for Torrington at seven in the morning. General Webb, who seems to have been one of the best of Hopton's officers, was on the look-out for the advancing enemy. He commenced and kept up a series of skirmishes, which lasted all day; obstructing the roads with trees, and firing from behind the hedges. This had the effect of retarding to a certain extent the advance of the Parliamentarians; but by five o'clock the Royalists were obliged to evacuate Stevenston House. Hedge after hedge was now fought for, until it was too dark to distinguish friend from foe, when about eight o'clock Hopton ordered Webb to bring his men nearer Torrington. Every advantage was now taken of the ground; the foot were placed along the hedge-rows four fields from the town, with parties of horse to support them at intervals. The main body of horse was stationed at the end of the barricade on the north side of the town, and the Prince's Guards were in the Castle Green. The word for the night was, "We are with you;" and the signal was a handkerchief tied around the right arm.

Fairfax intended doing nothing more this night than holding the positions already gained, so stationed his men in readiness for an assault in the morning. The word for the night was, "Emmanuel, God with us," and each man carried a sprig of furze in his hat. About midnight, as Fairfax and Cromwell were going their rounds, they heard a noise in the town similar to tattoo, and suspected that the enemy were retreating. By way of experiment a small party of dragoons was ordered slowly to approach the first barricade, and fire over. The men were allowed to draw quite close, and then found that there was a hot welcome ready for them. Others now galloped up to their support, accompanied by a forlorn hope of foot to help in bringing them away. The reserve, supposing

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that an attack had been commenced, without waiting for orders, came running up; and soon it became evident, that unless supported, these men would be cut to pieces. Three regiments of foot were now ordered to the front, and fresh horse were brought up in readiness. The attack along the outer barricade now became general, pikes and butt-ends of muskets being used on either side. The Royalists fought fairly, but were no match for the energy and discipline of their foes; and so field by field they were obliged to retreat until the last line of barricade was reached. A momentary panic on the part of the defenders enabled the Parliamentary foot to obtain possession of the turnpike, and having cleared the way, the horse were enabled to enter. Twice Hopton charged, and twice he drove them back almost out of the barricades; but an opportune arrival of fresh horse, under Col. Hammond, enabled Fairfax to carry all before him. It was with difficulty that Hopton escaped; his horse was shot, and he himself wounded; but managing to get a remount, he galloped to the north side of the town, and brought in five hundred of Cleveland's brigade. With these he made one last charge, but having no foot to support him, was at last obliged to fall back. The horse outside the town struck one feeble blow on the flank of the Parliamentarians, now forcing their way into the town, but were easily beaten away. By this time the foot had been seized by a panic, and had fled in spite of Hopton's efforts, and now the horse followed their example; the last to leave their post being the Prince's Guards.

The Royalists had converted the church into a powder-magazine, and had stored away here about eighty barrels; the Parliamentarians, in ignorance of this, had hurriedly driven their prisoners into the building for safe custody. In the midst of the confusion incidental to the capture of a town, the powder blew up, killing prisoners, guards, and citizens, and destroying scores of houses. Many were killed and maimed by the falling ruins of the church; Fairfax himself escaped in a wonderful manner. Many theories were invented to explain this terrible affair. Sprigge says "that it was the act of a desperate villain, one Watts, who had been paid £30 for the purpose," and that the unhappy wretch was pulled out of the ruins next day, and confessed as much. This, however, is most improbable; Hopton was not the man to commit such a crime; and the Royalists left the town in much too great a hurry to make arrangements of this kind.

The Royalist loss in killed and wounded was very great, and four hundred prisoners were taken besides the two

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hundred killed in the church; the Parliamentary loss was comparatively trivial. Of the four hundred prisoners, more than half enlisted under Fairfax next morning, and the event speaks very strongly as to the character of Hopton's men. One of the many curses incidental to civil war is the opportunity given to worthless characters of escaping from the trammels of civil life, and enjoying the licence attendant on a military career. These men join any side, irrespective of the cause, and ask only to be on that, where will be most chance of plunder and less of discipline. The notorious absence of discipline among Goring's troopers had brought him numbers of such volunteers. Now that the Royal cause seemed to be in distress, they took an early opportunity of joining the Roundheads, reserving to themselves the right of changing sides once more, if it should appear to their advantage. If officers like Goring and Grenville were allowed to do this with impunity, the same liberty of action, in all fairness, must be allowed to the common rank and file.

That night the Royalists rode hard. With the roar of the exploding magazine sounding in their ears, they galloped down Torrington Hill, crossed the bridge, and then plunged into the deep Devonshire lanes leading westward. The foot soldiers put a hedge or two between themselves and their foes; and then, being safe from immediate pursuit, made for the Cornish borders. In the advance from Launceston, the army took four days to reach Torrington; in the retreat, the horse reached Cornwall in one night, and the foot in the course of a few hours later. The defeat at Torrington was the *coup de grace* to the Royal cause. The last army had been ignominiously beaten, and proved to be worthless. Hopton felt that if they could not hold their own behind hedges and barricades, that they would be of no service in the field. He had done his best; even his enemies gave him credit for that. Col. Ed. Wogan, a distinguished Parliamentary officer, says: "My Lord Hopton was like to have been lost in the heat of the fight; his horse being shot, and himself wounded. Had his officers followed his example, it would have been a difficult matter for us to have entered the town." As soon as Hopton had assembled the remains of his defeated army, he saw that it would be useless to stay so near the enemy. The Cornish officers implored him to move westward if he wished to keep the men together, as they were deserting by scores daily. He therefore moved his head-quarters to Camelford, and sent orders to Sir F. Bassett, at Launceston, to draw off his men in the same direction.

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In the meanwhile, beyond sending a party of horse to watch the Royalists retreat for a few miles, Fairfax took no steps to interfere, feeling convinced that time would dissolve the royal army almost as quickly as force. General Massey was sent to commence the siege of Barnstaple, and other regiments were ordered back to Exeter to help Sir Hardress Waller. The last hope of the ever-faithful city was gone. It was now merely a question of how long the provisions would last. For a few days the Parliamentary army rested at Torrington; fugitives poured in daily and enlisted, sometimes as many as twenty and thirty a day. At a council of war it was decided to march into Cornwall, and complete the destruction of Hopton's army. There was a fear, not entirely without foundation, that Goring and Jermain were preparing a large French force to invade England somewhere in the West; consequently it would be advisable to leave no army in the field for these new comers to join, and the strongholds of Exeter and Barnstaple would yield all the sooner on learning that there was no force which could possibly come to their aid.

Fairfax knew that he was now about entering a country not only strongly predisposed against his party, but almost to a man favourable to the royal cause. He had, as has been seen at Dartmouth, released the Cornish prisoners, and given them money to pay their way home; and this plan he again pursued with those captured at Torrington. He had all the money he could raise placed in the army chest to pay the way of his troops on the march; for he felt that by paying for all he had, more favourable impressions would be made on the Cornish than by settling accounts like the Cavaliers. In a letter to his father, dated Crediton, February 13th, he says: "If we go into that county (Cornwall), as we probably shall, I fear nothing but the soldiers' want of money to pay their quarters. Good carriage towards them being the best way to gain them, desire that the Parliament would be pleased to consider how to supply the army timely with money, as of great importance to the carrying on well the affairs there." From Torrington he wrote to the Speaker to the same effect: "That money may be spended, if any ways possible, but for a month or six weeks to enable the horse as well as foot to pay quarters in Cornwall, whereby the opposition that people might make, would in all likelihood be taken off, and their affection or good opinion gained, to make them helpful to be against their present oppressors." Besides endeavouring to pay his way, he instructed his men, through their officers,

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"that they do no violence to the Cornish, nor do any prejudice to them or their persons or their goods." The Cornish must be shown that they would get better treatment from their foes than their friends, and by this means Fairfax would not only conquer, but pacify.

Previous to setting out for Cornwall, Hugh Peters was sent in advance to offer terms to the leading Cornish gentlemen; and there can be no doubt that great help was obtained by the influence of this man. On February 23rd the march commenced, and at Holsworthy was found an advanced Royalists out-post, which at once gave way. Colonel Butler went to Stratton, and found there General Webb, with whom he had a slight skirmish. On the 25th, after but slight resistance, Launceston was captured; and here again Fairfax endeavoured to obtain the good-will of the Cornish by sending all the prisoners home with a present of a shilling each. Sprigge says that "the townspeople of Launceston were much affected by such merciful usage." There was no unnecessary haste in the movements of the Parliamentary army. Fairfax suspected, from the reports of his spies, that the disorganization among the enemy was too great to be overcome by Hopton, and that the desertion would increase daily, which was actually the case. On March 1st Launceston was left, and the army reached Bodmin Moors, where it passed the night; and here a skirmish took place the next morning with the Royalist rearguard. Hopton was now fast being driven into a corner, and in order to prevent his breaking through, and getting once more into the open country, strong guards were placed on all the roads, at Padstow, Wadebridge, Lostwithiel, and Fowey. A ship coming into Padstow was captured, and some letters were discovered in her which revealed the fact that Lord Glamorgan had made peace with the Irish rebels, and that several thousands of them would be ready to land in Cornwall in a few weeks. The contents of these letters were widely circulated, and caused great commotion among the Cornish, who were by no means delighted with the prospect of having a lot of wild Irish quartered among them. They had seen quite enough of that sort of thing in Goring's men. Mount Edgcumbe and Ince House yielded about this time, Colonel Hammond having offered liberal terms by order of Fairfax.

Hopton had moved his head-quarters from Bodmin to Truro, stationing his troops at St. Columb, Grampound, and Tregony. The Prince of Wales had been removed for safety to the Scilly Islands on March 2nd. On the 5th, Fairfax wrote

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to Hopton and advised him to give up the struggle; at the same time offering him better terms than might have been expected. Hopton replied, thanking him, but wanted to know if there were any truth in the rumour that a general peace was imminent. Fairfax informed him, that though the king pretended to wish for peace, the Parliament had proof of his endeavouring to bring over foreign troops to continue the struggle.

All the passes and lanes were now rigidly guarded against any attempt at breaking through, even by a solitary trooper; Cromwell going to Wadebridge for this purpose, and moving towards St. Columb; while Fairfax secured the Bodmin and Lostwithiel routes. The Cornish were now desirous of helping Fairfax to finish the war; the prospect of an Irish visitation had opened their eyes, and many joined at Bodmin in the duty of watching the lanes and paths. At St. Columb, Major Peard and his troop endeavoured to break the cordon, but failed, he falling wounded into the hands of Cromwell. Peard died of his wounds, and on his body was found a letter from some of his party showing that the Cavalier programme was now *sauve qui peut*. Cromwell's division passed through St. Columb on the 8th towards Mitchell, part going by way of St. Stephens, while Fairfax went from Lostwithiel through St. Blazey, St. Austell, and Grampound; there again dividing, some going to Tregony, and the main body to Probus.

Hopton's troops, both officers and men, had now seen enough of marching and fighting; and having heard of the good terms offered by Fairfax, wished to settle the matter at once. When the Parliamentarians entered the village of Probus they found there some troops of Royalists' horse, who, instead of putting themselves into posture of defence, sat still in their saddles, and shouted, "A cessation! a cessation!" and they were with difficulty made to understand that a cessation could only be brought about by their general, so they rode back to Truro much disgusted. The men were now deserting by scores, and sometimes even by troops and companies. There was also a strong feeling among the officers that the game was played out. Twenty-one of the colonels held a meeting, and drew up a resolution, which was placed in Colepepper's hands for delivery to Hopton. This was to the effect, that if he did not consent to a treaty, they and their men would provide for themselves. Seeing that matters had come to this pass, Hopton sent commissioners to meet those of Fairfax on Tresillian Bridge, to make arrangements for the surrender of the horse; the foot and ammunition had been sent to

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Pendennis and St. Michael's Mount. By March 14th, after four days' discussion, the commissioners had come to terms, and which were extremely liberal. The officers were to have passes to go to their homes until they could make their peace with the Parliament, or to go abroad; the men were to have twenty shillings for horse and accoutrements. Other particulars were of a similar liberal character, and had on the whole a good effect. Many of the officers and men volunteered to serve under the Parliament in Ireland; but Hopton, Capel, and Wentworth proceeded to join the Prince at Scilly.

There remained but 3,000 men to disband; all the others had been dispersed, captured, or killed. The proceedings took place on a down about a mile from Truro, on the road to St. Allen. It commenced on Sunday, 15th, and took from five to six days to effect. St. Mawes surrendered on the 11th, before the treaty had been signed, and in it was found a huge piece of ordnance, called the Roaring Meg, whose name and attribute has not yet been forgotten in the neighbourhood. Helford fort, with twenty-six guns, surrendered on March 18th, and intelligence reached Fairfax that Exmouth, with thirteen guns, had yielded to Waller on the 15th.

There remained now in Cornwall but two places faithful to Charles I.; viz., Pendennis Castle and St. Michael's Mount. The latter, under Sir Arthur Basset, capitulated to Col. Hammond on April 15th; but the former, which was besieged by Col. Richard Fortescue, held out under Sir John Arundel until August 17th, being the last stronghold but one to carry the royal flag, and that one, Raglan Castle, survived the fate of Pendennis but two days; viz., until August 19th.

On March 21st, Fairfax and his army turned eastward, leaving Fortescue and Hammond to reduce Pendennis and the Mount. The main route was through Launceston; but Fairfax and his staff paid a visit to Plymouth, and were received there with great joy. Exeter was soon reached, and on March 31st was regaled to a march past and *feu de joie*, and at the same time a letter was sent to the governor summoning him to deliver up the city in order to prevent useless bloodshed. Sir John Berkley decided to surrender, and commissioners from either side met at Foltimore House to draw up the conditions. This was finished by April 9th, and as usual Fairfax treated the conquered liberally. The troops were to march out in all the glory of war—drums beating, colours flying, and matches burning, &c. &c. It was stipulated that the Princess Henrietta, with her governess, should be at liberty to go to any place in the United Kingdom which

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the king might appoint. The cathedral and other churches were not to be destroyed or defaced. This article was afterwards broken when Fairfax's back was turned. Such officers as chose were to have passes to go to their homes or beyond the seas, and the men were to keep their own baggage after surrendering their arms. A week was given for completing the surrender. An article was inserted in the agreement, which stipulated that no one should pay more than two years' income in compounding for his estate; and happy was the broken Cavalier who could afterwards plead that he was at Exeter at the surrender, as this proportion was much below the average granted to compounders.

Sir Allan Apsley and his garrison of four hundred at Barnstaple were glad to surrender to Colonel Sheffield on the same terms as Exeter, and this took place on April 20th. Ilfracombe fort had been taken by storm some few days before, so there remained in Devon now only Fort Charles, at Salcombe, under Sir Edmund Fortescue, to represent the Royal cause, and this little place bravely held out until May 7th, when it yielded to Colonel Welden.

Thus, with the exception of Pendennis and Salcombe fort, the two counties of Devon and Cornwall were recovered to the allegiance of the Parliament. Fairfax entered Devon on October 14th, 1645, and left it on April 18th, 1646. He had throughout the campaign conducted the war in a gentle spirit, nowhere pressing hard on the conquered, but endeavouring everywhere to conciliate by liberality and kindness. The splendid discipline maintained among his troops was the great secret of his success, and this no doubt was much helped by the strong religious feeling which permeated all ranks. Climate, roads, and sickness were all against him, and to a certain extent these very difficulties were in favour of his opponents. If Goring had been actuated by half the zeal of Fairfax, a very different course of events might have taken place.

The reduction of the west took away all hope from the Royalists. The king himself saw that all was over, and fled in disguise from Oxford to the Scottish camp. Selfishness and incapacity had done their work. The royal cause was lost, and it now only remained for the Roundheads to quarrel among themselves over the power they had gained, and with what result is too well known to need recapitulation here.

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APPENDIX.

Club-men.—In Warburton's *Rupert and Cavaliers*, a fragment of a letter is given from Goring to Lord Dorset, in which he gives his opinion on the state of the west, and his reasons for deserting the King at this important crisis:

"In the meantime, I think it my duty to acquaint his Majesty, that unless there be some speedy course used to dispose these club-men to the King's service, and to settle a good understanding between the army, the garrison, and the country, there will an inevitable ruin light upon the whole west."

In *Perfect Occurrences*, 26th September, to October 3rd, 1645, the following letter is given:

"Sir,—We hear from one that came from Tiverton that Goring plunders both friend and foe, especially of cattle, cloathes, and armes, and presseth the country to serve him, and hangs up men in almost every hundred to be examples (as he calles it), by which meanes he keeps down the club-men in Devonshire. . . . . ."

Requisitions on Constables.—In *Perfect Occurrences*, January 3rd, 1246:

"Constable Moore,—By God I have a party in our parish for effecting of my businesse; therefore I pray you let me have the share belonging unto me; for the rates of the three horses mentioned in the warrant, I could have put an horseprice upon your parish only if I would. Constable, you are more quick than you deserve to be; I delivered two horses, a bay and grey, to your man, for your sake, that my party tooke. I will have men and cattle to satisfie before I ever returne to me quarters.—CHARLES TOOKE, Col."

Sir Gilbert Talbot's narrative is in the Harleian MSS. 6,859, p. 33:

"The place not long after, being asaulted by Gen.-Major Massey, who was happily repulsed, and then besieged by Gen. Fairfax, and every hour in danger to be lost; for my horse were mutinous, and I had but two hundred foot in garrison, and some of my chief officers unfaithful, and the enemy without twenty-two thousand strong; therefore, apprehending the worst, I burned all my papers, and among the rest my cypher with Sir Sackville Crow. I was soon afterwards stormed, and (a main post being betrayed by Major Sadler) taken and sent away prisoner to Lime. . . . . ."

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Fairfax's preparations for the pacification of Cornwall.—The following letter, from Rushworth to the Speaker, is copied from a rare tract in my possession, and is not included in Rushworth's collections:

"To the Honourable *William Lenthal*, Esq., Speaker to the Honourable House of Commons.

"Sir,—The marching with the army into Cornwal being a matter of great importance, much being to be said against it, as well as for it, and notwithstanding great inclination, was to march to Cornwal, yet yesterday the general had a full councel of war of all field-officers that could well be dispensed with from their charge, where the businesse was throughly debated, and after some time spent, came to this resolution—'That in their judgments it was advisable to march into Cornwal before any attempt be made on Barnstable or Exeter.' To this Vote there was not one negative voice, so that I hope in the Lord as there is unity in our councels so we shall finde the fruit of it in our actions, and by the blessing of God settle that county of Cornwal in a posture to serve you, and to oppose the landing of any forraign nation, and also break the remaining field force of the enemies. To-morrow part of the army marches towards Cornwal, the rest comes up on Tuesday, there being a thousand horse and five companies of foot left to block up Barnstable; and Major Harris, who is made Liev.-Col. to Col. Trevilian, is raising a regiment in these parts of Devonshire to assist in the more close blocking up of that place. Exeter this while is drawing its last breath, and I hope when we return neither place shall have that to stick with them, which hitherto has done (point of honour) upon this ground, that there was a probable signe of relief, otherwise their inclinations are much to save themselves.

"This day (as indeed every day) there came some from the enemy, who inform they are about to draw off from Stratton, and all the passes upon the river, having burnt down and broken the bridges; that they were drawing off from Salt-ash; that most of their horse were neer twenty miles in Cornwal; that Hopton cannot get his foot together, neither will the trained bands rise, that their fear is great the army will pursue them. The other day being the market-day, Master *Peters* preacht unto the country people and souldiers in Torrington (the church being blown up). He was forced to preach out of a belcony, where the audience was great: he made a great impression upon the hearts of the people. He is sent to Plymouth to offer things to consideration there in order to our marching into Cornwal, and to get all the Cornish gentlemen to meet the general in Cornwal to give their assistance in the better settling of that county. And I beseech you hasten such of power and interest in those parts that are above at *London*, and likewise for Devonshire; for I doubt the want of active gentlemen

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to appear to settle the militia of this county will make the work to be done when the army is drawn back, which will not be for your and their service. It is certain that Lord Hopton received a wound in the side of his head with a pike; some say he is wounded elsewhere. We took one of their spies coming into our quarters for intelligence, and that he might be the better credited by the person to whom he was sent, he was to produce a silver meddal with the King's picture, which we took from him, and having committed him to custody, sent one of our spies to the partee (with that meddal), who gave credit to the bearer, and informed the good condition of our army, the desperate condition of theirs, by the defeat given them at Torrington; and that they had no way left but to flye to the furthest part of Cornwal; all the country hereabouts are spread with their horse and foot that ran away in the dark that night, and are lurking hereabouts; there are very many, both horse and foot, come in unto us, and take up arms; and divers others desire passes to go into their own countries, which they have granted accordingly. All the Cornish that were common souldiers are set at liberty, and had two shillings a piece given them to carry them home, which we hope will work the same effect that an action of the like nature did at the taking of Dartmouth; for as Major *Hooper*, who was taken prisoner at Dartmouth, and sent upon his parole to Cornwal, reported on his return that the overthrow given to *Hopton* at Torrington did not so much move the Cornish with the fear of this army as their carriage in the sending home of those Cornish in that civil manner did prevail with them; who when they came into the country, being required to take up arms, refused the same, and were committed to Gaol, and now lie in prison for the same, the country being much affected at their hard usage, and our gentle carriage; for indeed the Cornish were made to believe, and some, by reason of their cruel carriage to our forces when they were in Cornwal, out of guilt did believe that nothing but destruction was intended to them. There was direction given by the general to all the field-officers, at the councel of war, that they should give a command to the several regiments of horse and foot that they do in no kinde offer any violence to the Cornish, nor do any prejudice unto them in their persons or goods. I make no doubt the officers will be very careful to do their duties, though (truly) I doubt the souldier (especially those that were then formerly stript) will hardly overcome a passionate remembrance of the same. The commissioners of Parliament are sent into the several counties to pay the recruits, and to hasten them to the army; but the four thousand pound sent down hither for that purpose we are inforced to take into Cornwal with us, and have assigned them to take up monies in ready cash at Bristol and Taunton. We march with a very fine army, both of horse and foot, into Cornwal, and great care is taken for an orderly and souldier-like march and carriage of our affairs in this expedition;

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the general and lieutenant-general being much intent upon it.—I rest, your most humble servant, "JOH. RUSHWORTH.

"Torrington, Feb. 22, 1645 (46), 10 at night."

Master Peters in Cornwall.—The following tract, entitled *Master Peters' Messuage from Sir Thomas Fairfax; delivered in both Houses of the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, with the whole State of the West*, is in my possession, and will be found very interesting:

"MASTER PETERS' MESSUAGE FROM SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX.

"Master Speaker,—After the Lord had appeared for our army at Torrington, and written His name in such visible characters before the faces of many, counsell was taken to pursue the enemy into Cornwall, and the rather because the scattering of that body of horse would after an especiall manner promote our future designes, not onely in order to Exceter, but also to our easterne imployment. I shall therefore give you an accompt; first, of the steps we made into Cornwall; secondly, of the state of the country; thirdly, the condition of the enemy; fourthly, of our owne army.

"Upon our advance, the generall gave me a commission to apply myself to all means and expedients I could think of for the stopping of the east parts of Cornwall from rising and joyning with the enemies' horse. Foot being that which the enemy (onely) wanted, and those they brought to Torrington blown into severall parts, and scattered with a purpose not to appeare againe. Accordingly I rid to Plymouth (though not without much difficulty), riding forty miles very neer the enemies' guards; I dealt at Plymouth with the governour and committee there, who offered me all their furtherances, had passes of them for any I should imploy into Cornwall, and was much engaged to Mr. *Raw* of that place (a discreete able man, and industrious), who undertooke to agitate my designes with the Enemy, and deserves exceeding well for his faithfulnesse and wisdome therein.

"When I was thus thoughtfull how to ingage the Cornish Foot from rising in the east (whose example would have had a present influence on all the county), it pleased the Lord to send in one out of Cornwall of very good quality (and much interested), who came disguized into Plymouth, having the same designe with myself for strong affections to the Parliament and their cause, assuring me that three thousand men stood ready to joine with the Enemies' horse, yet that there were good hopes that the leaders, being rightly informed, might not onely prevent it, but conditionally close with us.

"Their chiefes were old Master *Colliton*, Colonell *Edgcomb*, of *Mount Edgcomb*, Master *Thomas Lowre*, and Lieutenant-Colonell *Scawen*.

"To these I applied myself (by writing); and declared what I had in commission from the generall, and sent it by the party by

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me imployed, who returned again and gave me hopes, and yet professed much jealousie on their part for the true performance on what I promised; and therefore to shorten my worke, I offered myselfe an Hostage to them till the generall should make good what I promised.

"By the next return they invited me into Cornwall, where four of them should be ready, in the behalfe of themselves and others, to treate with me, and as they saw cause, to accompany me to the generall.

"I adventured over to them, and there found Master *Corriton*, M. *Thomas Lowre*, M. *Glanvill*, the eldest son of Sergeant *Glanvill*, and Major *Trevise*, who being perswaded of the truth of what I had ingaged myself for, were perswaded to go to the generall with me, and truly I found them very ingenuous, who had long before distasted the court way, and abhorred the practices of many of the king's party.

"By this time the generall had entred Cornwall, and (at Stratton) our men beate up a guard of the enemies, and took three hundred horse. These Cornish gentlemen, finding my words made good unto them, were much convinced and affected, receiving from the generall protections for themselves and that side of the country against the violence of our souldiers, as also letters of recommendation to the Parliament for this their service, which tooke such effect that not onely these 3,000 men ready for their march retired to their houses, but also the whole county where we came either came into us or sate still; and truly these easterne gentlemen are very considerable, and I am perswaded that old Master *Corriton* (who suffered for *Magna Charta* with *Sir John Elliot*) will returne to his interest againe with many more of them.

"Upon our advance the enemy retreated; the generall lay at Bodman to refresh our men, and to undeceive the county, if by any means we might, which the Lord Himself was pleased to help us in, even to wonder, by an Irish frigot coming into Padstow, and bringing letters to *Hopton* and others from the Earl of *Glamorgan*, that Jesuited Papist, assuring them of ten thousand Irish ready for *England*.

"These letters the generall commanded me to read at a great meeting of the countrymen, in a field neere Bodman, which had such successe that the arguments I used unto them, and what I read, was received with divers acclamations.

"Upon this day fortnight a strong party of ours was sent out to fall upon their maine guard, under the command of that honest and worthy gentleman Col. *Rich*, who accordingly met with one thousand of the enemies' horse, routed them, and put them to flight, and tooke two hundred horses and one hundred prisoners, amongst whom Master Generall *Perts*, who is since dead of his wounds, in whose pocket a copy of a letter to the Prince's counsell about him was found to this purpose:

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"'*That the king's condition is so low is not our fault. We are not able to breake through the enemy, nor strong enough to fight them, therefore are resolved to compound for ourselves, and leave you to doe what you please.*' "Sir, it came from the military part.

"Divers small skirmishes we had with them. Lieutenant-Generall *Cromwell* himselfe, with some of his horses, are setting out parties and guards, and attending their motions, adventured himselfe according to his wonted manner. And now the enemies' head-quarter being at Truro, and their chiefe strength not above five or sixe miles from us, the generall resolving to fight them, or drive them to the sea, sent them such propositions with a summons as he did conceive would take off much of their forces, and bring them all to a sudden agreement; and upon the sending of these, advanced still forward; and in our advance they met us with a desire of a treaty, which accordingly was yeelded unto, and held sixe daies, there being matters not a few to be considered of, as appears by the articles.

"Upon the last Lord's-day, upon a Downe a mile from Truro, after I had preached to our men, and divers of the enemies, they began to deliver up their Armes and Horses.

"The first regiment was a *French* regiment, under the command of Mounsier *Laplane* on Sunday last, yet I must much commend the civility of our souldiers herein that they let them passe without mocking, or jeering, or offering any affronts to them.

"On Munday there were three brigades more disbanded, and on Tuesday the rest according to the articles. If it shall be objected that the generall dealt too gently with the county, or the souldiery part there, I answer—

"I. That the constitution of both the one and the other required it, the souldiers being a strong party, and in the enemies' country.

"II. The people needed it, and the same weapon proved their cure that made their wound—*Hopton's* moderation, civility that first deceived them—and the generall, now joyned with faithfulnesse, took the scales from their eyes.

"III. That we have all this year found it our advantage.

"IV. Meeknesse, sweetnesse, and courage have been alwaies stirring in our generall for digniority. We know that *Cæsar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo gloriam adeptus est;* but of the generall we may say by the like meanes, *Patriam bene adeptus est.*

"V. We beleeve that the Conduct of this Army delight not to drinke blood.

"VI. The Parliament aimes are not destructive, but reductive.

"VII. We look upon it as the Spirit of Christ in these latter times, and of the New Testament, to save, and not to ruine; and the heathen could say—

"'Magnanimo satis est prædam prostrasse leoni
Pugna suum finem, cum jacet hostis habet.'

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And this I am bold to adde that such is the providence of God, that if we had fought and beaten them, we should not have scattered them as now they are. God had restrained from the Enemies themselves this acknowledgement, that their gods is not like ours, their men not like ours, their actions not like ours; the very words of one of their chiefe commanders were these:

"'*That their men counselled with drinke in their heads, ours with wit in their heads; our men silently prosecuted and effected their worke, their men vapoured and did nothing; we had a Conduct and Counsell, they acted without both; yea, that this army was not to be fought against.*'

And all the enemy are engaged never to take up Armes against the Parliament, except some very few onely.

"For the country the gentry came almost all in unto us; the Cornish souldiers brought us and laid downe their armes at the generall's foot, many of them professing they would but goe home and attend him.

"Some of the arguments I used in speaking and preaching to them in their publike assemblies were—

"First, for the Parliament; they did as a justice of peace—sent out a counstable to apprehend such as broake the civill peace. The cunstable, beaten back from his office, hath more helpe sent him. Towne and cuntry who are resolved to pursue his disturbers, our taking up of armes was not against Cornish men, nor any perticular men, nor any perticular county, but against such as disturbed both them and us, which, if they deliver them to us, we had the end of our travells.

"Secondly. I used the argument of utily, wishing them to consider how they could subject without trade, which are from the city of London and other parts of the kingdome.

"Thirdly. What Havock the Irish and French might make upon them if they landed. Of which Goring's desperadoes have given them a taste.

"Fourthly. How comfortably and safe they might live under the Parliament, who are loath to loose such a Tribe as they were.

Fifthly. I answered a common murmuring amongst them, that their country was never conquered. They were tould that our army was never conquered neither, and yet we were willing to wrestle with them in their one way, by embracing and huging of them. They should conquer us, and we should conquer them; we would win the day, and they should gaine the field, or their fields. If they lost a service-booke, they should have a better worship.

Sixthly, was from experience, they were wished to tract all the Parliament's proceedings, and the armies in other counties, whether they had had better ministers and better magistrates placed then before.

"Seventhly, was taken from the practice of the enemie, and this quærie was put to them, *What good the enemy had done for*

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them; whether their examples and practices, councels and indeavours had led them to more holinesse, justnesse, and exactnesse. Many of them confessed they were received by ill reports brought of the Parliament, and the crueltyes of this army, by Hopton's flateries, and the courtiers, and by the king's and prince's personall apperance amongst them; and by their promises to them honouring of them, as more perticular appears, by this declaration of the king's, hanged up in every church in the country.

[Here follows a copy of the letter of Charles I. to the Cornish people, which must be too well known to members of the Association to need reprinting.]

"And lastly, their lude and ungodly ministers had councelled them and exampled them to the greatest part of their misery, I make no doubt, they may prove a people of God's praise; may they but enjoy a faithfull magistracie and ministry; for which my most earnest and humble request is to this Honourable House: Methinks they cry at every gate, *Bread, bread for the Lord's sake.*

"I wish there were some Evangellicall ministers in each county of the kingdom that poor people might know there is a God; that they might fear Him and love Him, and be acquainted with His Son, who is theirs and our life.

"The county is all cleerly reduced, except *Pendennis*, *Helford*, and the mount; which the very countrey (I hope) will bee willing to reduce themselves. *Fleymouth* harbour is free to us; we have taken St. Mawes Castle, with twelve pieces of ordnance in it, and one called the Roaring Meg, a choice piece of brasse; the generall is sending eastward some of his forces towards Barnstable and Exeter, and intends (having blockt up Pendennis) to return himself.

"There came two out of Exeter to us, who carried in propositions with them; and of Barnstable we hope to give a good account shortly.

"At Foy, upon Munday last, we took a ship called the *Greene Knight*, having sixteen pieces of ordnance, and richly laden, they being ignorant that the harbour was ours.

"Your affaires have a good complexion upon them at present; and doubtlesse whilest you imploy good men, they will be good for you.

"I have observed, in the whole tract of this western work, divers promises fulfilled as that the Lord would send an hornet amongst them; that is, a spirit of fear, and that they shall fly when none pursues them. We could seldome make them stand anywhere. They never offered to beat up a guard of ours at any time, though they had four thousand fighting horse.

"I have been tould in their quarters where I lay, as three times my lot was to lie in Hopton's own quarters in bed, where they tould me upon everie alarme *the shakings of Belshazar was upon them.* One passage above the rest was this: Forty of them being in a house at Saint Austel, two coults that were feeding upon a common

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in a could night came for shelter to the side of the house. They tooke an alarme within, charged the coults to stand; but they did not understand the language, kept on their way, put them to such a fright that they tumbled one upon the back of another to get away.

"Sometimes I thought of that promise in the first Psalme, that they shall be scattered as chaffe before the winde; they are gone into severall countries.

"Sometimes the Lord saith He will bring His wheele upon them, and break them. We saw their power broken, their councells broken, their intrests broken, their expectations broken, who would have broke the verie axeltree of the State.

"Sometimes I thought of the prophesy, when the Lord saith He would poure contempt upon princes, especiallie when I read writings from the Prince, thus, *dated at our Court at Sillie:* 'And though he be unwilling to play with words, yet I could wish that that place and name might ever be the portion of those that councell princes to their own ruin.'

"'*Incedis inscilam cupiens vitare quietem.*'

Manie of such like punishes have been fulfilled in our sight.

"And now I must be thankfull to those gentlemen of this House that have beene carefull for moneyes, cloathes, and ammunition for the army, being the sinewes of our worke; and yet must complaine that after many letters written from place to place, we have not had one ship from the Parliament upon the coast to joine with us in any designe, or to meet the enemie when they went away with their Welsh; onely Captain Plunket's ship lying at Plimmouth was willing to do their utmost, and Sir George Ayseugh, that commands the expedition, brought us the last money to Foy, and is earnestly seeking out which way to serve us to the uttermost.

"I would say something for myselfe, and yet so prove an atombe, as not worth a minute of your time, though you have been pleased to bear with my rudenesse.

"Since my last being in the city, I have beene by some represented as one scandalizing of others, which as it hath no truth in it, so I blesse God that there is a Parliament to appeale unto, and I know not the cause hereof, but from my forwardnesse and faithfulnesse to the work in hand.

"This I am bold to say, *Though it should be accompted a crime to serve the Parliament, and I might be sory for the despisers, which it shall never make me weary of my duty, nor my masters.*

"If in my death the State might be a gainer, I have sometimes thought I might be willing to come to that trial; if my life may serve you, you may command it, for I must make the same profession that he did to *Cæsar*, that your former favours have done me that injurie, that I must live and die ungratefull.

"These are my last requests, and the very sighings of my soule,

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that—first, since the Spirit of God hath done all your workes for you, that Spirit may never be sadded by you that glads yours. It hath been an old Jesuiticall practise to beat religion with religions. I say no more. Secondly, that you may live to see that top stone laid, to which you may all cry grace, grace. Thirdly, and lastly, that when your soules shall sit upon your trembling lips and take care of your bodies, your accompts may be as comfortable as your pains have beene indefatigable, and more.—So prayes

"HUGH PETERS."

"We hear for certain that Greenvill, Culpepper, Sir Nicholas Crisp, and divers others are in France. Hopton and Wentworth and divers others were going from Penthancts thither on Tuesday last. The French and others have leave to take shipping at Plymouth; twenty or thirty are allowed to go to the king. Divers Irish and Welsh are gone into Pendennis, where there are many distractions; and Sir Henry Killegrew, most wilde and violent, who upon Sunday last burnt the ancient house of that name, called Arwennock, now belonging to Sir Peter Killegrew. The Prince remains still in Scillie, expecting what ends his father will make with the Parliament.

"The same day a letter was sent to Mr. *Peters* as followeth:

"'*Mr. Peters,—The House of Commons have commanded me to give you notice that they have appointed a day of thanksgiving (for these blessings upon our armies) upon Thursday come sennight, and that they have desired yourself and Mr. Carel to preach upon that day at Christ Church.*—Your affectionate Friend,

"'OL. ST. JOHN.

"'Satterday, the 21st of March, 1645.'"

Ilfracombe.—The Scottish Doon, April 8th to 15th, No. 129, says:

"The same letter tells us that *Ilfordcome*, which the enemy still held, is taken by storme, and the governor and all his men are taken prisoners except some that are slaine."

The Mercurius Civicus of April 9th to 16th, 1646, says:

"The fort of Ilford-come was gained by storm the other day. Col. Sheffield commanded a party, which was led on by Lieut.-Col. Harris. The governor and all his men are prisoners, some slaine."

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NOTES ON RECENT NOTICES OF THE GEOLOGY AND PALÆONTOLOGY OF DEVONSHIRE.

Part III.

BY W. PENGELLY, F.R.S., F.G.S.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

Brixham (Windmill Hill) and Kent's Hole Caverns are the only topics connected with the Geology and Palæontology of Devonshire of which, during the last twelvemonths, I have observed *Notices* requiring and deserving attention.

It must be unnecessary to observe that my aim in these "Notes" is, not to discuss, or give an opinion on, any work or paper, as a whole, in which a "Notice" occurs, but simply to correct, when it appears to be necessary, any statements respecting Devonshire Geology, Palæontology, or Anthropology.

I. MR. THOMAS KARR CALLARD ON BRIXHAM CAVERN.

In an Essay of 38 pages, published in 1875, and entitled *The Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man Reconsidered.* By Thos. Karr Callard, F.G.S., there is a section headed *Palæolithic Implements Lacking Evidence of Design*, in which the author says, "Mr. Whitley tells us that he has gathered from a heap of flint, undesignedly broken for the repair of the road, at Menchecourt, most perfect flint-flake knives, and long, thin, delicately-formed 'arrow-heads, of the most convincing forms.' And we suspect that all localities where chalk and flint are found yield specimens of this kind. The writer has picked up in the roads just outside Margate broken flints, *the counterpart of a cast he has had long by him of a supposed flint knife taken from Brixham cave.*"* The words I have italicised mystified me a good deal, and disquieted me somewhat, for, assuming it to be true that Mr. Callard really possessed a cast of a "flint implement" found in Brixham Cavern, it was clear that a mould of the flint

* *Op. cit.* pp. 34, 35.

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must have been made either before I received the "implement" from the workman who found it, or whilst it was in my possession, or after I sent it to Dr. Falconer—Chairman of the Brixham Cavern Committee.

The first of these three hypotheses, amounting to nothing less than that the workman, in whom the Committee reposed the fullest confidence, had proved untrustworthy, was so very repulsive that I scouted it at once; and, indeed, a moment's reflection showed that it was utterly untenable, for the workman in question, though an experienced and excellent fossil collector, knew nothing whatever about, and had never seen any, "flint implements" when he commenced his labours at Brixham. In fact, it was from me alone that he learned that he might perhaps find in the Cavern pieces of flint believed by some persons to have been fashioned by man, who had used them as tools; and had I not instructed him at the beginning to preserve every bone, no matter how small or decayed, and every stone of peculiar shape, or colour, or material, it is not impossible that the Cavern implements might have been unheeded.

The second supposition was not very flattering to myself, for I certainly was not authorized by the Cavern Committee to take casts of any of the specimens, and it was impossible to conceal from myself that my colleagues might be led to suppose by Mr. Callard's statement that, without their sanction, or even their knowledge, I had caused or allowed casts of at least one of the implements to be taken, and had rendered it possible for other persons to get them, whilst no thought had been taken for the Committee.

When considering the third, and only remaining, hypothesis, though there appeared to be no reason why casts of the flints should not have been taken by the Committee in 1873, as soon as their Report was published, it struck me as at least improbable that this should have been done and not mentioned to me, as one of the Members.

In short, as the first hypothesis appeared untenable, as I knew the second to be certainly untrue, and as the third had not the air of probability, it appeared to be worth while to ascertain, if possible, whether or not Mr. Callard had been imposed on. Accordingly I sent him the following letter:—

"To Thomas Karr Callard, Esq., 4, Blenheim Terrace, St. John's Wood, London.

"Lamorna, Torquay, 26th July, 1875.

"Dear Sir:—I observe that at page 35 of your 'Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man Reconsidered,' you speak

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of a cast you had long had by you of a supposed flint knife taken from Brixham Cave. Will you kindly inform me where you got your cast? You are probably aware that Brixham Cavern was explored under my superintendence. Every flint knife found there came to me at once, and I sent them on to London, where they have been ever since. I am not aware that any casts of them have been taken, but if I am in error in this I shall be glad to get them for my own private collection and also for the Museum in Torquay. I have reason to fear you have been imposed on.

"I am very truly yours,

"(Signed) WM. PENGELLY."

Without the loss of more than one day I received the following reply from Mr. Callard:—

"Blenheim Terrace, St. John's Wood,

"July 28th, [1875.]

"Dear Sir:—The cast of supposed flint knife to which I refer I received from Mr. Philp, who I understood was the proprietor of the Cave at Brixham.

"He either gave it to me, or I purchased it from him, after going through the Cave in Oct., 1871. I send it for your inspection, and shall be glad to hear your opinion of its genuineness, or otherwise. I had no reason to suspect its being other than it was represented.

"I may possibly be in that neighbourhood in a few weeks, and will make further enquiries respecting the cast if Mr. Philp is still there, and will communicate with you if I can learn anything more respecting it.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Yours very truly,

"(Signed) THOS. KARR CALLARD.

"W. Pengelly, Esq., F.R.S."

The cast itself was sent with the letter, being carefully packed in cotton wool in a card-board box which bore the label "Cast of Flint Knife *

from Mammoth Cave

Brixham

S. Devon."

A glance at the cast showed me that it was the offspring of an old friend, whose history, so far as it is known to me, I will now proceed to tell.

* Originally it was "arrow-head," but the pen had been drawn through it and "knife" written above it.

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On 8th June, 1860, I received the following letter from Mr. Philp, the proprietor and discoverer of Brixham Cavern:—

"Brixham, 7th June, 1860.

"Dear Sir:—As you have taken so much interest in the Cavern, I have taken the liberty to ask a favour. There have been many visitors lately, but have very much to regret that there is not one of the Flint knives to be seen. Would you be so kind as to use your influence for me with those gentlemen in London, and as the Cavern turned out so successful, they may take it into consideration and let one be exhibited in the Cavern, which would be a good thing for me, and enable me always to keep the cavern open for inspection.

"Yours respectfully,

"(Signed) J. L. PHILP."

I forwarded this letter to Dr. Falconer, chairman of the Brixham Cave Committee, and received the following reply:

"London Geolog[l]. Society,

"Somerset House, 20th July, 1860.

"Dear Sir:—The Brixham Cave Committee have had under consideration your note of the 8th ult., forwarding an application from Mr. Philp for a 'Flint knife.'

"The objects met with in the exploration of the Brixham Cave are not the property of the Committee, nor at their disposal, and I am directed to state that Mr. Philp's request cannot be complied with.

"Dear Sir, yours faithfully,

"(Signed) H. FALCONER.

"W. Pengelly, Esq., Torquay."

This reply I at once communicated to Mr. Philp, who soon after made me a visit, when he stated that, as many persons who came to see his Cavern were entirely ignorant of the character of a flint knife, he was very anxious to get one, or even the cast of one, whether found in his Cavern or not, that he might show it to such visitors. I then told him that I would lend him a flint tool from my private collection for the purpose of having a cast of it taken, provided he would engage to state whenever it was exhibited that it was not one of those found in his Cavern. As he most readily and distinctly promised this, he was allowed to take the implement with him, and in a few days he returned it, informing me that he had taken a cast of it. It now appears that he had

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not only a cast but a mould of my flint, that he supplied casts of it to his visitors, and that he, at least, sometimes, lost sight of his engagement with me on the subject. The cast Mr. Callard obtained was taken, not from any specimen found in Brixham Cavern, but from the implement I lent to Mr. Philp, which I still have in my possession, and now produce.*

The passage quoted from Mr. Callard shows that in his opinion the original of his cast was not shaped by man with the intention of using it as a tool, for he says he "has picked up in the roads just outside Margate broken flints, the counterpart of this cast." I presume he means that, like those mentioned by Mr. Whitley in the passage quoted, the Margate flints had been broken by man for road repairs. It may, therefore, be of interest to state how I got my specimen, and whence it came.

It was presented to me many years ago by the Rev. Mr. de Bourg, an Irish Protestant clergyman, at that time resident at Torquay, who told me that it had been found in the North of Ireland. I cannot help thinking that I should have hesitated, more than Mr. Callard seems to have done, before placing it in the Palæolithic series; and I can entertain no doubt that the flint was shaped by man, with the intention of using it as a tool.

Before closing this communication I may as well say that it is not impossible, and, it may be feared, not improbable, that Mr. Philp may be able to supply his customers with casts of other flint tools besides my specimen from the North of Ireland, for in June or July, 1874, I prevailed on him to present to the Museum of the Torquay Natural History Society an object of interest he had found in 1869 near his Cavern, but at a considerably greater height. In exchange for this specimen, I gave him two or three flint tools from my private collection, and a plaster cast of one found by myself near Norwich in 1862,† again stipulating that those to whom he might show them were to be informed that they were not specimens found in his Cavern, but were exhibited simply for the purpose of conveying an idea of what flint implements were like.

Since writing the above, I have met with another of Mr. Philp's customers, who on Saturday, 7th August, 1875, purchased of him a cast, not only of the specimen from the

* The original implement was exhibited to the meeting.

† See *Geologist*, vol. vi. 1863, pp. 111–13.

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North of Ireland, but also of that from the neighbourhood of Norwich; and the vendor, besides stating that they were verily casts of specimens found in his Cavern, wrote with pencil "Cast of flint knife from Brixham Cavern," on the Irish specimen; and "Cast of flint, Brixham Cavern," on that from Norwich. Both these casts, which are now my property, I produce.*

Mr. Philp took no part whatever in the exploration of his Cavern. He had made a few desultory diggings before the Committee commenced their researches, and had found a few bones, all of which the Committee purchased; but before they began operations they took a lease in the Cavern, and the work was done by their own workmen, one of whom—the foreman—was brought from the Isle of Wight to undertake it, and the whole was carried on under my superintendence. The bones found by Mr. Philp they kept distinct and apart from those met with by their own workmen.

In reply to Mr. Callard's letter, already quoted, I wrote as follows:—

"Lamorna, Torquay, 9th Aug., 1875.

"Dear Sir:—I am sorry that I have not been able by an earlier post to acknowledge receipt of your kind letter of 28th July, and of the cast of flint, which duly reached me. The upshot of the matter is you have been imposed on; the implement of which you have a cast is well known to me, and was never found in Brixham Cavern. As this imposition must be stopped, I purpose writing a short paper on the question, and trust you will allow me to publish your letter *in extenso*. . . . .

"Should I not hear from you to the contrary, I will conclude that you assent to this.

"I am, truly yours,

"(Signed) WM. PENGELLY.

"To Thos. C. Karr Callard, Esq.

"P.S. I return cast by this post.—W. P."

It happened that Mr. Callard was from home when the foregoing letter reached his residence, and on (I think) Saturday, 21st August, he was so good as to call on me, when I showed him the original of his cast and read to him the present note. We then agreed that it would be advisable to include my second letter to him, which has just been

* They were exhibited to the meeting.

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given, and a reply to it which he would send me in a day or two. The following letter accordingly reached me on the 25th:—

"Blenheim Terrace,
"St. John's Wood,
"August 24th [1875].

"Dear Sir:—In reply to your note of the 9th instant, I am willing that you should publish my letter *in extenso*. . . . Any one who reads my essay will see that my position is all the stronger if the original of the cast in question did not come from Brixham Cavern, for the evidence of the human habitation of that cave is so much the less if the original of the cast in question did not come out of it.

"Whatever may be our interpretation of facts, we are equally interested in getting the facts themselves correctly before us.

"During the past week I have revisited Brixham Cavern, and have conversed with Mr. Philp, its discoverer and proprietor. He still maintains that the flint of which mine is the cast was found in that cave; and tells me that you lent him the flint in question. I may also remark that there are three casts on shew at the present time that came from the same mould.

"I thank you for calling my attention to the subject, and also for your courtesy in not only shewing me the original flint, but also in giving me its history.

"You prove to my thorough satisfaction that Brixham Cavern was not its place of origin, but that Mr. Philp has abused your confidence by taking casts from your flint which you only intended him to shew as the *type*, and not as the *identical cavern produce*.

"The thanks of every investigator will be due to you if you stop any more of the casts going forth to the world.

"Again thanking you personally for your communications to me upon the subject,

"I am,
"Dear Sir,
"Yours truly,
"(Signed) THOS. KARR CALLARD.

"W. Pengelly, Esq., F.R.S."

P.S. The foregoing "Note" was read to the Anthropological Department of the Biological Section of the British Association, during the meeting of that body at Bristol in August, 1875; and Mr. Callard, who was present, has published the following P.S. to his Essay:—

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"In a paper read by W. Pengelly, Esq., F.R.S., before the Anthropological Section [correctly, Department] of the British Association, Bristol, 1875, it was shown that I was in error in saying, on page 35, line 8, that the supposed flint knife was taken from Brixham Cave. The flint knife in question came from Ireland, and was lent by Mr. Pengelly, in 1860, to the discoverer and proprietor of Brixham Cave to illustrate what a flint knife is, but not as a sample of the cavern produce. This very naturally led to an error after a lapse of eleven years, at which I received the cast, with the assurance that the original was found in the cavern. I thank Mr. Pengelly for the correction. Since I obtained the cast, the flint products of the cavern have been exhibited with Mr. Christy's collection of flint implements at Victoria Street, London, but no flint knife at all comparable to the one in question is amongst them, consequently the evidence of the human origin of the Brixham Cavern flint implements is so much the less, and my argument so much the stronger.—T. K. C."

I have endeavoured to grasp the argument with which the P.S., just quoted, concludes, but have to confess my utter inability to do so. Is it possible that a quantity when *additive* may be nothing, and yet when *subtractive* be nevertheless something?—W. P.

II. MR. SOUTHALL ON BRIXHAM CAVERN.

Mr. Southall, an American author, has recently published an octavo volume of upwards of 600 pages, entitled *The Recent Origin of Man** in which he, of course, makes some mention of Brixham Cavern, compiled, no doubt, from Sir Charles Lyell's *Antiquity of Man*, and Sir John Lubbock's *Pre-historic Times;* and it is to be regretted that he does not appear to have used the fourth or last edition of the *Antiquity* (1873), for his book will now unfortunately aid in perpetuating a few errors which appeared in the earlier editions.

The following are the passages which have arrested my attention:—

1. "The organic remains, according to Sir John Lubbock, belonged chiefly to the following species:

Elephas primigenius
Rhinoceros tichorhinus . . . . .

* *The Recent Origin of Man, as illustrated by Geology and the Modern Science of Pre-historic Archæology.* By James C. Southall, Philadelphia and London. 1875.

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Bos spelæus . . . .
Equus spelæus
Cervus tarandus . . .
Cervus elaphus
Cervus capreolus
Ursus spelæus
Ursus ferox
Ursus arctos
Hyæna spelæa
Lagomys." (p. 198.)*

2. "Under the stalagmitic floor, a very perfect flint tool occurred, on the same level with, and in very close proximity to, 'the entire left hind-leg of a cave-bear.'" p. 198.†

3. "This specimen" [the bear's left hind leg] "was found in what is called the reindeer-gallery. The mass of earth containing it was removed entire, and the matrix cleared away carefully by Dr. Falconer in the presence of Mr. Pengelly. Every bone was in its natural position. Even the patella or detached bone of the knee-pan was searched for, and not in vain. Here, therefore, says Lyell, 'we have evidence of an entire limb, not having been washed in a fossil state out of an older alluvium, and then swept afterwards into a cave, so as to be mingled with flint implements, but having been introduced when clothed with its flesh, or at least when it had the separate bones bound together by their natural ligaments, and in that state buried in mud.'" p. 198.

In proceeding to offer a few remarks on the foregoing passages, I purpose taking them in the order in which they are quoted and numbered:—

1. The list of species of mammals of which relics were found in the Cavern, as given by Mr. Southall, requires both (A) correction and (B) amplification.

(A.) On reading the list as it stands I was greatly mystified by the appearance of *Bos spelæus* and *Equus spelæus*, the trivial or specific name being new to me in each case; and I tried

* See *Pre-historic Times, as illustrated by Ancient Remains, and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages.* By Sir John Lubbock, Bart., F.R.S. Second edition. London. 1869. p. 307.

† See *The Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man.* By Sir Charles Lyell, F.R.S. Third Edition. London. 1863. p. 100.

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hard to prevail on myself to believe that they were, perhaps, American synonyms for well known European names. On turning to Sir John Lubbock's *Pre-historic Times*, whence the list was confessedly taken, I found "Bos sp." and "Equus sp.;" and, of course, understood them to signify that the remains in question belonged to the *genera Bos* and *Equus* respectively, but that the *species* had not been determined. On turning, further, to a "Report of Progress" on the Exploration of the Cavern drawn up by the late Dr. Falconer, in conjunction with Professor Ramsay and myself, in 1858, and which furnished mainly Sir John Lubbock with his materials, I found the confirmatory words "*Bos*.—Species undetermined," and "Horse.—Species undetermined."* There appeared now to be sufficient data to justify me in erecting the following hypothesis respecting the two new names:—Mr. Southall, being unacquainted with at least some of the abbreviations used by palæontologists, understood the "sp." which met his eye to be a curtailment of the word "spelæus," and he restored it to its proper dimensions in each case; and thus, with a stroke of the pen, created two new species. In fact, however, the remains of Ox found at Brixham turn out to be those of our old friends *Bos primigenius* and *B. longifrons*, whilst the relics of Horse belong to *Equus caballus*.

(B.) Having made the foregoing corrections, the following species must be *added* to Mr. Southall's list:—*Felis spelæa* (Cave Lion), *Canis vulpes* (Fox), *Lepus timidus* (Hare), *L. cuniculus* (Rabbit), *Arvicola amphibius* (Water-rat), *Sorex vulgaris* (Shrew), *Fœtorius putorius* (Pole-cat), *Putorius erminеus* (Weasel), and *Ovis aries* or *Capra hircus* (Sheep or Goat).

2. The second passage quoted from Mr. Southall was compiled, no doubt, from Sir Charles Lyell's *Antiquity of Man*, 3rd edition (1863), p. 100, and contains two errors: (A) There was *no* flint tool "in very close proximity to the left hind leg of a cave-bear," and (B) the bear's leg was *not* "entire." Mr. Southall is not answerable for these errors, for they occur in the work from which he compiled; he has, however, substituted "*very* close proximity" to the left hind leg," for "close proximity," &c., in the original. As I have pointed out elsewhere, "The first two flint tools found in the Cavern were met with, like the leg, on July 29th, 1858, but about 12 feet further south, and only 9 inches deep in the Third Bed, whilst the bones under consideration were upwards of two feet deep. In fact, the tools just mentioned were

* See *Phil. Trans.*, vol. clxiii. p. 477. 1873.

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nearer the surface than any others found in the Cavern. All the other implements were at still greater distances from the leg of the bear." *

3. The third quotation is partly compiled and partly copied verbatim from the *Antiquity of Man* (3rd edition, pp. 100–1). The following is Sir Charles Lyell's description of the celebrated leg of the bear:—"Every bone was in its natural place, the femur, tibia, fibula, ankle-bone, or astragalus, all in juxta-position. Even the patella or detached bone of the knee-pan was searched for and not in vain." This, in its turn, was drawn up from the following account of the specimen by Dr. Falconer in the "Report of Progress" already mentioned:—"A superb specimen of a left hind leg, comprising the femur, tibia, and fibula folded together, with the patella and astragalus *in situ*." † In a letter which Sir John Lubbock quotes from Dr. Falconer, the latter says, "All the circumstances connected with the entire leg of cave-bear—femur, with tibia and fibula folded together, with the ball of astragalus partly dislocated . . . . were determined by me at Torquay and Brixham on September 2nd." ‡

It will be observed that Dr. Falconer's two statements are not quite identical—the second speaks of the astragalus being "partly dislocated," which the first does not; and the first states that the patella was *in situ*, whilst the second makes no mention of this bone at all. I have, however, the most perfect recollection that when he inspected the specimen he called attention to the presence of the patella. This celebrated leg then has a strong probability of continuing to occupy a place in the history of Cavern researches; nevertheless, neither of the foregoing descriptions of it will be found to be strictly correct. The specimen proved to be not an *entire* leg, and to be something *more* than a leg. In the *Report on the Exploration of Brixham Cave*, read to the Royal Society on 20th June, 1872, Mr. Busk, to whom the identification of the Mammalian remains had been entrusted, says, "Subsequent examination . . . . . of this collection of bones, after the removal of the matrix in which they were imbedded, has shown that Dr. Falconer was, to some extent, misled as to the true state of the case. The bone which, when very partially uncovered, he naturally took to be fibula, proves, when fully disclosed, to be the radius, and it would

* See *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, vol. vi. p. 794.
† See *Phil. Trans.*, vol. clxiii. 1873, p. 478.
‡ *Prehistoric Times*, 2nd edition, p. 283.

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seem that what is described as the patella is in reality the detached end of the radius above noticed. Besides these, a further removal of the indurated clayey matrix has brought into view a large portion of a rib." *

Instead, therefore, of being an *entire* leg, the fibula and patella are missing; and instead of being merely a hind leg, both a fore-leg and the thorax are represented. Nevertheless, the presence of the femur, the tibia, and astragalus are amply sufficient to justify the inference, "that the leg must have been introduced with its ligament at least fresh," which Dr. Falconer drew from the specimen, and which was adopted by Sir Charles Lyell as well as Sir John Lubbock, and quoted by Mr. Southall.

III. PROFESSOR DANIEL WILSON ON BRIXHAM CAVERN.

In the third edition of his *Prehistoric Man*,† Professor Daniel Wilson, of University College, Toronto, has the following statements and remarks respecting Brixham Cavern—all in the first volume:—

1. "Of twenty-one species of post-glacial mammals identified in the deposits of Brixham Cavern, only four are regarded as extinct species, and these include the *ursus spelæus* and *hyæna spelæa*. But their habitats have been widely changed in the climate and geographical revolutions which have intervened. Some have to be sought for within the arctic circle; others in low latitudes, and on continents lying wholly outside of that world which was alone known to Aristotle and Pliny." p. 26.

2. "Recent carefully conducted explorations in the Devonshire caves have resulted in seemingly indisputable proof that English flint implements of the Amiens type are coeval with the extinct fauna; and that consequently the presence of their manufacturers must be assigned to periods prior to the successive inundations and depositions by which Brixham cave was gradually filled with layers of water-worn gravel, silt or cave-earth, bone breccia and solid floorings of carbonate of lime." p. 29.

3. "In 1858 another ossiferous limestone cave was accidentally discovered at Brixham, in the vicinity of the famous Kent's Hole, and negotiations were soon after entered into

* *Phil. Trans.*, vol. clxiii. p. 533–4.

† *Prehistoric Man.* By Daniel Wilson, LL.D., F.R.S.E. Third edition. In two volumes. 1876.

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with a view to its thorough investigation for purposes of science. Unlike Kent's Hole Cavern, after a succession of prolonged alternations of occupation by the carnivora of a late quaternary epoch; of submergence by local floods, with the deposition of their detrital accumulations in beds of varying character and contents; and the formation over all, at favourable points, of a flooring of carbonate of lime upwards of a foot thick; the falling in of a portion of the roof closed up the entrance of Brixham Cave, except to the smaller rodents and burrowing animals. Its history as the resort of the older mammalia, and of man himself, was thus abruptly closed, and it thenceforth remained intact, until its recent exlporation. . . . . .

Brixham Cave appears to have long been the resort of hyænas, who dragged their prey into its main passages, and left there the gnawed bones of the rhinoceros, the fossil horse and ox, the reindeer, roebuck, great red deer, etc. It included unmistakable traces of the mammoth, or other huge proboscidian, was visited by the cave-tiger (*Felis spelæa*), and finally became a favourite haunt of the great cave-bear (*Ursus spelæus*), as well as of two other species of bears, one of which seems to correspond to *Ursus arctos*, or brown bear, and another has been supposed to be identical with *Ursus ferox*, or grizzly bear. From time to time it was also visited, and some of its remote recesses explored by man. Thirty-six flints in all have been recovered in the different strata of the cave beds. A few of these are simply unworked flints; but twenty-three of them betray traces of human workmanship and use; and include knives and oval lanceolate blades, closely analogous to implements found in the Cavern of Aurignac, in the Pyrenees, and in that of Le Moustier, in the Dordogne. Others, though mere flint-flakes, bear decided marks of use as scraping tools. Another implement is a round pebble of siliceous sandstone, weighing 1 lb. 3 oz., which must have been brought from a distance, and shows on the side opposite to that by which it is most readily grasped by the hand distinct evidence of its use as a hammer stone. One, and only one, object from animal substance, a small cylindrical pin, or rod of ivory, accompanied the more durable flints. Some of those indications of the presence of man were found in the bottom, or shingle-bed, overlaid by undisturbed cave-earth rich in mammalian remains; and the entire succession of beds was overlaid by a layer of stalagmite in which bones of the mammoth, rhinoceros, and other fossil mammals occurred.

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It does not appear that Brixham Cave had at any time been inhabited by man. It has no accumulation of split bones or broken tools, nor any traces of the hearth, as in Kent's Hole, or in the Caves of Dordogne and the Pyrenees. But the men of the mammoth period had resorted thither occasionally,—for hiding, it may be, or in pursuit of their prey; and thus dropped the worked flints which now reveal the evidence of their presence. There is no trace of human bones, or any indication that man fell a prey to the powerful wild animals which chiefly haunted the cave. But he explored its recesses, in one case at least, to a distance of seventy-four feet from the entrance; and unless we suppose him to have groped his way thither, when in search of a more effectual hiding-place from some human foe, it seems no unfair surmise that he carried with him the illuminating torch. The extinguished hearths of the French Caves, as at Aurignae and the Vezère, leave no room to question man's early acquaintance with fire. Nor does it seem to me probable that, under the rigorous climate to which he was exposed in that remote post-glacial period, he could fail, as man, to employ the art of fire-making to alleviate his necessities, even as is now done under corresponding exigencies by the Arctic Esquimaux. Nevertheless it is to be noted that the flint implements found in Brixham Cave are of the rudest character; and like other specimens of the worked-flints of the men of the Drift or Cave periods, indicate a very slight development of constructive skill: unless, ... there may be reason to regard many of them as merely in the first stage of manufacture into weapons or tools." pp. 42–4.

4. "The ossiferous Cave of Brixham, which has recently been subjected to an exhaustive scientific investigation, consists of a series of galleries and passages in the Devonshire limestone. They are partly natural fissures, and partly chambers hollowed out by the action of running water. Those have been refilled with gravel, red cave-earth, and layers of stalagmite, which were in process of deposition while the *ursus spelæus*, or great cave-bear, still haunted their recesses, and when the reindeer was a native of the neighbouring region. Though visited from time to time by man, Brixham Cave had never been made his dwelling-place or work-shop; and so it has revealed only his rudest tools. Of these, Fig 4 * is a characteristic example of a rude lanceolate implement, which embodies within itself some very significant

* See *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, vol. vi. p. 834.

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glimpses of the era to which it belongs. The great valleys were excavated and refilled with the rolled gravel of the drift during the prolonged operations of ice and floods. But it is here seen that the violence of the floods extended to the recesses of the caves. The implement has been broken into three pieces, evidently at the period of the original filling up of the cave. One portion was recovered buried in the cave-earth of the flint-knife gallery; another fragment lay far apart, under three and a half feet of earth, in a neighbouring gallery; while a third portion has escaped even the careful and discriminating search which resulted in the discovery of those long-dissevered fragments. It has to be borne in remembrance that every fragment of flint found in the cave-earth was preserved, whether showing traces of human workmanship or not. Thirty-two fragments were discovered in all; with an interval of nearly a month between the finding of the first and second portions of the implement figured here. A still longer period elapsed before it was noticed that they fitted to each other as part of the same worked flint. Most of the fragments so found have undergone great alteration in their structure, and have become absorbent and brittle. How little chance, therefore, is there that any delicately formed flint-tool should be recovered in the flint gravel beds." pp. 65–7.

On studying the foregoing quotations, a few remarks seem to be called for on the following topics:—

1. The Species of Mammals found in the Cavern.
2. The Roof of the Cavern.
3. The Hyæna's Visits to the Cavern.
4. The gnawed Bones.
5. The Human Industrial Remains.
6. Man's Visits to the Cavern.
7. Palæolithic Fires.
8. The Character of the Cavern.

1. *The Species of Mammals found in the Cavern*:—Instead of *twenty-one*, as Dr. Wilson states, *twenty-two* species of Mammals were represented by the remains found in the Cavern, viz.—Mammoth, Tichorhine Rhinoceros, Horse, Wild Bull or Urus, Small fossil Ox, Red Deer, Reindeer, Roebuck, Cave Lion, Cave Hyæna, Cave Bear, Grisly Bear, Brown Bear, Fox, Hare, Rabbit, Cave Pika, Water-Rat, Shrew, Polecat, Weasel, and Sheep or Goat.

With regard to the number that are extinct, if, as the

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author suggests apparently, the Cave bear and Cave hyæna are included, there are, no doubt, five species, at least, belonging to this list, viz.—the Mammoth, Rhinoceros, Cave bear, Cave hyæna, and Cave pika.

Of those not extinct, the Reindeer represents a cold climate, and the Grisly bear is now confined to the American continent, but, unless we regard the Cave lion and hyæna as being represented by the existing *Felis leo* and *Hyæna crocuta*, the list contains no representative of "low latitudes."

Whilst it is true that all the animals in the list belong, as the author states, to the post-glacial fauna, it is equally true that at least seven of them were also pre-glacial:—the Mammoth, Horse, Urus, Red deer, Roebuck, Cave bear, and Fox.*

2. *The Roof of the Cavern*:—I felt called on in 1875 to attempt the correction of an error fallen into by Mr. Clodd, who had stated that the Cavern was discovered by the falling in of a part of the roof;† and now Dr. Wilson states that "the falling in of a portion of the roof closed up the entrance," and that thus "its history as the resort of the older mammalia, and of man himself, was abruptly closed." I am afraid that this statement, which I here encounter for the first time, is no more trustworthy than that by Mr. Clodd, just alluded to. When the Cavern was discovered, the entrances were found to be closed with accumulations of small angular fragments of limestone, from about one inch to three inches square, such as the weather produces during protracted periods on every similar hill-side; and the whole was cemented into a concrete with carbonate of lime.

3. *The Hyæna's Visits to the Cavern*:—That the Hyæna visited the Cavern there can be little doubt, but there appears to be no evidence that, like Kent's Hole, it was his more or less permanent dwelling; for, in the first place, the relative prevalence of its remains is very small, amounting, in fact, to no more than 8·5 per cent. of all the bones found in the Cavern; whilst in Kent's Cavern it amounted to fully 29. Secondly, there was not a trace of coprolite, whereas in Kent's Hole fæcal matter occurred in considerable quantities in almost every part of the Cavern; and, thirdly, the bones lay in the deposit in the manner in which a running stream

* See *Cave Hunting*. By W. Boyd Dawkins, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.S.A. 1874. p. 418.

† See *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, vol. vii. p. 280. 1875.

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would arrange them, not like fragments rejected by an ossivorous animal; in short, not in the confused manner in which they occurred in Kent's Cavern.

4. *The gnawed Bones:*—The following is the complete list of the species whose remains were found to have been gnawed:—Red deer, Ox, *Mammoth*, Rhinoceros, Reindeer, Roebuck, Horse, *Bear*, and *Hyæna;* which, it will be observed, includes all those named by Dr. Wilson, and the three species italicised in addition. The order in which the names are printed is that in which in the gnawing was frequent; thus, whilst 67 per cent. of all the indentified remains of the Red deer had been thus treated, no more than 5 per cent. of those of the Hyæna were found bearing teeth-marks.

5. *The Human Industrial Remains:*—The author states in the third quotation that "*thirty-six* flints in all had been recovered in the different strata, and, in the fourth, that "thirty-two fragments were discovered in all." The discrepancy may, no doubt, be thus accounted for. The actual number met with was *thirty-six*,* but, according to Mr. Prestwich, who drew up the Report on the Cavern for the Royal Society, "in the long interval since their discovery *four* specimens have been mislaid." . . . "No. 2, 15, 16, 36;"† and in accordance with this, Mr. Evans, who prepared the Report on the flints, says, "*thirty-two* have been submitted to me for examination."‡

Dr. Wilson remarks, with sufficient correctness, that "twenty-three of them betray traces of workmanship and use," but it might, perhaps, have been better, as well as more definite, to have stated, in the words of Mr. Prestwich, that whilst "fourteen of these are described by Mr. Evans, there are nine others of which the workmanship is very rude or doubtful. §

When Dr. Wilson observes that the hammer stone, or round pebble of siliceous sandstone, "must have been brought from a distance," he may be said to follow Mr. Prestwich, whose words are, It "is one of those hard pebbles forming the Budleigh Salterton conglomerates,—beds which do not range westward of the Ex. . . . . It seems to have been brought from a distance;"‖ but he overlooks Mr. Prestwich's foot-note on the passage, which is as follows:—

* See *Phil. Trans.*, vol. clxiii. p. 494.
† *Ibid*, p. 562.
‡ *Ibid*, p. 549.
§ *Ibid*, p. 561.
‖ *Ibid*, p. 564.

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"Budleigh Salterton is about twenty-five miles eastward from Brixham. Mr. Pengelly informs me, however, that quartzite pebbles are occasionally met with on the Devon beaches." I may add that pebbles very similar to, probably identical with, those of Budleigh Salterton, and that found in the Cavern, may be obtained on almost any of the existing South Devon beaches, and that it is therefore unnecessary to suppose that the specimen in question was brought from a distance; and unsafe to found any argument on that hypothesis.

I have stated elsewhere that "I have no recollection of" the cylindrical pin or rod of ivory mentioned by the author; and that "I am inclined to suspect that it does not belong to the Cavern series of specimens,"* especially as Mr. Prestwich states that its position is not certain. I wrote, in ink, on every specimen, of every kind, found in the Cavern, the number of the "find" to which it belonged, and, fearing the ink might, perhaps, fade so as to become indistinct, attached to each of them an adhesive label bearing the same numeral, and, finally, packed all those belonging to one and the same "find" in a separate box, and sent the whole in large packages to the apartments of the Geological Society of London in 1859. It ought, therefore, to have been possible and easy to determine, by reference to my register sent with the specimens, the precise position of every object really belonging to the Cavern. Be this as it may, my responsibility respecting the specimens and their localities and connexions ceased when I sent them off. In the winter of 1859–60, Dr. Falconer, then spending some months at Torquay, had the packages, which had remained unopened, returned thither to him, in order that he might lose no time before commencing to study their contents. When he left, they were repacked and sent back to the Geological Society's rooms. With these unpackings and repackings I had nothing whatever to do, but being in almost daily communication with Dr. Falconer whilst he dwelt at Torquay, I feel assured that had the contents of the various boxes differed in any case from the statements in the register he would at once have consulted me on the subject. I know nothing whatever of the further history of the specimens until, in January 1875, I saw them in one of the vaults of the British Museum, waiting their turn to be arranged for exhibition in the galleries open to the general public. I venture on no opinion respecting the "ivory rod," and can only say again

* See *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, vol. vi. 1874, p. 836.

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that I have no recollection of it, nor can I understand how there can be any difficulty in ascertaining its precise position if it really belonged to the Cavern.

6. *Man's Visits to the Cavern:*—Professor Wilson adopts Mr. Prestwich's opinion, in which I fully concur, that the Cavern had not at any time been inhabited by man; and he follows him in the belief, which, as stated elsewhere,* I decline to do, that unless he possessed "the illuminating torch," the palæolithic man had to grope his way during occasional visits. The latter opinion is based on the assumptions, first, that man must have stood on the spots in which his tools have been found; and, second, that daylight could not penetrate so far into the Cavern as some of the flint tools were met with. I hold that both these assumptions are untenable; for, with regard to the first, instead of there being anything about the characters of any of the tools themselves to discountenance the idea that they were washed from no great distance to their places in the deposit, at least some of them present an aspect to be ascribed probably to such a mode of transportation. For example, their edges are neither so sharp and unbroken, nor their forms and proportions so delicate, as in most of the Kent's Cavern specimens. With regard to the question of the penetration of daylight, I have elsewhere pointed out† that though two of the flints were found seventy-four feet from the entrance—the distance mentioned by Dr. Wilson—they were but 58 feet from the nearest point fully open to unbroken daylight; and that I had found by actual experiment in Kent's Hole that at ninety feet from the nearest entrance, and that in no way better calculated to admit the day than either of those of Brixham Cavern, sufficient light reached the spot to enable me to read and write, and to collect all the halfpence and other small objects which, some time before, I had purposely scattered around me.

7. *Palæolithic Fires:*—That palæolithic man, however, did possess "the illuminating torch," to use the language of Professor Wilson, I have not a shadow of doubt; for though there were in Brixham Cavern no indications of it, I take this to be amongst the consequences and the proofs that man did not make himself a home there. The contemporary deposits of Kent's Cavern contained more than a few charred

* See *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, vol. vi. 1874, p. 850.
† *Ibid*, p. 851.

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bones and a considerable number of fragments of charcoal, and it can scarcely be doubted by any one that the thin and very limited, but well-marked deposit termed the "Black Band" marked the precise site of a palæolithic hearth.*

8. *The Character of the Cavern*:—Professor Wilson, following Dr. Falconer and Mr. Prestwich,† no doubt, states that the Cavern "consists of a series of galleries and passages," which "are partly natural fissures and partly chambers hollowed out by the action of running water." A careful study of its features have led me to the decided conviction that it consists of a series of galleries and passages, hollowed out entirely by the corrosive and erosive action of acidulated water, charged with rock *débris*, and acting in the direction of the well-defined joints of the limestone of the district, which, instead of being open or "gaping" fissures, were so close-fitting as to admit the rain but sparingly, free from earthy matter, and at certain places only.

IV. MR. THOMAS LUMISDEN STRANGE ON KENT'S CAVERN.

The Development of Creation on the Earth (pp. 109), by Thomas Lumisden Strange, late a Judge of the High Court of Madras, published in London in 1874, contains much matter respecting Kent's Cavern, partly descriptive and partly speculative. The speculations profess to rest on an astronomical basis; but as this forms no part of the astronomy of the recognized authorities, it is not intended here to take further notice of the speculations Mr. Strange has built on it. The descriptions are largely but not wholly derived, as direct quotations, from the "Reports" of the Committee appointed by the British Association for exploring the Cavern; but the sources whence the remainder has been taken are not indicated. The present note will be devoted to this remainder, which is set forth in the following quotations from Mr. Strange's book:—

(1) "Kent's Cavern at Torquay has three several depositions of stalagmitic flooring, ordinarily separated from one another by strata of loam, or breccia, of considerable thickness." p. 46.

* See *Report of the Brit. Assoc.* for 1867, p. 27, &c.
† See *Phil. Trans.*, vol. clxiii. pp. 476, 477.

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(2) "The floor of this Cavern is laid out in well distinguished strata, one deposit divided from the other and sealed up with a solid coating of stalagmite, so that the whole presents a well-ordered calendar of the ancient histories thus preserved. There are six geological deposits, namely (1) black mould, forming the surface floor of the cavern; (2) a floor of granular stalagmite; (3) a stratum of red cave earth; (4) a floor of crystalline stalagmite; (5) a stratum of brown rock-like breccia; (6) another floor of stalagmite." p. 53.

(3) "The rock-like breccia contains considerable pieces of stalagmite, which give evidence of a floor deposed below." p. 56.

(4) "The features of Kent's Cavern give evidence of changes occurring in the circumstances of the earth whereby corresponding variations have arisen in the character of the deposits laid upon its crust. . . . . Wherever, for example, a stalagmite floor has been deposed upon a lower earthy stratum, there is evidence of this change. The earthy stratum has existed without its stalagmite covering. Then something has occurred to bring down the drip and effect the deposition of the stalagmite. Where there are two such coatings, as we see in several instances, and where there are three, as in Kent's Cave, there is proof of some very decided recurring cause, which at one time has arrested the drip, and at another has set it free. The thickness of the stalagmite floorings denote long maintenance of their inducing circumstances." p. 60.

(5) "Fragments of . . . limestone pervade all the deposits, and probably constitute in chief part the solid breccia which is its fifth deposit." p. 80.

(6) "The three superior deposits, namely the black mould, the uppermost stalagmite, and the red cave earth, remain *in situ* undisturbed, but the dense deposits forming the second floor of stalagmite, the brown breccia below it, and the lowest observed floor of stalagmite beneath that, have undergone great violence by which they have been more or less broken up." p. 81.

(7) "The magnitude of the force which has caused the disruption of the limestone of the cavern, and the breaking

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up of its floors, is apparent. It is equally apparent that it is a recurrent force, not always in operation. The limestone has been broken down at various times; and the cavern being found at present in a sound condition, no such process, it is evident, is now going on. In like manner the floor deposits have been acted upon at different times, and are not now being disturbed." p. 82.

(8) "The occurrence of several distinct floors of stalagmite, of which three are discernible in Kent's Cave . . . . is due to some general cause which has interrupted the drip, and then allowed it to flow again. The passage of the caverns into a glacial temperature, which would freeze and bind up the drip, and their transference subsequently to a warm temperature which would thaw and set it free, will account satisfactorily for these recurring floors. p. 82.

(9) "The stratum of cave earth was formed, and the new deposits became stocked with animal and human remains of the period. These remains abound in the lower levels of the cave earth, ... and are more rare in the upper levels." p. 83.

The foregoing quotations render comment desirable on the following topics:—1st. The number of Floors of Stalagmite which have been observed; 2nd. A Floor of Stalagmite beneath the Breccia; 3rd. The Suspension of the Drip which formed the Stalagmite; 4th. The amount of Limestone in the Breccia; 5th. The recurrence of the Force which brought down the Limestone from the Roof; 6th. The identity of the Force which brought down the Limestone Blocks from the Roof with that which broke up the Crystalline Stalagmitic Floor, &c.; 7th. The entire Suspension of this force, or these forces, since the beginning of the Cave Earth era; and 8th. The greater prevalence of remains of Man and of the other animals in the lower, than in the upper, levels of Cave-Earth.

1st. *The number of Floors of Stalagmite which have been observed:*—There can be no doubt that those who derive their knowledge of the Cavern phenomena from Mr. Strange's work alone, will come to the conclusion that three Stalagmitic Floors have actually been observed *in situ*. Thus, in quotation (1) we have "Kent's Cavern . . . has three several depositions of stalagmitic flooring ordinarily separated from

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one another by strata of loam or breccia." In (2), the sixth of his "well distinguished strata" or "geological deposits" is termed "another [*i.e.* the third, in the order of antiquity,] floor of stalagmite." In (4), "There are three [coatings of Stalagmite] . . in Kent's Cavern." In (6), he speaks of "The brown breccia . . . . and the lowest observed floor of stalagmite beneath that." In (8), he mentions "Several distinct floors of Stalagmite, of which three are discernible in Kent's Cave."

For the enunciation of the simple facts, however, the latter portion of the second quotation, from Mr. Strange's 53rd page, should have stood somewhat thus:—"There are *five* [not six] geological deposits, namely (1) Black Mould, forming the surface floor of the Cavern [in the Chambers into which the external entrances of the Cavern immediately open and in those adjacent to them, but not beyond]; (2) a floor of Granular Stalagmite [forming the surface floor of the Cavern in the Chambers more or less remote from the external entrances of the Cavern]; (3) a stratum of red Cave-Earth; (4) a Floor of Crystalline Stalagmite; and (5) a stratum of brown [or dark red] Breccia [having a rock-like cohesion in some places, but loose and incoherent in others]. And then, instead of going on to speak, as he does, of another Floor of Stalagmite," he might have added, "As considerable masses of stalagmite, commonly, but not invariably, of angular forms, are in some localities prevalent in the Breccia, there can be little, if any, doubt that they are fragments of a Stalagmitic Floor of the third order of antiquity. Nevertheless, such a floor has not up to the present time been found anywhere *in situ;* and the fragments just mentioned are the only, though apparently quite trustworthy, indications that such a floor ever existed. In short, this floor may be said to be seen by the eye of scientific faith, just as Columbus beheld land west of the Atlantic when he noted wood, and fruits, and other vegetable *débris* drifting from that direction.* He might, perhaps, have been justified in even going on to say that the high probability that such a floor once existed and had been at least partially destroyed, renderd it more likely than otherwise that the said floor was primarily formed on, and covered some mechanical deposit akin to the Breccia and Cave-Earth, but of an antiquity surpassing theirs."

It is but just to say that Mr. Strange is fully aware that fragments of this broken-up stalagmitic floor have been

* See Washington Irving's *Life of Columbus*, chap. v.

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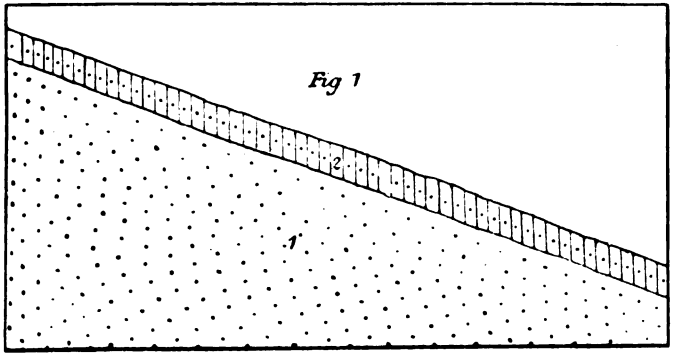

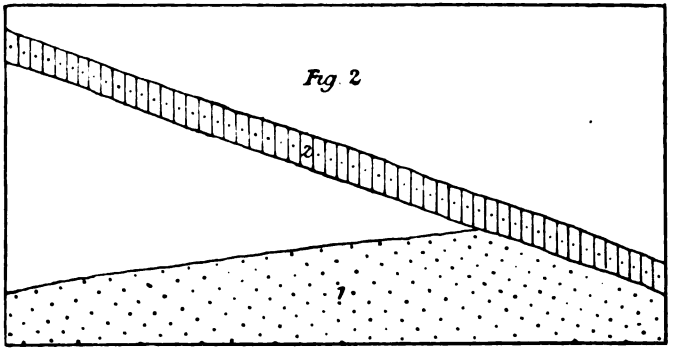

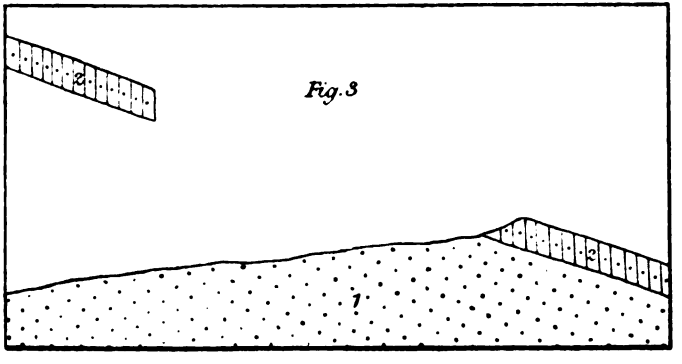

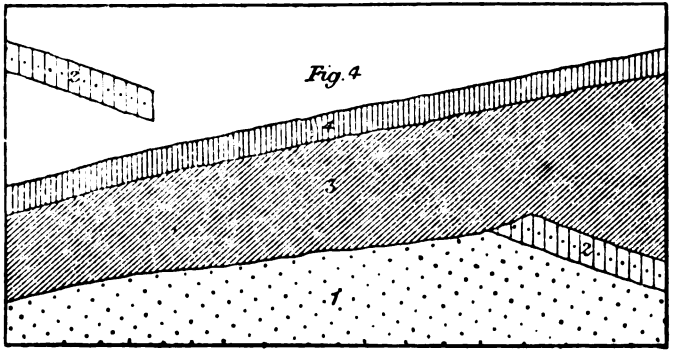

EXPLANATIONS.

1. Breccia. 2. Crystalline Stalagmite. 3. Cave Earth. 4. Granular Stalagmite.

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found incorporated in the Breccia, as is clearly shown in the third quotation given above.. Nevertheless, it can scarcely be necessary to repeat that there can be no doubt that those who derive their knowledge of the Cavern phenomena from his work alone, will come to the conclusion that three Stalagmitic Floors have actually been observed *in situ*.

2. *A Floor of Stalagmite beneath the Breccia*:—It must be admitted to be not unreasonable on approaching the question, to suppose that the older a deposit in the Cavern, the lower would be its relative position; and it seems tolerably clear that Mr. Strange holds this opinion. Thus, in quotation (3), just referred to, he speaks of the pieces of stalagmite contained in the breccia as being "evidence of *a floor deposed below*." A moment's reflection, however, will show that this is not a trustworthy canon in the case of an older deposit having been partially broken up before the more modern one was laid down. As a matter of fact, the Crystalline, or more ancient, Stalagmite in Kent's Cavern is sometimes found at a higher level than, and not unfrequently vertically above, the Granular, or less ancient, Stalagmite; whilst elsewhere it occurs at a lower level, and vertically beneath it. Occasionally, moreover, the Crystalline Stalagmite is entirely absent. The figures in the following Plate, supposed to represent successive stages in the history of the deposits, will help to convey my meaning, and to account for the phenomena:—

Fig. I. is intended to represent the undisturbed deposits at the early period when they consisted only of the Breccia and the Crystalline Stalagmite formed on it. The Breccia being supposed to have been introduced from the left and carried in the direction of the declivity.

Fig. II. shows a vacuity beneath the undisturbed Crystalline Stalagmite, produced by the dislodgement of the Breccia at the left end of the figure and at some distance from it, whilst everything remains intact at and near the right end.

Fig. III. represents the next step in the work of unbuilding. A portion of the Crystalline Stalagmite has been destroyed, probably by the fall of huge blocks of limestone from the Cavern roof, leaving a fragment *in situ* at the left end, and adhering to the wall of the Cavern, but having no other support; whilst at the right end another fragment is *in situ* and the whole intact.

Fig. IV. represents a section through the deposits in the

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same part of the Cavern after the introduction of the Cave-Earth, and the formation of the Granular Stalagmite on it. It is supposed that the Cave-Earth was introduced from the right, and travelled thence towards the left; differing in both respects from the Breccia.

It will be observed that whilst at the right end of the figure all the deposits are undisturbed and succeed one another in chronological order, so as to furnish a typical section, at the left end the Crystalline, or more ancient, Stalagmite occupies the highest place; and that at the middle of the figure there is no indication of the existence of the Crystalline Stalagmite, excepting such fragments of it as may chance to be incorporated in the Cave-Earth. Examples of each of the three kinds of succession shown in the figure are common in the Cavern.

3rd. *The suspension of the drip which formed the Stalagmite:* —The fact that no Floors of Stalagmite were formed in the Cavern during the periods represented by the Breccia and by the Cave-Earth, seems to have led a large number of persons to the conclusion that during those periods the calcareous drip was suspended. Mr. Strange not only belongs to this class, but he endeavours to account for the assumed suspension. Thus, in the fourth quotation we are told that "Where there are two such coatings [of Stalagmite], as we see in several instances, and where there are three, as we see in Kent's Cave, there is proof of some very decided recurring cause, which at one time has arrested the drip, and at another has set it free." Again, in quotation (8), "The occurrence of several distinct floors of stalagmite, of which three are discernible in Kent's Cave, ... is due to some general cause which has interrupted the drip, and then allowed it to flow again. The passage of the Caverns into a glacial temperature, which would freeze and bind up the drip, and their transference subsequently to a warm temperature which would thaw and set it free, will account satisfactorily for these recurring floors."

It is admitted on all hands that the formation of a thick floor of stalagmite must have been a slow, protracted, and uninterrupted process; the only difference of opinion being on the answers to be given to the questions, "*How* slow?" "*How* protracted?" That the process was probably intermittent is indicated by the laminated structure of the stalagmites themselves; but that it was not interrupted by the introduction of mud, or sand, or stones from the exterior is

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seen in the fact that nothing of the kind is incorporated in the Stalagmites.

On turning to the Cave-Earth, it is found that very many of the objects it contains, such as stones, and bones, and artificial relics, are more or less completely invested with thin films of stalagmitic matter, and in such a way as to be explicable only on the hypotheses that the Cave-Earth was introduced from the exterior in small instalments and at widely-separated intervals, and that the drip was just as active during the entire period as it was during that which preceded or succeeded it; that some of the objects, lying on what was for the time the floor-surface of the Cavern, were exposed to the action of the drip which slowly invested them with the thin calcareous sheath just mentioned; that this was terminated by the entrance and deposition of a layer of Cave-Earth; that this layer was usually very thin, so that objects lying on the successive new surfaces of Cave-Earth at very slightly higher levels were exposed to precisely the same conditions with corresponding results; and that these conditions characterized the entire period represented by the Cave-Earth.

The same phenomenon has been observed in the case of objects found in the Breccia; but as it is of much less frequent occurrence, it may, perhaps, be concluded that the Breccia was introduced much more rapidly than the Cave-Earth.

In short, the facts appear to require that the portion of the fourth quotation from Mr. Strange's book, which has just been re-quoted, should stand somewhat thus:—"Where there are in a Cavern two or more sheets of stalagmite separated from one another by mechanical deposits, there is proof of some very decided recurring cause, which at one time permitted, and at another time prevented, the introduction of the mud, and sand, and stones of which those deposits consist; whilst the drip which produced the stalagmite was never arrested during the entire period of the Cavern history at present known to us."

Competent observers have studied the "Physics of Arctic Ice," and will be able to tell us how far it is probable that "the passage of the Caverns into a glacial temperature" would, as Mr. Strange supposes, "freeze and bind up the drip." Dr. H. Rink, of Copenhagen, long resident in Greenland, "has calculated the yearly amount of precipitation in Greenland, in the form of snow and rain, at 12 inches, and that of the outpour of ice by its glaciers at 2 inches. He

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considers that only a part of the remaining 10 inches is disposed of by evaporation, and that the remainder must be carried to the sea in a form of sub-glacial rivers. These sub-glacial rivers are familiar in all Alpine countries, and in Greenland pour out from beneath the glacier, whether it lies at the sea or in a valley, and in summer and winter. . . . . This stream flows in a torrent the whole year round, and . . . . . reaches the sea eventually. . . . . After it reaches the sea it discolours the water for miles, finally depositing on the bottom a thick coating of impalpable powder."*

It must be admitted to be, at least, difficult, in the presence of such facts as these, to believe that "the passage" of South Devon "into a glacial temperature" as decided as anything with which geographical research has made us acquainted would "*freeze and bind up* the drip" as Mr. Strange supposes.

4th. *The amount of limestone in the Breccia*:—It is difficult to understand whence Mr. Strange got the idea, expressed in quotation (5), that "fragments of . . . . limestone . . . probably constitute in chief part the solid breccia," for, as I have shown elsewhere,† the Reports of the Cavern Committee contain nothing to justify such a statement, which, indeed, proves to be far from correct, since the Breccia consists of rounded and sub-angular fragments of dark-red grit embedded in a sandy paste of the same colour. It, no doubt, contains small angular pieces, as well as large blocks, of limestone, but the former are so very few as to entitle them to the name of *accidents*, rather than of *constituents*, of the deposit; and the large blocks are by no means more numerous than they are in the Cave-Earth. Of all the Cavern deposits the Cave-Earth is, beyond all question, far the richest in fragments of limestone.

5th. *The recurrence of the force which brought down the limestone from the Roof*:—The author, in quotation (7), speaks of "the force which has caused the disruption of the limestone of the Cavern," as "a recurrent force not always in operation." "The limestone," he adds, "has been broken down at various times; and the Cavern being found at present in a sound condition, no such process, it is evident, is now going on." The facts appear to me to warrant nothing more than the

* See *On the Physics of Arctic Ice*, &c., by Robert Brown, M.A., PH D., F.R G.S. *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc. of London*, vol. xxvi. 1870, pp. 681-2.

† See *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, vol. vii. 1875, pp. 302-3.

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simple statements, that fragments of limestone are not incessantly falling from the roof; and that, judging from the experience of the workmen during the last twelve years, a very considerable interval may elapse without a fragment falling at any given point in the Cavern. The actual *falling* is of course "recurrent;" but it appears to be very hazardous to assert that the process, which sooner or later eventuates in a fall, is not now going on. If, as I have endeavoured to show elsewhere,* the process is the corrosive action of acidulated water, I have no doubt that it *is* still going on, and that sooner or later, even under existing conditions, it will bring down a fragment or fragments, though the fact may be quite unobserved.

It is amusing to find that whilst Mr. Strange holds the view just mentioned, Dr. Dawson assumes that the fall of limestone has been so uniform throughout the entire period represented by the Cavern deposits, that the time varies directly as the mass which has fallen; and he states regretfully that "the only apparently available constant measure [of time], namely the fall of blocks from the roof, seems not yet to have been applied"† [as precise data for determining time].

6th. *The identity of the force which brought down the limestone blocks from the roof with that which broke up the Crystalline Stalagmite Floor, &c.* There seems no room to doubt that Mr. Strange is of opinion that the force which broke off portions of the roof of the Cavern, and that which destroyed the Crystalline Stalagmite Floor, were one and the same. Thus, he speaks of the magnitude of the *force which has caused* [not the *forces which have caused,*] the disruption of the limestone of the cavern, and the breaking up of its floor; and he contends that *it is a recurrent force* [not that *they are recurrent forces*]. It must be unnecessary to remark that the breaking up of the Floor cannot be ascribed to the *direct* action of the acidulated water which, as I hold, caused the fall of the fragments and blocks of limestone; nevertheless, it appears to be at least probable that this water may in some cases have *indirectly* produced the fracture of the Floor. Distinct evidence of the broken Floor has been observed in two distinct kinds of localities: First, in the large and lofty Chambers where the Crystalline Stalagmite was of great thickness; and, Second, in low narrow lateral ramifica-

* See *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, vol. vii. 1875, p. 315.
† *Ibid*, pp. 312-9.

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tions opening out of these Chambers, where the thickness of the Floor did not exceed a few inches, at most. It is an actual and well-established fact, as has been already stated, that the Breccia has been partially washed from, or has bodily sunk to a lower level, beneath the Crystalline Stalagmitic Floor, leaving the Floor itself without other support than that furnished by its own inherent strength; and this has been as clearly ascertained in the narrow low ramifications as in the large lofty Chambers. Now, it cannot be doubted that in the latter, the fall of blocks of limestone from the roof would break into fragments any unsupported Floors on which they might impinge, especially when it is remembered that many of the fallen blocks weigh several scores of tons each. But when we proceed to the very contracted ramifications already mentioned, it becomes evident that this explanation is utterly inadmissible there; for remnants of the broken Floor remaining *in situ* on the walls, to which they form rude mouldings, are so very near the limestone roof as to render it impossible for more, at most, than such very small fragments to have fallen as would be totally inadequate to fracture a Stalagmitic Floor, even though no more than two or three inches thick. Nevertheless, the problem even there does not appear to be hopelessly insoluble; for let it be supposed that the interspace or tunnel beneath the unbroken Floor, caused by the dislodgement or subsidence of the Breccia, was a water-course, at least in times of flood, and that occasionally the vent or outlet became choked up, it is not difficult to see that a sudden and great rush of water, seeking escape through such a channel, would blow up the comparatively thin sheet of stalagmite forming the roof of the tunnel. Such a catastrophe is by no means a very rare event even in sewers believed to be well constructed. It cannot be necessary to remark that though this machinery would be sufficiently potent in a very narrow passage, it would be altogether inadequate in a Chamber whose breadth was very great when compared with that of the aperture through which the flood-water entered.

In short, I am not aware of any fact connected with the breaking up of the Crystalline Floor in Kent's Cavern, which appears inexplicable on one or other of the foregoing hypotheses—the fall of huge blocks of limestone in the large Chambers, and the violent rush of flood-water into the narrow lateral ramifications, the underlying deposit being supposed to be, at least, partially removed, so as to leave a vacuity beneath the Floor.

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7th. *The entire suspension of the force which broke up the Crystalline Stalagmitic Floor and caused the fall of the blocks of limestone*:—It does not appear to be incorrect to state that Mr. Strange holds that ever since the beginning of the Cave-Earth era, there has been an entire suspension of the force which broke up the Crystalline Stalagmitic Floor, and, as he holds, threw down the blocks of limestone. "The three superior deposits," he says in quotation (6), "namely the black mould, the uppermost stalagmite, and the red cave earth, remain *in situ* undisturbed, but the dense deposits forming the second floor of stalagmite, the brown breccia below it, and the lowest observed floor of stalagmite beneath that, have undergone great violence by which they have been more or less broken up." There can be no doubt, however, that the destruction of the Floor was continued throughout the period of the Cave-Earth and also during, at least, a portion of that of the overlying Granular Stalagmitic Floor, since large blocks of the broken Floor occur at all levels in the Cave-Earth, and several have been found completely incorporated within the Granular Stalagmite. Indeed, there is, at least, one large remnant of the Crystalline Stalagmite remaining intact and *in situ*, which will yet be undoubtedly broken into fragments in the not impossible event of the fall of a heavy block of limestone on it. It is equally certain that during each of the periods represented by the successive Cavern deposits or formations, from the Breccia to the Black Mould inclusive, huge blocks of limestone have fallen from time to time; and the Committee now engaged in exploring the Cavern found in 1865 that the entire surface Floor—if such it can be termed—of what is known as the Great Chamber, consisted almost entirely of vast fallen blocks of limestone, piled in wild confusion on one another, and having the Black Mould beneath them.

8. *The greater prevalence of remains of Man and of the lower animals in the lower, than in the upper, levels of Cave-Earth*:—Up to the present time, and with very few exceptions, the excavation of the Cave-Earth has not been carried to a greater depth than four feet. It has been taken out in four distinct layers, each a foot in depth, termed "foot-levels." In the Chambers near the external entrances of the Cavern the total depth of this Cave-Earth is not known, but it certainly greatly exceeds the four feet; hence, the lowest or fourth foot-level of the excavators really belongs in that part of the Cavern to the upper levels of the

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deposit as a whole. It will be seen therefore that there can be no evidence either for or against Mr. Strange's statement, in quotation (9), that animal and human "remains abound in the lower levels of the cave earth . . . . and are more rare in the upper levels. Should it be objected that the author probably meant that to the depth to which the excavation had been carried the facts were as he stated, it may be replied that there is nothing to justify even the qualified proposition, for though the first Report of the Committee, drawn in 1865, when they had been at work no more than five months, contains the statement that "the first or uppermost [foot-level] is the poorest, and the third, perhaps, the richest in osseous remains,"* this was not confirmed by the subsequent researches. It will be observed that even this most favourable passage shows that the fourth foot-level was less productive than that next above it. In point of fact, however, the second foot-level, that is the layer upwards of 12, but not exceeding 24, inches below the surface, has been on the whole the richest in remains of the infra-human animals.

When Mr. Strange says, in quotation (9), that "The new deposits [*i.e.* the Cave-Earth] became stocked with animal and human remains," and that "These remains abound in the lower levels of the Cave-Earth . . . . . and are more rare in the upper levels" he of necessity means, by "human remains," relics of human *industry*, since, so far as is known, no remnants of the human skeleton have been found in the Cave-Earth, or the still earlier deposits. Again, though it is true that these industrial remains have been found throughout the entire depth to which the Cave-Earth has been excavated, and that the fourth foot-level has yielded a well formed bone pin and an excellent ovoid flint tool, the first foot-level has yielded the greatest number of tools, the second foot-level almost as many, the third and fourth about an equal number, but neither of them half as many as have been met with in the uppermost foot-level.

V. CHAMBERS'S JOURNAL ON KENT'S CAVERN.

The leading article in *Chambers's Journal* for October 9, 1875 (No. 615), is entitled Kent's Cavern, and is as follows:—

(1) "*On the western side of the beautiful Vale of Ilsham, about a mile eastward from the harbour of Torquay, in Devonshire, and half a mile from the northern shore of Torbay,*

* *Report Brit. Assoc.* 1865, p. 22.

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stands a small, wooded, limestone hill, containing a large cavern, which, under the name of Kent's Hole or Cavern, has been known from time immemorial, and during nearly half a century has attracted the attention of geologists and archæologists. The derivation of its name is unknown; the natives solve the problem easily by saying the cave has an outlet in Kent. Though known from times the most remote, (2) *the earliest date which we found cut on its red rock walls is 1648, with the letters R. F.*; but it has been reserved for science in this century to expound its wonders, and they are being enlarged, we may add, day by day, for excavations are yet being made in it . . . . .

"A recent visit enables us to describe what it has done for palæontology, and what it is still doing. Let the reader in fancy make his way to a rough hill-side covered with thickets of blue-bells in spring, and virgin's bower in autumn, and overshadowed by oaks—just such another 'combe,' in short, as runs towards the sea at many other parts of South Devon. There some seventy feet above the bottom of this valley, and a hundred and eighty or ninety feet above the level of mean tide, by a red muddy track he can mount to a couple of doors inserted in the Devonian limestone of which the hill is formed. They are rude planken entrances, much like what we traditionally fancy was the door leading to Aladdin's cavern, and they contain what to an unscientific eye seem but as valuable as old lamps, though when touched by science these remains turn into archæological treasures, and bear a wonderful history. At the door is a confused heap of limestone and red earth, while a track laid with planks, on which the excavator can run his wheelbarrow, speedily disappears in the inner darkness. Probably the man himself, smeared all over with red clay, like a North American Indian, blocks up the entrance, while he carefully searches all the earth he has just brought out, and deposits in tins, for the exploration committee, such bones, teeth, &c., as he may discover, preliminary to tipping the barrow-load of rubbish into the valley, and returning for a fresh quantity. (3) *The two entrances, he tells us, run in some six hundred feet, the one at which he now works being five hundred feet in length; and a low passage heaped up with earth, which has not yet been explored, runs much farther. In fact, the extent of the cave is unknown; but the two passages open into chambers, of which the largest one on the eastern side is sixty-two feet from east to west, and fifty-three feet from north to south.* Having finished this preliminary description, let us now enter.

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(4) "*The workman shouts in a very gruff tone into the darkness for his 'mate.' This, after some time, brings out his fellow-workman, equally red and gruff with himself. Their whole appearance and manners are somewhat bearish, as becomes the natives of so renowned a bear's den.* The method of lighting the visitor through the gloomy recesses of this old-world cave is somewhat primitive. A tallow candle, fastened into a stick with a hole in it is handed to each person; the guide then leads the way, and the exploration begins. Every here and there are pools of water, or abrupt descents into dark abysses, so that prudence whispers a careful keeping of the muddy track. The attendant points out old as well as new *floors*, which at first perplex the visitor, until he has been made aware, as we shall presently do, of the extent of the excavations that have been going on for years past. (5) *Then he holds up his candle to the roof, and there in situ may be seen a hyena's tooth, a scull, and two leg-bones.* The guide is naturally very careful lest the visitor should appropriate curious relics, and properly so, for (6) *at a recent visit of the British Association, in spite of a person who was posted to prevent it, some unscrupulous savant managed to evade him, and to extract and carry away such another tooth. . . . .* (7) *Next we reach the 'workings,' where a few bones in good preservation are taken up, as we watch, from the clammy red earth. . . . .*

"The first impulse of the thoughtful visitor is to sit down and endeavour to reproduce the curious prehistoric life of beasts and men to the vestibule of which he has just been introduced. In the presence of the wealth and civilisation of Torquay, with its splendid villas, its harbour crowded with yachts, and the little 'midges' conveying pleasure parties into all the leafy 'combes' which surround the town, this is not at first easy. Let us endeavour to help the puzzled visitor to a better understanding than that furnished by his guides of the mysteries of Kent's Cavern, and explain why the various 'floors' he observed during his threadings came to be there. And to our aid we shall call Mr. Boyd Dawkins, whose book on *Cave-hunting* is an exhaustive account of the phenomena, and deductions therefrom, of every European cave that civilised man has yet explored.

"Let us try then to gain a mental image of the cavern, and the way in which it has been formed. The valley in front of it is supposed to have been gradually deepened with the erosive action of water. It may even be that the sea originally commenced the excavation of the cave; while the

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force of streams that once flowed through it, and the percolation of rain-water from above, enlarged its cavity. (8) *The base of the cave is occupied with dark-coloured earth, fragments and blocks of limestone and of stalagmite, bones of extinct animals, and flint weapons of human workmanship. Below this is a compact dark-red breccia. Above the red earth, again, was a stalagmitic floor, varying in thickness from a few inches to three feet, on which was dark earth, when the investigations commenced, mingled with large blocks of limestone which had fallen from the roof.* (9) *This contained mediæval remains, Roman pottery, combs fashioned of bone, bronze articles, and polished stone celts, and charcoal.* These, however, do not exhaust the successive layers which are here of interest. (10) *Some way under the solid stone roof, and now higher than the heads of visitors, is an ancient stalagmitic floor, which shuts off the open space under the vaulted solid stone. This contains the key of the apparent confusion of layers. At the time when it was formed by the dripping of the upper rock, the cave must have been filled to its level with débris, fragments of which (as we have seen in the case of the tooth and leg-bones) are set in the inferior portion of the calcareous sheet. Before the lower stalagmitic floor, with its surface of dark earth and antiquities, and its underlying red cave-earth, was introduced, the whole of this débris has been swept out, probably by a flood or other convulsion of nature. Then the formation of its present contents, as we have described them, took place,* which accounts for there being two distinct stalagmitic floors—the Modern and the Old.

"There are several caverns in the district resembling Kent's Cavern, both in contents and formation; (11) *notably one at Brixham, of six hundred feet in length, where its owner shews flint implements, and some thousands of bones, teeth, &c. of extinct bears, deer, horses, and cave-lions.* With regard to the growth of the stalagmitic floor, the visitor can see the drip of the water on it from above, and (12) *the guide will tell him it increases at the rate of one-tenth of an inch in one thousand years.* But these calculations are not strictly correct. Disturbing causes are at work, and the rate of deposition is not uniform; in any case, however, the accretion of a solid stalagmitic flooring is the effect of a great lapse of time.

"The contents of Kent's Cavern may now be described. They may be divided into the remains of historic man, of prehistoric man, and of the extinct animals. The first were found on the dark earth, mixed with blocks of limestone which had fallen from the roof. They consisted of Roman

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pottery, and combs fashioned out of bone, similar to those found in Yorkshire and elsewhere, and proved that the cave had been frequented during historic times. A barbed iron spear-head, a bronze spear-head, and other articles of the same material, together with polished stone celts, shew that the cave was inhabited during what are known as the iron, bronze, and neolithic or later stone ages. This earthy deposit also contained large quantities of charcoal, and bones of the goat, horse, and shorthorn (*Bos longifrons*). Below this, a stalagmitic floor covered the red cave-earth. This held stones, bones of extinct animals, and flint implements. These consisted chiefly of the well-known flint flakes. Three harpoon-heads, an awl, and a needle of bone, were also discovered. (13) *This red cave-earth itself rested on a dark-red compact breccia, which held bones of bears, and also four flint implements. These shew the co-existence of palæolithic man and the great quadrupeds.*

"Many of these bones, teeth, &c. may be seen in different museums. (14) *The Albert Museum, Exeter, contains a good series of them; and many admirable specimens may also be found in the York Museum. In it may be seen the large double-edged canines of the Machairodus latidens, a huge lion-like animal with teeth resembling the blade of a sabre, which have never before or since been procured in any other British cavern.* Similar remains have, however, been found in two localities in France. Hyenas' teeth, and bears' bones which have unmistakably been gnawed by hyenas, are amongst the curiosities of the cave, and are to be found in many geological museums. To give in detail a list of the animals whose remains have been detected in Kent's Cavern would be interesting only to the palæontologist, and he can readily find it in the already voluminous literature of the cavern. We shall merely name the most interesting animals whose bones have been found in Kent's Cavern, in order to give some idea of the varied life which has found shelter in its dark precincts. Palæolithic man (as he is called), with his flint weapons and stone implements; the beaver, hare, cave-lion, wild cat, hyena; brown, grizzly, and cave bears; mammoth, urus, woolly rhinoceros, Irish elk, and reindeer. These probably inhabited Britain, France, and Germany during the pleistocene period, and were contemporaries of man. (15) *Then succeeded neolithic man with his bronze and polished stone weapons*, and the extinction of the large mammals. The Roman with his pottery was followed by the Dane or Northman with his comb, and so the centuries passed on,

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till, in the nineteenth, science wakes the buried life of long-past ages, and the dry bones once more live.

"A chronological statement of the explorations of the cave may not be unacceptable. Though known, as we have stated, from time immemorial, it was first found to contain fossil bones by Mr. Northmore and Sir C. Trevelyan in 1824. (16) *Mr. M'Enery explored it in a superficial way for the next three years. The workmen are at present engaged in sifting what he had cursorily turned over, and know it as the 'intermediate earth.'* He was the first to discover the remains of the (17) *Machairodus, which probably lived here at an early stage of the pleistocene era.* Flint implements were found by Mr. Austen in 1840, and again six years later by a committee of the Torquay Natural History Society. (18) *Then Mr. Pengelly . . . . took up the work, and in* 1864 *a committee was appointed . . . . by the British Association, which still, as we have seen, prosecutes its inquiries.* Thus a great mass of evidence is being slowly accumulated; and just as a veteran palæontologist picks out a bone or a flint weapon from the *débris* of the cave, and by its aid builds up a theory, or announces a fact which dethrones many a time-honoured belief; so in days to come, the far-seeing philosopher will scan these records, and once more, it may be hoped, cause the whole ancient pleistocene world, its uncouth, uncivilised men, and its grotesque and savage monsters, to live and move, as it were, before their eyes. Perhaps another fact should be mentioned under the name of Rev. J. M'Enery: he was the first to discover flint weapons mixed with fossil bones in England, and the discovery occurred in Kent's Cavern."

When reading the article, I italicised, and prefixed numerals to, the passages on which I now propose to offer a few remarks.

1. *The opening paragraph*:—The author has paid me the compliment of commencing the article with a verbatim copy of the beginning of a tract which I wrote for Messrs. Chambers of Edinburgh, under the title of the "Ancient Cave Men of Devonshire," and which they published, in 1872, as No. 76 in their *Miscellany of Instructive and Entertaining Tracts.* The acknowledgment or, at least, inverted commas, usual in such cases will be sought in vain, and, indeed, may not be absolutely necessary; for, after all, the two passages are not *quite* identical, as the words "or Cavern," following "Kent's Hole," are not in the original.

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2. *The Inscriptions in the Cavern*:—The writer professes to have *found* the "date 1648, with the letters R. F.," cut on the "red rock walls" of the Cavern, but to have detected no earlier date. There are certainly numerous dates, and names, and initials cut on the *stalagmites* in various parts of the Cavern,—I know of none on the *limestone* walls—and it would be too much, perhaps, to assert that "1648" and "R. F." may not be amongst them; but it is not too much to say that my numerous and careful searches have not been rewarded with the discovery of any such date or any such letters; nor does Mr. Mac Enery appear to have been more fortunate than myself. Be this as it may, there are several dates earlier than 1648: Thus, my list contains 1604, 1609, 1615, 1617, and 1626.* I have no manner of doubt that the author should have said, "not the earliest date which we *found*," but "the earliest date which the guide *pointed out* to us;" for, as may be expected, the Committee charged by the British Association with the exploration of the Cavern, decidedly discountenance all amateur investigations, and have given definite instructions to the "Guide," who is their principal workman, respecting the branches of the Cavern into which visitors may be taken, and the restrictions which must be observed during their visits; and the experience of twelve years justifies my conviction that those instructions have been carefully followed.

3. *The Dimensions of the Cavern*:—The dimensions mentioned by the author, on the authority of one of the workmen, are but the roughest guesses, and must not be taken as anything like approximations to the truth.

4. *The appearance, and manners, and voices of the workmen*:—Without claiming for the workmen anything like sweeter voices, or a more refined appearance, or more polished manners than those which usually characterize men of their class, it may be safely asserted that they are at least commonly, "on their best behaviour" towards visitors, for, to speak of no higher motive, experience must have taught them that civility is more remunerative than rudeness. In short, the "gruff tones" and "somewhat bearish appearance and manners of the workmen," of which the writer speaks, must be taken as flowers of rhetoric.

5. *The bones to be seen in situ*:—The bones left *in situ* for

* See *Report Brit. Assoc.* 1873, p. 202; 1874, p. 10; and 1875, pp. 6, 7.

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the inspection of visitors are not, as the author states, a *hyæna's* tooth, a skull, and two leg bones; but several teeth, portions of two skulls, two vertebræ, an entire radius, an almost complete femur, a considerable part of a humerus, and sundry pieces of bone, all belonging to *Bear*, of, perhaps, more than one species. Indeed, the presence of remains of hyæna in the spot in question, or in the same deposit anywhere in the Cavern, would completely refute some of the most important and startling conclusions to which the Cavern facts have led me.

6. *The relic carried off by a visitor*:—It is quite true that one of the party who visited the Cavern when it was opened to the Members of the British Association who accepted the invitation from Torquay on 26 August, the day after the close of the meeting which the Association held at Exeter in 1869, did succeed in detaching from the matrix, and carrying off, a relic, and thereby caused me some annoyance and vexation; but, instead of being a complete tooth, it was but the lower portion of the fang of a bear's canine, the mutilated remainder of which is still held firmly in the spot it has occupied for ages. I hesitate to accept the writer's statement that it was some . . . . *savant;* and would rather believe it to have been merely a *camp-follower* destitute of the spirit of true science.

7. *Visitors taken to the workings*:—"Next," says the author, "we reach the 'workings,' where a few bones in good preservation are taken up, as we watch, from the clammy red earth." For a short time after the commencement of the exploration now in progress, the Superintendents of the work, not being without some faith in human nature, were wont occasionally to furnish their acquaintances, whom they could not accompany to the Cavern, with "orders" for admission, and they were allowed to witness the "workings;" but as this privilege was abused on one occasion, the Superintendents, by a self-denying ordinance, decided to give no more "orders" to any one; and for many years no visitor unaccompanied by a Superintendent has been allowed to proceed either to the "workings" or to any unexplored part of the Cavern. Had the writer of the article now under notice been accompanied by a Superintendent the "workings" would have been visited as a matter of course; but being attended by the guide only, as he professes to have been, the workman must have disobeyed his definite and well-understood orders, or the author's statement

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is another instance of rhetoric. I have not the least hesitation in accepting the latter alternative.

8. *The Cavern deposits*:—The author's description of the Cavern deposits cannot be termed successful. Thus, to pass by other matters for the present, after reading the statement that "the base of the cave is occupied with dark coloured earth, &c.," it soon becomes evident that by the "base" we are to understand, not the *basis* or the *foundation* bed, but as nearly as possible the bed midway between the uppermost and, so far as is at present known, the lowermost of those found in the Cavern. Again, when we are told that "below this [dark-coloured earth] is a compact dark-red breccia," we are left to our own resources to discover, if we can, the undoubted fact that between the two deposits just named there is usually a very thick sheet of stalagmite. Perhaps the following attempt to amend the author's description, with the aid of a few corrective and supplementary words and phrases, within brackets, may be of service:—"[In most cases and at some unknown height above] the base . . . the cave is occupied with [light-red, not] dark-coloured, earth, fragments, and blocks of limestone and of stalagmite, bones of extinct [and recent] animals [commingled], and flint weapons [and tools, as well as tools of bone], of human workmanship. Below this is a compact dark-red breccia, [the two being commonly separated with a sheet of crystalline stalagmite, in some cases nearly 12 feet thick]. Above the [light] red earth, again, was a [granular] stalagmitic floor, varying in thickness from a few inches [and sometimes mere films] to three [and even upwards of five] feet, on which was dark earth, when the investigation commenced, mingled with large blocks of limestone which had fallen from the roof."

9. *Objects of interest found in the uppermost bed, that is in the "dark earth"*:—Amongst the articles found in the uppermost bed, the author enumerates "polished stone celts." I have no means of ascertaining whence this information was obtained, but, with one possible exception, no polished stone tool has been found by the Committee now exploring the Cavern. The doubtful exception just spoken of, is what appears to be the cutting end of a polished tool of white flint; but it was found, not in this uppermost bed, known to the Committee as the "Black Mould," but in the Granular Stalagmitic Floor immediately beneath it.

It is noteworthy that though Mr. Mac Enery gives thirteen

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figures of flint tools found by him in the Cavern, they all belong distinctly to the unpolished series. (See "Plate T." in his *Cavern Researches.*) Nevertheless he thus describes his discovery of one polished tool:—"August 19. We made a digression from our regular work to deepen the path round the fallen rock which obstructed the passage into the large chamber. Having cleared away great heaps of rubble at the base of the rock . . . . . an oblong blackish stone caught my attention. Not suspecting its value in its disguise of mud, I struck it with my hammer to ascertain the quality of the stone. It resisted half a dozen sharp blows before it broke across, when I took up the broken piece I could not contain my joy at finding it was the half of a black celt. The edge of the extremity was exquisitely polished, and retained as fine an edge as if it had only been recently ground. . . . . The celt is five inches long, and six in circumference at its trenchant end. All but the polished end has suffered by its interment."*

Though there is no distinct statement respecting the deposit in which this tool lay, I suspect from the context that it was in the *Black Mould.* It is greatly to be regretted that Mr. Mac Enery did not figure this specimen, and that no one seems to know what has become of it.

10. *Explanation of the phenomena of the different deposits of the Cavern:*—Having already stated my views respecting the probable history of the introduction of the several Cavern deposits when commenting on Mr. Strange's "Notice" of Kent's Hole,† it is unnecessary to follow the author through his explanation; but it may be well to state that there is considerably too much strength in the assertion, that "before . . . . the Cave-Earth was introduced, the *whole* of the *débris* [known as the Breccia] had been swept out, for the exploring Committee have encountered this deposit, in great volume and in various parts of the Cavern, lying undisturbed, and frequently protected by its thick sheet of Crystalline Stalagmite."

11. *Brixham Cavern:*—The author's parenthetical description of Brixham Cavern is unfortunately not free from exaggeration; for, instead of being "six hundred feet in length," that famous Cavern is comprised within a space measuring 135 feet from north to south, and 100 from east

* See *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, vol. iii. pp. 298-9. 1869.
† See pp. 171-2, above.

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to west."* Further, whether the "owner shews flint implements and some thousands of bones, teeth, &c., of extinct bears, deer, horses, and cave lions," I am not prepared to say, as I have not visited the Cavern for some years; but all the flint implements found by the Committee which explored Brixham Cavern were sent to London in 1859, where they are still. The total number of bones, teeth, antlers, &c., found by the same Committee, instead of being "some thousands," were but 1621, and they too were sent to London in the year just mentioned. Three species of bear were represented by the animal remains found in the Cavern, and one of them *Ursus spelæus* = Cave bear, is no doubt usually regarded as an extinct form, but the other two are existing species, as, in all probability, are the deer, horse, and cave-lion also."

12. *Rate at which the Stalagmite was formed*:—I am at a loss to know on what authority the guide, whether of Kent's or of Brixham Cavern, states that "the stalagmitic floor .... increases at the rate of one-tenth of an inch in one thousand years." At Brixham there are no data whatever for forming any opinion on the question, and if we may be guided by the dated inscriptions in Kent's Cavern—and besides these we are without any facts bearing on the question—the rate there in certain parts of the Cavern—but not necessarily or probably in every part—has been about ·05 inch in 250 years which, were we sure that the rate had been uniform, would amount to ·2 inch in one thousand years, that is a rate twice as great as that which appears to have been stated by the guide.

13. *The Co-existence of palæolithic Man and the great quadrupeds*:—"The red Cave-Earth itself," says the author, "rested on a dark-red compact breccia, which held bones of bear and four flint implements." It is true that the red Cave-Earth did, in some instances, rest on the dark-red breccia, but in typical sections the one deposit was separated from the other by an intermediate sheet of crystalline stalagmite of very great thickness. It is true also that the breccia held bones of bears, but it is less than the truth to say that it held also *four* flint implements; for before the author's article was published the exploring Committee had publicly reported a considerably greater number of flint tools from the deposit in question. The facts are that one such tool

* See *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, vol. vi. p. 795, and Plate III.

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was reported in 1869, two in 1872, nine in 1873, one in 1874, and three in 1875; making a total of sixteen implements, to say nothing of at least as many interesting flakes and chips of flint.

"These," says the author, speaking of the implements from the Breccia, "show the co-existence of palæolithic man and the great quadrupeds," and in saying so lays himself open to the suspicion of saying by implication that the flint tools found in the less ancient Cave-Earth do not show this co-existence; whereas they are as certainly palæolithic, as certainly co-eval with the osseous remains with which they occur, and these remains still more certainly than those found in the Breccia belong to the *great* quadrupeds, for whilst relics of bear, lion, and fox only have been met with in the Breccia, those of the same species of bear, lion, and fox have been yielded by the Cave-Earth together with numerous remains of the mammoth, horse, rhinoceros, gigantic Irish deer, wild bull, bison, red deer, and other bulky forms.

14. *Kent's Cavern specimens in the Museums at Exeter and York*:—There are, as the author states, some specimens of the bones and teeth found in Kent's Hole in the Museums at Exeter and at York. I have elsewhere* had occasion to show how they got there, and need only state here that they were obtained, by purchase in the former case and by gift in the latter, from the late Mr. Mac Enery's collection; and that the vast collection made by the British Association still remains entirely intact. The author, however, has fallen into an error in supposing that in the York Museum "may be seen the large double-edged canines of the *Machairodus latidens*," since the York collection contains no more than "a correct cast of one of the serrated teeth" of this animal, which was sent thither by Mr. Mac Enery. Exeter, more fortunate than York, possesses the only incisor tooth of Machairodus which Mr. Mac Enery found in Kent's Hole. I have elsewhere had an opportunity of stating where all the Machairodus teeth which the Cavern has yielded are now deposited.†

15. *The tools of Neolithic man*:—The author speaks of "neolithic man with his *bronze* and polished stone weapons," whereas the Neolithic Age is the name given by Sir John

* See *Trans. Devon Assoc.*, vol. iv. pp. 471-6, and vol. vii. pp. 247-60.
† *Ibid*, vol. iii. p. 494; vol. v. p. 166; and vol. vii. pp. 245-60.

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Lubbock, and adopted by archæologists, to a time when metals were entirely unknown, and when the most efficient tools were made of hard stones, chiefly flint and chert, which were generally elaborated with great care, and finished by polishing. It was bounded on the ancient side by the Palæolithic Age, and on the modern by the Bronze Age.

16. *Mr. Mac Enery's Researches:*—The author states that Mr. Mac Enery explored the Cavern in a *superficial way* for *three years.* Though Mr. Mac Enery's work was certainly not so systematic as Science wisely demands in the present day, I am not willing to allow it to be called *superficial.* It was good conscientious work, done with means that must have been very scanty, at a time when such work was certainly not very favourably regarded, and when even Science was not prepared to appreciate or even to accept the results. His fame, though posthumous only, is now as undying as that of the Cavern whose importance was first made known by him. That his labours extended over more than *three years* is certain, as they began in the summer of 1825, and he tells us that one of his visits was made on 14th August 1829.* I have not been able to ascertain how long after this they were continued, but they had certainly ended before Christmas 1834, when I made my first visit to the Cavern.

The author's statement that "the workmen are at present engaged in sifting what he had cursorily turned over," is not unlikely to lead the reader to suppose that the existing exploration consists of this work alone. Mr. Mac Enery, from lack of sufficient funds probably, contented himself with examining, by candle-light and on the spot only, the deposit he dug up, without subjecting it to the thorough search which daylight alone would enable him to make. Occasionally, the present exploring Committee reach accumulations of this dislodged material, and whenever they do so they take it to the exterior and carefully examine it. The result has been such as to justify the procedure. Material of this kind is known as "broken ground" or "uncertain earth," but not, as the author states, "intermediate earth;" and the specimens found in it are labelled "uncertain"—nothing being known about their original positions or associations.

The statement that the workmen are engaged in *sifting* this material is rather amusing, and by no means consistent with the epithet *clammy* which the author had previously and

* See *Trans. Devon Assoc.*, vol. iii. pp. 295 and 444.

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correctly applied to the red Cave-Earth. *Sifting* is unfortunately altogether out of the question. Indeed, I could not help feeling very envious when watching the perfect ease with which the men in the Mentone Cavern were enabled to sift the dry, sandy, incoherent deposit they had to deal with, and thus to detect the minutest objects.

17. The era of *Machairodus latidens*:—Whether "Machairodus lived here," as the author states, "at an *early* stage of the pleistocene era," it is impossible to say. This much, however, may be safely stated, that, with one doubtful exception, the only remains of *Machairodus latidens* which up to this time have been found in Britain, have been met with in Kent's Cavern under circumstances which show most clearly that the species lived here at a *late* stage of the Pleistocene era.

18. *The successive Explorers of the Cavern*:—The author, when enumerating the successive explorers of the Cavern, says "Flint implements were found by Mr. Austen in 1840, and again six years later by a committee of the Torquay Natural History Society. Then Mr. Pengelly took up the work, and in 1864 a committee was appointed by the British Association." Perhaps I may be pardoned if, in concluding this "Note," I state that the Committee, or more correctly Sub-Committee, of the Torquay Natural History Society consisted of Dr. Battersby, Mr. Vivian, and myself, and that the latter two have from the commencement been the *joint* Superintendents of the work still carried on by the British Association Exploring Committee.

VI. MR. SOUTHALL ON KENT'S CAVERN.

In his work entitled *The Recent Origin of Man*,* Mr. Southall, an American author, gives the following account of Kent's Cavern:—

1. "The celebrated cavern of Kent's Hole, near Torquay, on the coast of Devonshire, in England, was examined by Mr. Mac Enery in 1825. It was again explored in 1840 by Mr. Godwin-Austen, who found flint arrow-heads and knives, and the bones of the elephant, rhinoceros, ox, deer, horse, bear, hyæna, etc.

* *The Recent Origin of Man, as illustrated by Geology and the modern Science of Pre-historic Archæology.* By James C. Southall. Philadelphia and London. 1875.

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Mr. Evans gives a very full account of this cave, which has been very thoroughly examined by a committee appointed by the British Association. The deposits are as follows:—

1. Large blocks of limestone which have fallen from the roof, sometimes cemented by stalagmite.

2. A layer of black muddy mould, three to twelve inches thick.

3. Stalagmite one foot to three feet thick, almost continuous, and in places containing large fragments of limestone.

4. Red cave-earth, varying in thickness, containing fifty per cent. of angular fragments of limestone, with bones of extinct animals, and flint and bone implements.

Above the stalagmite, and chiefly in the black mould, have been found a number of relics belonging to different periods, such as socketed celts, and a socketed knife, of bronze, smelted copper, four hundred flint flakes, cores, and chips, a polishing-stone, numerous spindle-whorls, bone instruments, pottery, marine shells, bones of existing animals, and human bones. Some of the pottery is distinctly Roman in character.

In the cave-earth below the stalagmite are flint implements, implements of bone, and the bones of extinct animals. Some of these implements, the flint as well as the utensils of bone, exhibit very considerable care and skill. Some of the wrought flakes resemble the flakes of obsidian in use as javelin-heads among the New Caledonian and other savage tribes of the present day, and may be compared, says Mr. Evans, with some of the lance-heads from the cave of Laugerie-Haute. Other forms are identical with some found at Aurignac. A very perfect harpoon-head of bone is precisely of the same character as some from La Madelaine, which we shall notice hereafter. Mr. Evans gives a list of the animals whose remains have been found below the stalagmite: it includes the cave-lion, cave-hyæna, wolf, large fox, glutton, cave-bear, grizzly bear, brown bear, mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, horse, urus, bison, Irish-elk, stag, reindeer, hare, cave-pika, water-rat, field-mouse, bank-vole, beaver, and the *Machairodus latidens*. The animals above the stalagmite, where the polished stone and bronze implements occurred, were the dog, short-horn ox, roe-deer, sheep, goat, pig, and rabbit." p. 197.

2. "At the meeting of the British Association in 1871 there was an animated discussion on the Antiquity of Man. It was called up in the Geological section by a paper on the exploration of Kent's Cavern. . . . . Mr. Vivian contended that they had here a reliable chronometer of the high antiquity

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of the objects found in the cavern,—referring to the floors of stalagmite (there are two floors) above the remains of the extinct animals and the unpolished flints. 'Flint implements,' he said, 'had been found below the lowest crystalline stalagmite in the cave, and if the deposition of stalagmite went on formerly as it did now, it would have required a million of years to form those two floors.'

Mr. Evans, referring to the stalagmite, says, 'The amount of time represented by such a coating it is, of course, impossible to calculate; but, even under the most favorable circumstances, it must have been the work of hundreds, or more probably thousands of years.'

Sir Charles Lyell also suggests that a long period was required for the formation of the stalagmitic floors. In enumerating the several points on which he rests the antiquity of the palæolithic remains, he specifies, 'Thirdly, the changes in the course of rivers which once flowed through caves now removed from any line of drainage, *and the formation of solid floors of stalagmite.*"* pp. 220–1.

3. "'From some measurements lately made,' says the *Athenæum*,† 'by Mr. Boyd Dawkins, and some other observers, on the rate at which stalagmite is being accumulated in the Ingleborough Cave, Yorkshire, it is calculated that the stalagmitic deposit, known from its shape as 'The Jockey Cap,' is growing at the rate of 0·2946 of an inch per annum. Assuming that this rate of growth is constant, all the stalagmites and stalactites in the Cave may not date further back than the time of Edward III; and hence the thickness of a layer of stalagmite can hardly be used as an argument in support of the high antiquity of any subjacent deposit.'

Mr. Vivian has, therefore, fallen into the error of antedating the reign of Edward III, by nearly a million of years, while even Mr. Evans, so full of information on this subject, making an allowance for a difference of temperament, has made a chronological mistake hardly less serious. And it becomes necessary for Sir Charles Lyell to omit this from his indicia of the antiquity of the cave-fauna." p. 222.

4. [Mr. Southall has the following foot-note on the subject of the two floors of stalagmite, mentioned by Mr. Vivian in the discussion in 1871, to which, as already quoted, he refers]:—

"Mr. Evans and Sir John Lubbock ignore this lower floor of stalagmite, although Mr. Evans devotes many pages to

* *Student's Manual.* p. 162. † April 12, 1873.

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the cave and to the upper floor. Sir C. Lyell, however, in his last edition of the 'Antiquity of Man,' and Mr. James Geikie, in 'The Great Ice Age,' attach considerable importance to the fact that three flint implements and one flint chip were found beneath the second floor. This lower floor has a thickness of from three to twelve feet, and the only animal remains found in it were the bones of the cave-bear.

If the four flint specimens referred to occupied their original position the stalagmitic covering which overlay them exceeds in thickness any other example of the same kind. There is very considerable doubt, however, whether the flints did not fall from the cave-earth in the bed above.

Speaking of the remains above and below the upper stalagmitic floor, Mr Evans remarks that 'owing to previous excavations and to the presence of burrowing animals, the remains from above and below the stalagmite have become intermingled' (p. 446, Amer. edit.); and again (p. 463), speaking of the remains between the two stalagmitic floors, he states that 'the mineral condition of the bones in the cave-earth varies considerably, so much so as to lead to the conclusion that some of the bones, especially of bear, are derived from an earlier deposit of the same character,'—that is, from the cave-earth below the second floor. 'These more ancient remains are,' he says, 'according to Mr. Boyd Dawkins, much more crystalline, much heavier, and of a darker color than the ordinary teeth and bones.' Again (p. 464): 'In fact, among the bones themselves there are some which, as has already been pointed out, have belonged to an earlier deposit than that in which they are now found.'

"The teeth of the *Machairodus latidens*, or sabre-toothed tiger, were also found in the bed between the two floors of stalagmite. This animal, it is well known, belongs to an earlier fauna than that of the palæolithic age; and Mr. Dawkins is of the opinion that it came from the earth below the second floor, 'which in the form of a breccia has since become partially mixed in places with the cave-earth above this floor.'

Mr. Evans also refers to certain portions of the cave, in which there are variations from what may be called the typical section, these being mainly due to accidental and local causes, such as the breaking up of beds of stalagmite of earlier date than those above the cave-earth. p. 463.

It is, therefore, very doubtful whether these four flints were originally in the position in which they were found. Admitting that they were, however, the rapid rate at which

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the stalagmite even now is known to accumulate in some caves, removes all occasion for calling in more than three or four centuries." p. 220.

5. "To illustrate what widely-different conclusions are reached by the anthropologists from calculations like these [just described], we may state that at the meeting of the British Association at Dundee, some years since, Mr. Vivian presented an estimate which he had made of the age of man from observations at Kent's Cavern. Roman remains were found under stalagmite five millimetres thick, which represented two thousand years. With this unit, Mr. Vivian fixed the duration of man's residence in England at two hundred and sixty-four thousand years.* It will be remembered that at the meeting of the Association in 1871, Mr. Vivian expands this estimate to 'more than a million of years.'" p. 477.

A study of the foregoing quotations has induced me to prepare Notes on the following topics referred to in them:—

1. Mr. Vivian's Speeches at Edinburgh and Dundee.
2. The two Floors of Stalagmite.
3. The original position of the implements found in the Breccia.
4. The era of *Machairodus latidens*.
5. The rate at which the Stalagmite was deposited.

1. *Mr. Vivian's Speeches at Edinburgh and Dundee.*—The discussion in the Geological Section of the British Association, to which Mr. Southall refers in the second quotation, arose on the *Seventh Report of the Committee for exploring Kent's Cavern*, which I had the pleasure of reading during the meeting at Edinburgh in 1871. I have in vain sought the source whence Mr. Southall obtained the speech which he ascribes to Mr. Vivian. Both the *Athenæum* and *Nature* give, very briefly, the substance of the speech, but neither of them in the words quoted by Mr. Southall, and now under notice. According to the *Athenæum*, "Mr. Vivian held that a glacial climate had occurred after the appearance of man. This might not be the great glacial epoch, but it was a time when the rein-deer lived in the country, which he thought proved the prevalence of cold conditions in England, after man had become a native." 2nd vol. 1871, p. 210. August, 12, 1871. *Nature* says that "Mr. Vivian, referring to the length of time during which man had existed on the

* *Materiaux*, tome iv. p. 48.

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earth, thought he might have existed for about a million years." Vol. iv. p. 332. 24 August, 1871.

Mr. Southall may have copied the words he uses from some newspaper report of the discussion; but this is of very little moment, as, judging from the passage quoted from *Nature*, they are substantially correct. This, however, may be safely left to Mr. Vivian.

With regard to the Dundee speech there is no difficulty, as the author refers to the well-known *Materiaux* as the source whence he derived his materials. This speech is not mentioned by the *Athenæum*, and *Nature* had not then come into existence. In short, I have not been able to find an English report of it.

M. Charles Martins, Professeur d'histoire naturelle a la Faculte de Médecine de Montpellier, who attended the Dundee meeting, published in *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, Livraison du 1er Janvier 1868, an article, entitled *L'Association Britannique pour l'Avancement des Sciences et sa trente-septième Session a Dundee en Ecosse au Mois de Septembre, 1867*, of which he was so good as to send me a copy. When speaking of the researches in Kent's Cavern, he says, "Un des explorateurs, M. Vivian, s'est livré à quelques calculs sur l'antiquité des débris recueillis dans le caverne de Torquay. Le limon noirâtre de la surface contient à la base des poteries romaines qui nous permettent de lui assigner, 2,000 ans d'existence. L'épaisseur de la première couche stalagmitique, qui avait deux centimètres d'epaisseur, et la nature des objets qu'elle contenait nous font remonter à 4,000 ans environ avant Jésus-Christ; mais la seconde couche stalagmitique, ayant 91 centimètres d'épaisseur et s'etant formée à raison de 2^{mm}, 5 par mille ans nous reporte au-delà de 364,000 ans, c'est-à-dire à la période glaciaire, dont le limon rouge de la caverne est un témoin. Ce limon recouvrait des os travaillés et des silex taillés mêlés aux débris de pachydermes fossiles. L'examen de cette seule caverne nous prouve donc que l'homme existait probablement avant l'époque glaciaire, et que son antiquité remonte fort au-delà du terme que la tradition lui avait assigné." *

Mr. Southall states frankly that his object in quoting the Dundee speech is "to illustrate what widely different conclusions are reached by the anthropologists from calculations like these," and calls attention to the fact that whilst at Dundee, in 1867, Mr. Vivian's estimate of human antiquity was 264,000 years, it had been expanded, at Edinburgh in

* *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

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1871, to more than a million of years. I do not feel called upon to give any opinion respecting Mr. Vivian's data, the conclusions he arrived at, or the light in which they are viewed by anthropologists generally; but I cannot refrain from offering a remark on two points.

It does not appear to me that there is any real conflict or discrepancy between the two conclusions at which Mr. Vivian is said to have arrived. I understand him in each case to be attempting to calculate, not the *actual*, but the *minimum*, value of the chronological interval separating us from the men of the Kent's Cavern Breccia. Minima calculated from different data are surely not expected to agree necessarily, nor are they to be condemned if they disagree. If the facts in his possession led an observer in 1867 to the conclusion that the Breccia was deposited *not less than* 264,000 years ago, whilst new facts conducted him in 1871 to a million of years as *the least possible* value of the interval, the result appears to me to be perfectly satisfactory, and, taken as estimates of *minimum*, not *actual* values, to contain no evidence of error anywhere.

But is it certain that Mr. Southall has correctly stated his case? It is worthy of remark that whilst the *Materiaux*, which it is to be hoped he has correctly copied, makes Mr. Vivian say 264,000 years, at Dundee in 1867, Professor Martins, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, makes him say 364,000 years. I have no means of ascertaining which of the two is correct, but if the latter were the actual figures employed, those used by Mr. Southall are 100,000 years, that is about 27 per cent. less than they should be.

Again, according to M. Martins, Mr. Vivian assigned 364,000 years as the time required for the formation of the lower stalagmite alone, so that in order to arrive at the antiquity of the men of the Breccia we must add to this number all the time represented by the Cave-Earth lying above that stalagmite, plus that required for the formation of the upper stalagmite formed still subsequently, and plus that during which the Black Mould accumulated which crowned the entire series of deposits. Mr. Southall, it will be seen, ignores the three last terms of the series, and states that "Mr. Vivian fixed the duration of man's residence in England at two hundred and sixty-four thousand years."

2. *The two floors of Stalagmite*:—It must be remembered that the object of Mr. Evans's work was the description of "The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons and Ornaments

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of Great Britain," and that it was necessary for him to describe the localities and deposits which had yielded his specimens so far as to convey a full and clear idea of the specimens themselves, and of their associations, as well as the conditions under which they were found; whilst, if he wished to keep his book within reasonable dimensions, it was neither wise nor desirable to describe still lower deposits having nothing to do with his implements. This appears to have been strictly the method he followed when treating of Kent's Hole, to which he devoted seventy-five pages of his portly volume. His work was published in 1872; and that it was completed early in the year is seen in the fact that his preface is dated "May, 1872." Indeed, I have reason to know with certainty that all that portion of his book which appertains to Kent's and Brixham Caverns (pp. 442–471) was in type, and that the proofs had been corrected, before the middle of February. He was at that time fully aware of the existence of the lower floor of stalagmite, as well as of a bed of Breccia of unknown depth below it; and he not only knew that this Breccia had yielded a flint flake and a flint chip, but his description of the former, as "undoubtedly of human workmanship," and as "carrying upon it evidence of having been used as a tool," was incorporated in the Fifth Report of the Kent's Hole Committee, read to the Exeter Meeting of the British Association in 1869. The small flake and smaller chip were the only specimens of flint that had been found in the Breccia, or deposit beneath the lower floor of stalagmite, when Mr. Evans's work was published; and as he does not seem to have felt called on to notice them, it was foreign to the plan and scope of his work to make any mention of the deposit which had yielded them. The Cavern specimens he dealt with were those found in the Cave-Earth, that is the deposit next *above* the lower stalagmite, and in his brief categorical description of the deposits he does not descend below this Cave-Earth, it being his object to describe, not the Cavern with all its contents, but the whereabouts of his specimens. If, therefore, we confine ourselves to this categorical description, it must be admitted that Mr. Evans really *does* "ignore this lower floor of stalagmite."

In August 1872, too late for the fact to be incorporated in Mr. Evans's book, I had the pleasure of announcing, to the Brighton Meeting of the British Association, the discovery of two massive flint tools in the Breccia, that is in the deposit *beneath* the lower floor of stalagmite, and of exhibiting them to the meeting; and Mr. Evans availed himself of the oppor-

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tunity of not only seeing and handling them, but of addressing the meeting at some length respecting them. Since that time further discoveries have been made, and at present very nearly fifty implements, flakes, and chips have been met with in this oldest of the Cavern deposits, so far as is at present known.

But is it a fact that Mr. Evans "really does ignore the lower floor of stalagmite"? On the contrary, is it not a fact that Mr. Southall himself quotes passages from his book which, beyond a doubt, prove that this old floor was not thus ignored? Thus, "Mr. Evans," he tells us, "speaking of the remains between the *two stalagmitic floors* . . . . . states that the mineral condition of the bones in the cave-earth varies considerably, so much so as to lead to the conclusion that some of the bones . . . . are derived from an earlier deposit of the same character, that is from the cave-earth *below the second floor*." p. 220.

Again, "Mr. Evans also refers to certain portions of the cave 'in which there are variations from what may be called the typical section, these being mainly due to accidental and local causes, such as the breaking up of *beds of stalagmite of earlier date than those above the Cave-earth.*'" p. 220.

It is difficult to understand how any one quoting the foregoing passages could entertain the belief, or could venture on the assertion, that the writer of them "ignores the lower floor of stalagmite."

Nor does it seem at all easier to comprehend how Sir John Lubbock can be said to ignore the stalagmitic floor in question, unless we chose to say that he ignores entirely *all* the deposits in the Cavern; for even the latest edition of his *Prehistoric Times*, published in 1872, disposes of Kent's Hole in very little more than a single page, and makes eleven lines suffice for an account of the researches of the Exploring Committee, of which Sir John is a member. Indeed, he makes no attempt to name the various deposits in the Cavern, though he does once incidentally mention "a thick covering of stalagmite." pp. 305–6.

Sir Charles Lyell, whom the author names in connexion with this topic, mentions twice the two floors of stalagmite (*Antiquity of Man.* 4th ed. 1873. pp. 74, 106), and certainly records the fact that "three flint implements and one flint chip were found" below the lowest or more ancient of them; but whilst he was fully impressed with the significance and importance of the discovery, I have not been able to detect a single passage in which, to use the language of Mr. Southall, he can be said to "attach considerable importance to it."

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Mr. James Geikie, when speaking of the deposits in the Cavern, says, "Underneath the cave-earth in certain parts a lower bed of stalagmite appears, which reaches in places the great thickness of 12 feet. This ancient deposit rests upon a second cave-earth or breccia, in which human implements and numerous remains of the cave-bear have been found. When one reflects on the length of time required for the formation of 12 ft. of stalagmite, the great antiquity of these lower deposits cannot fail to astonish him." (*The Great Ice Age.* 1874. pp. 442–3.) This, I presume, is the passage to which Mr. Southall refers.

3. *The original position of the Implements found in the Breccia:*—Speaking of the flint implements found in the Breccia, Mr. Southall seems at first to be under a fear that if, when found, they occupied their original position the case assumes a serious aspect. "The stalagmitic covering which overlay them," he says, "exceeds in thickness any other example of the same kind." He appears to comfort himself, however, by stating that "there is very considerable doubt . . . . whether the flints did not fall from the cave-earth in the bed above." This statement, so comforting to the author, startled me a good deal. It came upon me as a most disagreeable novelty—an announcement I had never heard before, and which I knew to be utterly without foundation. With extremely rare exceptions, I have visited the Cavern every day ever since the 28th of March 1865 to the present time; have directed and superintended the labours of the workmen during that entire period; have made my notes on the spot; and am perfectly familiar with the history of the discovery of every specimen, of every kind, all of which have passed through my hands; and I assert in the most unqualified way that there is not the shadow of a doubt that every flint or chert tool, flake, and chip which has been met with in the Breccia—that is the oldest of the Cavern deposits so far as is at present known—occupied its original position, and was coeval with the deposition of the matrix in which it lay.

Further, all the implements found in the Cave-Earth, or less ancient deposit, are so utterly unlike those which occur in the Breccia below it, as to represent a distinct phase of civilization, and to render it impossible to confound the two sets. The slightest acquaintance with them would enable a person, even if blindfolded, to separate the one series from the other.

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It will be seen, however, from the extracts at the commencement of this "Note," that Mr. Southall cites sundry passages from Mr. Evans and others in support of his statement. Unfortunately, he is not always happy in his citations: for (A) had he not occasionally suppressed a few words a passage quoted by him would have been seen to have a very different import; and (B) his quotations do not apply to the question.

(A.) In order to give the reader an opportunity of judging of the character and weight of the first objection, I give a passage in parallel columns as it stands in Mr. Evans's work and as quoted from it by Mr. Southall, the words in the former which Mr. Southall has suppressed being printed in italics:—

Evans.	Southall.
"*In some places it is true that*, owing to previous excavations, and to the presence of burrowing animals, the remains from above and below the stalagmite have become intermingled, *but I shall cite hardly any object about the original position of which there is any doubt.*" p. 446.	"Owing to previous excavations and to the presence of burrowing animals, the remains from above and below the stalagmite have become intermingled." p. 220. *Note.*

There can be no doubt that every ordinary reader of the passage *as quoted* by Mr. Southall would conclude that the remains from above and below the stalagmite spoken of had become intermingled *everywhere;* and, as a consequence, that there was, indeed, very considerable doubt whether any of the specimens, of any kind, or any where, occupied their original position. On turning to the work from which the passage was taken, however, the reader would find that the quotation should have been introduced by the important words I have italicised—"In some places *it is true*"—and he would thus learn that the *intermingling,* which had been supposed to apply to all parts of the Cavern and to all the deposits it contained, really applied only to "some places" in it. Further, it would be seen that Mr. Evans, instead of being stopped short with the word "intermingled," should have been allowed the privilege of adding the important words with which his passage actually closes—"I shall cite hardly any object about the original position of which there is any doubt." In short, Mr. Evans implies that it is known in what cases the original positions of the specimens are

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doubtful, and that there is no doubt of the kind about the specimens he proposes to cite.

It has never been either denied or concealed that in "some places," owing to the previous excavations of Mr. Mac Enery and others, the remains from above and below the stalagmite have become intermingled; but there is no doubt whatever that all such *places* are perfectly well known, and have been so from the beginning. In fact, one of the earliest arrangements made by the explorers was that all specimens found at such places, as well as under *any other* circumstances involving the slightest possibility of doubt, should be put aside into a separate box, intended for the reception of "Uncertainties;" and this arrangement has been rigorously followed in every instance; so that all doubtful evidence has been eliminated.

Mr. Evans is correct too in stating that the operations of burrowing animals have in some places "commingled objects belonging to different deposits and periods," and Mr. Southall wisely calls attention to the fact. In their "Fifth Report," read to the Meeting of the British Association at Exeter in 1869, the Kent's Hole Committee, when describing the results of their investigations in the ground disturbed by burrowing animals, in that branch of the Cavern known as "The South Sally Port," say, "It is undeniably the fact that in this, but in no other branch of the Cavern which the Committee have explored, ancient and modern bones, and unpolished flint implements and rude pottery, have been found lying together. Remains of the extinct brute inhabitants of Devonshire are mixed confusedly with those of the present day, and the handiwork of the human contemporary of the Mammoth is found inosculating with the product of the potter's wheel." * Though the seven years which have elapsed since these words were written have been spent in uninterrupted labours in the Cavern, it still remains to be true that the Committee have met with no such commingling in any other branch of it. Burrowing animals therefore have had no chance of affecting the original positions of the specimens found by the Committee except in the South Sally Port; and as not a trace of the Breccia was found there, the intermingling just described has no bearing whatever on the question now before us,—that is the original positions of the implements found in that deposit.

It is, perhaps, worth dwelling for a moment on one word employed by Mr. Evans in the sentence closing the passage

* *Report Brit. Assoc.* 1869, p. 204.

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just quoted directly from him: "I shall," he says, "cite *hardly* any object about the original position of which there is any doubt." By employing the word "hardly" he suggests that there may be, perhaps, some doubt about the original position of a few, or at least one, of the objects he cites. Though without means of knowing with certainty why he introduced the word, I suppose it to have reference to a thick pointed chert instrument of sub-triangular outline, which was met with lying on the surface of the Cave-Earth, in a small recess in one of the walls of the South Sally Port; and, as there was no stalagmite to protect it, the exact era to which it belongs is open to question. There is no reason why it may not belong to the Cave-Earth; but from its position it may be more modern. It is the only specimen of its type found in the Cavern, and is represented by Mr. Evans in his "Fig. 388," p. 448. This is certainly the only specimen cited by Mr. Evans about which there is the least uncertainty.

(B.) To proceed now to the second objection—that neither of the passages quoted by Mr. Southall applies to the question under consideration. Let us take first his abridgment of the passage already considered, viz. "Owing to previous excavations, and to the presence of burrowing animals, the remains from above and below the stalagmite have become intermingled." Even when thus shorn of its inconvenient initial and terminal clauses, it has no bearing on the flint implements found in the Breccia. The stalagmite Mr. Evans is speaking of is not the *lower* but the *upper* floor of that material; it is that which lies between the Cave-Earth below it and the "Black Mould" above it; that which divides the era of the Cave-hyæna and the Mammoth from that of the Sheep and the Goat; not that which separates the Cave-Earth *above* it from the Breccia, or oldest known deposit, *beneath*.

Further, in no part of the Cavern have any burrows been met with in the Breccia. The few that presented themselves were restricted exclusively to the Cave-Earth, and to the "Eastern Division" of the Cavern, in which the Breccia was rarely found, and where it yielded but the one small flint flake and the still smaller chip already mentioned. In the "Western Division" of the Cavern—that most remote from the known entrances—there is not a trace of a burrow; and there, with the small exception already mentioned, all the Breccia implements were found.

It must not be forgotten, however, that Mr. Southall en-

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deavours to fortify his doubts with three other quotations from Mr. Evans, and that these require attention. Though already given, it may be better to repeat them here. They are as follow:—

First, "The mineral condition of the bones in the Cave-earth varies considerably, so much so as to lead to the conclusion that some of the bones, especially of bear, are derived from an earlier deposit of the same character."

Again, "In fact, among the bones themselves there are some which, as has already been pointed out, have belonged to an earlier deposit than that in which they are now found."

Lastly, "Mr. Evans," says the author, "also refers to certain portions of the cave 'in which there are variations from what may be *called* the typical section, these being mainly due to accidental and local causes, such as the breaking up of beds of stalagmite of earlier date than those above the Cave-earth.'"

The foregoing passages are all correctly quoted by Mr. Southall, with the exception of the last, in which he has substituted "called"—the word I have italicised—for the words "regarded as," in the original; but this is unimportant. But what do the quotations amount to? Mr. Southall says to this: "It is, therefore, very doubtful whether these four flints"—the specimens found in the Breccia up to August 1872—"were originally in the position in which they were found." I believe that no violence or misrepresentation will be done to the author's reasoning by presenting it in the following form:—Since Mr. Evans says that bones have been dislodged from the Breccia—the oldest known bed—and redeposited, with relatively modern objects, in the Cave-Earth—or less ancient deposit—it is very probable that the reversal of this may have occurred in the case of the flint tools. In other words, that flint implements may have been dislodged from the more modern accumulation, and redeposited with more ancient objects in the more ancient bed.

It would have been somewhat to the purpose if it could have been shown that some of the multitudinous Cave-Earth bones, or even a few patches of the Cave-Earth itself, had been occasionally detected in the Breccia; but I have no hesitation in saying that nothing of the kind has ever occurred. Instead of this, if the author's speculation has any basis, the transaction was a very simple case of barter. The Cave-Earth exchanged flint and chert tools, and such tools only, for a few bones from the Breccia; but stingily declined to part with a single bone, or a bit of charcoal, or a

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ball of coprolite, with each of which it abounded; whilst, on the other hand, it parted, in the most prodigal manner, with every tool it could have possessed of that massive and comparatively rude type to which all the specimens found in the Breccia belong—that is if, as the author would have us believe, the specimens under consideration belonged primarily, not to the deposit in which they were all found, but to the more modern Cave-Earth, which has not yielded a single tool at all resembling them.

But, seriously, is it conceivable that an old undisturbed deposit—for such the Breccia most certainly was wherever it yielded a flint tool—could contain incorporated within it any thing derived from a comparatively modern accumulation? For myself, I must confess that, knowing the whole of the facts as I do, such an incorporation appears as inconceivable as that Shakspere stole and embodied in one of his dramas a passage from the *Paradise Lost.*

4. *The era of Machairodus latidens*:—It can scarcely be doubted that, whatever may have been his intention, Mr. Southall's statement that *Machairodus latidens* is well known to belong "to an earlier fauna than that of the palæolithic age," is calculated to lead ordinary readers to the conclusion, that, if this be the fact, the species could not belong also to the palæolithic fauna, and hence could not have been the contemporary of man.

A clear conception of the full import of this question requires some acquaintance with the chronological schemes of the palæontologist, geologist, and anthropologist, as well as with the co-ordination of the schemes with one another.

To the whole of that time during which all the Mammalia occupying the earth have been specifically identical with those at present on its surface the Palæontologist applies the term *Recent.*

To the immediately preceding period, when, though some of the Mammals were specifically distinct from any now peopling the world, all the Molluscs were identical with the species still existing, he gives the name of *Pleistocene.*

The next earlier period, when, not only all the Mammals, but some, though but a small percentage, of the Molluscs belonged to species which had become extinct—that is had ceased to exist anywhere in the world,—he terms *Pliocene.* This period may, perhaps, be safely termed the era of *Mastodon arvernensis.*

The next step into antiquity takes us into the *Miocene* period, beyond which it is not necessary to go at present.

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Proceeding to the scheme of the Geologist, we find that he recognizes a time in the past when glaciers covered parts of Europe, and icebergs floated in the waters bounding it, which during all times of history, and even of tradition, were, as now, quite free from them. Evidences of similar glacial conditions have also been detected much further south than at present in North America; and to this period he has given the name of *Glacial*. Somewhat recently, however, he has found reason to believe that there was more than one Glacial period, and that they were divided by genial *Inter-glacial* intervals. As a matter of convenience, however, it is not unusual to speak of the whole under the comprehensive term of the *Glacial period*.

Lastly, the Anthropologist finds that the earliest human inhabitants of Britain and Western Europe whose industrial remains he has disinterred, possessed neither metals, nor pottery, nor spindle whorls; but made their implements solely of stone—commonly flint or chert—and of bone or horn; and, hence, he terms the time thus represented the *Stone Period*. This, however, is shown by a study of the implements, to be divisible into two *Ages*—the least ancient, in which a considerable number of the implements were polished; and the most ancient, in which the stones were chipped into shape, but were never polished. For the more modern Age, Sir John Lubbock has suggested the term *Neo'ithic*, and for the more ancient, that of *Palæolithic*, and the terms have been universally adopted. The palæolithic age is the earliest human period at present recognized.

On co-ordinating the three schemes, it is found, first, that not only does the Pleistocene period of the palæontologist completely include the geologist's Glacial period, but it overlaps both its ancient and its modern margins; and, second, that the modern margin of the Palæolithic period of the anthropologist is, practically speaking, conterminous with that of the Pleistocene period, and that its ancient margin unquestionably extended so far back as to meet the modern border of the Glacial period. Indeed, if Mr. James Geikie has correctly interpreted the phenomena he has so closely studied and has described with so much ability, "the palæolithic deposits are pre-glacial and inter-glacial;* if Professor Boyd Dawkins is correct, "we may infer with a high degree of probability that he [Man] migrated into Europe along with the pleistocene mammalia in the pre-glacial age;† if Mr. Tiddeman has not fallen into error, the

* *The Great Ice Age*, p. 482. † *Cave Hunting*, p. 410.

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unquestionable portion of a human fibula yielded by the deposits of Victoria Cave, Yorkshire, belonged to a pre-glacial man;* and if I have correctly interpreted the facts of Kent's Cavern, pre-glacial men dwelt in Devonshire.† In short, if either of the writers just named may be trusted, and much more, therefore, if all, the ancient border of the Palæolithic Age extended into pre-glacial times, and the most ancient men whose traces we have detected formed part of the earliest Pleistocene fauna.

The following diagram will perhaps convey a clearer idea than any words can of the three chronological schemes and their co-ordination. The *ancient* boundary of the Palæolithic Age is placed on the horizon of that of the Pleistocene Period from the belief that there is good evidence that it extends so far back as that; but it is marked with a broken, instead of a continuous, line to denote that its exact position is regarded by some as being non-proven.

PERIODS.

Geological.	Palæontological.	Anthropological.
Post Glacial.	Recent.	Iron.
		Bronze.
		Neolithic.
Glacial.	Pleistocene.	Palæolithic.
Preglacial.	Pliocene.	

In proceeding to the place in the foregoing chronological scheme of *Machairodus latidens*, it must be unnecessary to remind those who, like Mr. Southall, take an interest in such topics, that the question before us is not the broad one of the era of the *genus Machairodus*, but the much narrower one of that of the single *species* known as *M. latidens*. The fossil remains of various species of the *genus* have been found in

* *Report Brit. Assoc.*, 1874, pp. 133–138.
† *Journal Plymo. Institution*, vol. v. pp. 341–75.

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Italy, Germany, various parts of France, England, Brazil, Buenos Ayres, and, according to Professor Boyd Dawkins, North America; and in strata of Miocene age,—as the same authority states, though I know not on what evidence,—to those of Pliocene and Pleistocene times.*

With reference, however, to *M. latidens*,—the species established by Professor Owen in 1846, for the reception of remains found in 1826, by the Rev. J. Mac Enery, in Kent's Cavern,—Professor Boyd Dawkins states that it has been found in Pleistocene strata in two localities in France, in one of which it was associated with the horse, ox, wild-boar, elephant, a non-tichorhine species of rhinoceros, the cave-bear, and the spotted hyæna. "In the autumn of 1873," he adds, "I met with proof that the animal also lived in France in the pleiocene period. M. Lortet, the Director of the Museum of Natural History, at Lyons, called my attention to a canine, in the Palais des Beaux Arts, which coincides exactly in all its dimensions with one of those from Kent's Hole. It was found at Changy (Saône et Loire) near Dijon, along with *Mastodon arvernensis*, the Etruscan or megarhine species of rhinoceros, horse, beaver, and hyæna. . . . . The species, therefore, is pleiocene, and it belongs to a genus which is widely distributed in the meiocene strata of Europe and North America, as well as in the pleiocene of Europe."† The author just quoted neither mentions the circumstances under which the discovery at Chagny was made, nor the evidence that the mammals found there were contemporaries; but, assuming all this to be quite satisfactory, the presence of *Mastodon arvernensis* would no doubt be accepted as establishing the *pliocene* age of the whole.

Since, as we learn from the writer just quoted, *M. latidens* belonged to the Pleistocene fauna as well as to the Pliocene, and since, as we have also seen, the same author, in common with several others, holds that it is in a high degree probable that pre-glacial man occupied Europe, we have strong grounds for asking Mr. Southall to admit that even if it be true that the species belonged to an earlier fauna than that of the palæolithic age, it nevertheless belonged also to the palæolithic fauna itself. It is not without interest to remark here, that Professor Boyd Dawkins, the first and only palæontologist, so far as I know, to state that *Machairodus latidens* lived in Pliocene times, and who, himself, was not aware of

* *Cave Hunting.* By W. Boyd Dawkins, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.S.A., 1874, pp. 331-2, and 424.

† *Ibid*, pp. 331-2.

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it until the autumn of 1873, asserts that amongst its Pleistocene contemporaries were the Wild-boar and Spotted-hyæna —two species living in the present day.

Nor is this all. Mr. Boyd Dawkins, in order to show "the salient points of the pleistocene age offered by the study of the land mammalia in the area north of the Alps and Pyrenees," divides the Pleistocene period into three stages—*The Latest, The Middle,* and *The Early Stages.* He places "Palæolithic Man" in both the Latest and the Middle Stages, and distinctly makes *Machairodus latidens* his contemporary and companion in the Middle Stage, in the area in question.

I have in a previous paper * called attention to the difference of opinion between Professor Boyd Dawkins and myself on the question of the alleged derivation of the Kent's Hole Machairodus remains from the Breccia, and their redeposition in the Cave-Earth—a hypothesis of which he is, I believe, the only advocate; and having neither any reason to change my opinion that this supposition is utterly untenable, nor anything new to communicate or offer on the question, I do not feel called on to re-open it; but it may not be out of place to remark that whilst Mr. Southall quoted the passage, already mentioned, from Sir C. Lyell for the purpose of showing that the hypothesis of the derivative character of the fossils was not without a believer, he did not apparently think it necessary to state the fact that Sir Charles himself did not believe it.

Nor may it be useless to repeat that even if the Machairodus teeth could be proved to have been dislodged from the Breccia and redeposited in the Cave-Earth, the fact would utterly fail to help us in conceiving of the possibility of the reverse process, such as must have taken place if the Breccia, or more ancient deposit, actually derived its flint and chert implements from the Cave-Earth, or less ancient bed.

5. *The Rate at which the Stalagmite was deposited*:—Mr. Southall ultimately reaches the conclusion that, even if the tools found in the Breccia were in their original position, "the rapid rate at which the stalagmite *even now* is known to accumulate in *some caves*, removes all occasion for calling in more than *three or four centuries.*" It will be observed that I have italicised his words in three instances in the foregoing passage. I purpose offering a few remarks on each of them.

* See *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, vol. v. pp. 173-9.

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I fail to see any force in the two words "even now," unless it can be shown that stalagmite certainly accumulated more rapidly in earlier periods than it does at present. Of this, however, there does not appear to be the slightest evidence.

The more I think of the question the more doubtful does this hypothetical more rapid rate appear to be; nor am I convinced that the circumstances requisite for a greatly increased mean rate would shorten our journey into past time. Again, it does not strike me to be anything to the purpose to tell us what the rate is, or may have been, in "some caves." We have to do with Kent's Hole, or rather, with certain masses of stalagmite within it,—for the rate of accumulation has certainly been very different in its various chambers and galleries; and the only fact which can aid in measuring the time represented by any given boss or sheet of stalagmite in it, is the mean rate at which the said boss or sheet has accumulated; not the rate at which stalagmitic matter is being precipitated in any other cavern, or in any other branch of that cavern, or, indeed, in any other part of even the same branch of the cavern. On this point I entirely agree with Mr. James Geikie, who says, "Even if we ascertained the rate at which the stalagmite increased in one particular cave, still that would give us no criterion by which to estimate the time required for the growth of stalagmite in any other cave."*

To tell us that all occasion is removed "for calling in more than three or four centuries" to take us back to the time when the flint tools were primarily deposited in the Breccia is certainly a little startling—perhaps *more* than a little. To be convinced of this would be to be convinced that since the commencement of, let us say, the thirteenth century—for we may as well treat the author with liberality—a sheet of stalagmite, twelve feet thick in some places, was formed on the Breccia; that after this was completed, Devonshire was inhabited by the Mammoth, the Woolly Rhinoceros, and their contemporaries, whose remains abound in the Cave-Earth; that after they had become extinct another thick sheet of stalagmite sealed up the Cave-Earth; that huge bosses of the same material sprang rapidly up from the surface of this upper sheet, and were pretty much in the same condition at the beginning of the seventeenth century as they are at present, so that he or she whose initials were "R. L." could and did inscribe them on

* *Great Ice Age*, p. 442, note.

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one of these bosses in "1604," and "Peter Lemaire" and "Rich. Colby of London" could cut their names on another in "1615;" and that, though the stalagmitic matter has been continually accreting on them ever since, it has been at so slow a rate that the inscriptions are still perfectly legible. I confess that this is much too startling for my acceptance.

In 1874 I called attention to the interesting measurements made in 1873 by Professor Boyd Dawkins "On the Rate at which Stalagmite is being accumulated in the Ingleborough Cave," Yorkshire, and remarked "There can be little or no doubt that most of his readers would understand from Mr. Boyd Dawkins's words that there had been too great a tendency to trust to the thickness of the Kent's Hole Stalagmite, and I shall be agreeably surprised if they are not thus quoted in many future discussions on the subject."* Mr. Southall has taught me that this "agreeable surprise," for which I did not venture to hope however, was not to be mine; for he has already quoted the words—or, rather, the *Athenæum* version of them—as I anticipated. Mr. Boyd Dawkins, speaking of the rate at which a large stalagmite, known as the "Jockey Cap," in Ingleborough Cave, had increased in height from 1845 to 1873, says, "If it be taken as a measure of the rate generally, all the stalagmites and stalactites in the Cave may not date further back than the time of Edward III." Mr. Southall thinks that this passage justifies him in asserting that "Mr. Vivian" [in his speech at Edinburgh, already quoted] "has, therefore, fallen into the error of antedating the reign of Edward III. by nearly a million of years, while even Mr. Evans" [in the passage already quoted from him to the effect that even under the most favourable circumstances, it must have been the works of hundreds or probably thousands of years] . . . . . "has made a chronological mistake hardly less serious. And it becomes necessary for Sir Charles Lyell to omit this from his indicia of the antiquity of the Cave fauna."

Sir Charles Lyell, alas! is now beyond the reach of criticism; and it is not necessary for me to fight the battles of those who are so very capable of doing their own work as Mr. Vivian and Mr. Evans; but I may express the opinion that the stalagmites of Kent's Cavern will remain to be, in the language of Mr. Southall, amongst the "indicia of the antiquity of the Cave fauna," and, I may add, of the human race also.

* *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, vol. vi. p. 670.

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VII. THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW ON KENT'S CAVERN.

The fourth article in *The Westminster Review*, New Series, No. 97, January 1876, pp. 62–92, is entitled *The Origin and Development of Man.* It is headed with, or has for its text, *Pre-Historic Times.* By Sir John Lubbock, Bart., F.R.S., &c.; *Encyclopædia Britannica. New Edition, Article Anthropology.* By E. B. Tylor, F.R.S., &c.; *Antiquity of Man.* By Sir Charles Lyell, F.R.S.; and *Man's Place in Nature.* By T. H. Huxley, F.R.S.; and it incorporates an account of the researches and discoveries in Kent's Cavern, compiled, with due acknowledgment, from a paper by myself, on *The Flint and Chert Implements found in Kent's Cavern, Torquay*, published in the *Annual Report and Transactions of the Plymouth Institution, and Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society*, vol. v. part ii. 1874–5, pp. 341–375.

Though the notice of Kent's Cavern is, on the whole, perfectly satisfactory and, indeed, excellent, a "Note" on a passage here and there may not be without service; and for that purpose I make the following quotations for comment:—

1. "Beyond them [History and Tradition] stretch page upon page written in firm and indelible characters, awaiting but an able interpreter to yield their marvellous secrets to the world. It is only within the present century that any attempt has been made to decipher this most interesting record, but the crowded room of the anthropological section at the recent meeting of the British Association at Bristol, testified to its ever-increasing interest. Formerly, any bold enquirer who ventured to glance beyond the historical preface, as interpreted by authority was scouted as an atheist. To have openly asserted a belief that the earth and man had existed more than six thousand years would have called down such a storm of ecclesiastical censure, and such a chorus of lay ridicule, that a sentence of excommunication in Romish times would have been nothing to the opprobrium with which the bold innovator would have been visited." pp. 63–4.

2. "The evidence afforded by the caves of Belgium, France, and Britain, so diligently explored of late, tends to give an antiquity hitherto undreamt of to man as an inhabitant of Europe. The first attempts at cavern exploration were made in the South of France in 1828, by MM. Tournal

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and Christol. . . . . Prior to this, caves had been ransacked for bones to be used in medicine." p. 73.

3. "[The uppermost of the deposits in Kent's Cavern is] a black mould, from three to twelve inches thick, containing remains which are all traceable to the period of the Romans, or a little earlier—that is, representing an antiquity of about 2000 years." p. 75.

4. "[The Crystalline or lowest known] stalagmite . . . had accumulated to the thickness of twelve feet, at the rate of less than the twentieth part of an inch in a century." p. 76.

5. "With the exception of the beaver and the reindeer, the whole fauna [of the Kent's Cavern Cave-Earth, as well as of the Caves of Aurignac, France,] seems to show a climate milder than the present." p. 78.

6. "The reindeer and beaver, . . . it may be remarked, are few in number in English caves." p. 76.

1. Whilst agreeing with the Reviewer, in the first of the foregoing quotations, that those who, in the present day, "openly assert a belief that the earth and man had existed more than six thousand years," are not exposed to the harsh treatment they would formerly have experienced, I am decidedly inclined to doubt whether the crowded room of the Anthropological Department at the meeting of the British Association at Bristol can be regarded as conclusive evidence of this change in the popular feeling. Nothing draws a large audience so much as the *belief*—I had almost said the *hope*—that there is to be a "scrimmage" in a Section or Department; that somebody will probably "pitch into" an author known to hold very advanced opinions, and whose name appears in the journal of the day as one of the readers of papers; and there can be no kind of doubt that the room would be densely packed if there were reason to expect that the said author would be there and then "scouted as an atheist."

Further, there are those, as we shall shortly see, who hold that the "ever-increasing interest" of the Anthropological *Section*, or, more correctly, *Department*, of the British Association is due to a change of tone on the part of the Anthropologists themselves, whose former "supercilious scepticism," they say, "promises to be a thing of the past."

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But be all this as it may, the proceedings of the Anthropological Department at Bristol, in August 1875, did not entirely escape clerical condemnation, for I have myself had —may I say *enjoyed?*—the distinction of being denounced, by a *Reverend* speaker, from what ought to be one of the least sectarian of the religious platforms, as having at that meeting put myself forth "as the champion of an anti-Biblical Geology." The case is so very racy as to make it perhaps allowable to be somewhat more emplicit. At the Bristol meeting I read three papers or communications—all on Devonshire Caverns. One, was the Annual Report of the Committee on Kent's Cavern, read to the Geological Section; the second—a Note on Brixham Cavern—and the third—a Summary of the Anthropological Discoveries in Kent's Cavern—were both read to the Anthropological Department. A few weeks after the meeting there was sent to me a cutting from some newspaper, bearing date September 16th, 1875, and containing an article entitled *Science and the Bible*, which contained the following passages:—"At the annual meeting of the Gravesend Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Rev. W. Guest said,—Never, as during the last few years, had the Bible passed through such a fiery and searching criticism; never had its enemies been more formidable; never had scepticism been more influential, or commanded a higher respect. . . . . The greatest controversy of our times had been that between modern science and revelation. Science had been pursued by two classes of investigators. Such veterans of science as Sedgwick, Phillips, Lyell, and Murchison, who have passed away, were ardent, conscientious, modest and patient in the pursuit of science as the cause of God and of truth. If their investigations of nature had discredited the Scriptures they would have rather wept than rejoiced. . . . . But he (the speaker) was bound to say there was another class who investigate nature with a spirit contemptuous towards that blessed Book. . . . . He observed that at the meeting of the British Association Mr. Pengelly set himself forth as the champion of an anti-Biblical Geology. If it were not serious it would be absolutely ludicrous to picture this gentleman spending hundreds of pounds, using the strong arms of stalwart English labourers to find in the Cave, near Torquay, which some of them had explored, evidences which would discredit the chronology of the Scripture. Does the money granted and the labour expended confirm Mr. Pengelly's earlier expectations? He (the speaker) said emphatically

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no. And so with other threatening influences. . . . . It was gratifying that the tone of the recent meetings of the British Association at Bristol had been an entirely changed one. He knew from personal attendance what was the atmosphere of the ethnological, anthropological, and biological sections a few years since—the sort of supercilious scepticism that was heard, as if they who were believers in the Bible had nothing to say for themselves. This promised to be a thing of the past, and this year a totally changed tone of sentiment and opinion had prevailed . . . . ."

It is not my intention to comment on the foregoing report of the speech of the Reverend gentleman, who thinks it both just and politic to attempt the promotion of a great and noble Society by traducing men with whom, as well as with their researches and opinions, he is clearly unacquainted.

2. That the Reviewer has fallen into an error in stating that "the first attempts at cavern exploration were made in the South of France in 1828 by MM. Tournal and Christol," is shown by the following list of such explorations, which must not be understood to be an exhaustive one:—

In 1774, 1804, and 1810, the caves of Franconia, in the neighbourhood of Muggendorf, of which that of Gailenreuth was the most important, were described by Esper, Rosenmuller, and Goldfuss respectively, who figured some of the animal remains found in them.*

In 1794, the Margrave of Anspach and the celebrated John Hunter published in the *Philosophical Transactions* descriptions of the Caves of Gailenreuth and of the organic remains they had yielded.†

In 1812, or earlier, Sir Joseph Banks, P.R.S. London, requested Mr. Whidbey, who had engaged to superintend the construction of the Plymouth Breakwater, to examine narrowly any caverns he might meet with in the limestone rock at Oreston, near Plymouth, and have the bones, or any other fossil remains that were met with, carefully preserved.*

In 1816, Mr. Whidbey sent to Sir Joseph Banks some fossil bones found at Oreston.‡

In 1817, Sir Everard Home read to the Royal Society a paper on the remains just mentioned.‡

* See Buckland's *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*, 2nd edition, 1824, p. 99; or Boyd Dawkins's *Cave Hunting*, 1874, p. 12.

† See *Relig. Diluv.*, p. 146; or, *Phil. Trans.*, 1794, part ii. pp. 402–417.

‡ See *Phil. Trans.*, 1817, part i. pp. 176–82; or, *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, vol. v. 1872, pp. 249–51.

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In 1820, Mr. Whidbey sent to Sir Everard Home bones found at Oreston.*

In 1822, the Rev. Dr. Buckland read to the Royal Society an account of his researches in the famous Kirkdale Cavern, discovered in 1821, in the Vale of Pickering, Yorkshire.†

In 1822, Mr. Whidbey sent to Mr. John Barrow a third series of bones from Oreston.‡

In 1823, Dr. Buckland published his *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*, containing an account of his labours in the Caves of Kirkdale, Kirby Moorside, and Duncombe Park—all in Yorkshire,—Dream Cave, near Wirksworth, Derbyshire; and Paviland Cave, near Swansea, and many others.§

In 1824, Mr. Northmore made the first discovery of bones in Kent's Cavern, Torquay.‖

In 1824, Marcel de Serres, aided by MM. Dubriel and Jeanjean, explored the Cave of Lunel Viel, Herault, South of France. Professor Boyd Dawkins assigns to Marcel de Serres "the credit of being the first systematic explorer of Caverns in France."¶

In 1825, Mr. Mac Enery commenced his systematic exploration of Kent's Cavern, and found a flint implement with the remains of extinct mammalia—the first such implement, he was of opinion, that had been found in a cavern.**

In 1826, that is two years before the date assigned by the Reviewer to the commencement of the explorations by MM. Tournal and Christol, Mr. Mac Enery presented to the Natural History Museum of Paris, through Baron Cuvier, a collection of fossil bones from Kent's Cavern.††

In 1826–7, M. Billaudel explored the Cave of Avison in the Gironde, France.‡‡

It is, perhaps, worthy of remark that, notwithstanding the statement now under notice, the Reviewer subsequently mentions the facts that "in 1821 Dr. Buckland explored the Kirkdale Caves" (p. 73), and that "three years prior to the discoveries of MM. Tournal and Christol, Mr. Mac Enery

* See *Phil. Trans.*, 1821, part i. pp. 133-5; or, *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, vol. v. 1872, pp. 251-3.

† See *Phil. Trans.*, 1822, part i. pp. 171-236.

‡ See *Phil. Trans.*, 1823, part i. pp. 78-90; or, *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, vol. v. 1872, pp. 255-60.

§ See *Reliq. Diluv.*, 2nd ed., pp. 1-48, 52-6, 61-4, 82-98.

‖ See *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, vol. ii. 1868, pp. 479-95; or, Blewitt's *Panorama of Torquay*, 2nd ed., 1832, pp. 131-8.

¶ See Boyd Dawkins's *Cave Hunting*, 1874, pp. 18, 336, and 375.

** See *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, vol. iii. 1869, pp. 443-4.

†† See *Ibid*, vol. iv. 1871, pp. 475-6.

‡‡ See Boyd Dawkins's *Cave Hunting*, p. 18.

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. . . . explored the famous cavern known as Kent's Hole." p. 74.

3. The Reviewer's statement that the Black Mould contains "remains which are *all* traceable to the period of the Romans, or a little earlier," is certainly not quite correct; the fact being that the remains in question may be said to cover the entire period from pre-Roman times to the present day. Indeed, the only coins amongst them were of the present century—a halfpenny of 1806, and a sixpence of 1846. Further, instead of saying that they represent "an antiquity of *about* 2,000 years," it would have been safer to say, "*at least* 2,000 years," as, for anything which appears to the contrary, it may greatly exceed that limit.

4. As to the rate at which the *Lower* or *Crystalline* Stalagmite accumulated we know nothing whatever. That the film which has accreted on inscriptions cut on the *Upper* or *Granular* Stalagmite, in certain parts of the Cavern, 250 years ago, does not exceed ·05 inch in thickness may be accepted as a trustworthy fact, but it is the only fact on the subject of which we are possessed. Whether it applies for the same period to all parts of the Cavern, or whether the whole of this upper mass which bears the inscriptions was precipitated at the same rate, is by no means certain; though it would, no doubt, be difficult, without making at least an equally great chronological demand, to imagine the existence of such conditions as would produce a much higher rate. But waiving all this, it must not be forgotten that in passing from the Upper to the Lower Stalagmite, we are met by the following questions:—Was the Crystalline structure, characteristic of the latter, congenital or superinduced? If congenital, does it betoken a greater or a less chronological value? I have no means of forming an opinion on these questions, but until they are disposed of the rate at which at least the lower or more ancient sheet of Stalagmite was found remains an unknown quantity, which may certainly have been less than the twentieth part of an inch in a century, as the Reviewer supposes, and as certainly it may have been more.

5. The Reviewer gives two tables showing the species of mammals whose remains have been found in Kent's Cavern, and in the caves of Aurignac, France; and concludes, from what appears to be very satisfactory evidence, that the faunas "are almost identical," and, therefore, "nearly, if not quite,

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contemporaneous;" and he then remarks, as we have seen in the fifth quotation, that, "with the exception of the beaver and the reindeer, the whole fauna seems to show a climate milder than the present."

The animals represented by the remains in Kent's Cavern are shown in the following table; and would scarcely have led me to the climatological conclusion to which they have conducted the Reviewer.

Systematic Name.	Common Name.	E	R	B	W	T	C
1. *Felis spelæa*	Cave Lion . . .	...	+	...	+	...	...
2. *F. catus*	Wild Cat . . .	...	+	+	...	+	+
3. *Machairodus latidens* .		+	...	...	...	...	...
4. *Hyæna spelæa*	Cave Hyæna . .	...	+	...	+	...	...
5. *Canis lupus*	Wolf	...	+	...	+	+	+
6. *C. vulpes*	Fox	...	+	+	+	+	...
7. *Gulo luscus*	Glutton . . .	...	+	...	...	...	+
8. *Meles taxus*	Badger	...	+	+	...	+	...
9. *Ursus spelæus*	Cave Bear . . .	+	...	...	...	...	...
10. *U. priscus=ferox* . .	Grizzly Bear . .	...	+	...	...	+	+
11. *U. arctos*	Brown Bear . .	...	+	...	...	+	+
12. *Elephas primigenius* . .	Mammoth . . .	+	...	...	...	...	...
13. *Rhinoceros tichorhinus* .	Woolly Rhinoceros	+	...	...	...	...	...
14. *Equus caballus* . . .	Horse	...	+	+	...	+	...
15. *Bos primigenius* . . .	Wild Bull . . .	...	+	+	...	+	...
16. *B. longifrons*	Short Horn . .	...	+	+	...	+	...
17. *Bison priscus*		...	+	...	...	+	...
18. *Cervus megaceros* . . .	Gigantic Irish Deer	+	...	...	...	...	...
19. *C. elaphus*	Red Deer . . .	...	+	+	...	+	...
20. *C. tarandus*	Rein Deer . . .	...	+	...	...	...	+
21. *Lepus timidus*	Hare	...	+	+	...	+	...
22. *Lagomys spelæus* . . .	Cave Pika . . .	+	...	...	...	...	...
23. *Arvicola amphibia* . .	Water Vole . .	...	+	+	...	+	...
24. *A. agrestis*	Field Vole . . .	...	+	+	...	+	...
25. *A. pratensis*	Bank Vole . . .	...	+	+	...	+	...
26. *Castor fiber*	Beaver	...	+	...	...	+	+
		6	20	11	4	16	7

With the exception of *Machairodus latidens*, identified by myself, the table is compiled from the Report on the animals found in the Cavern, drawn up by Professor Boyd Dawkins and Mr. Ayshford Sanford.* The six right-hand columns may be briefly explained: The first of them, headed E,

* See *Report Brit. Assoc.*, 1869, pp. 206–8.

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shows the *Extinct* species; the second, headed R, the *Recent* or existing species; the third, headed B, the recent species still inhabiting Britain; the fourth, headed W, the species betokening a *Warm* climate; the fifth, headed T, the species indicating a *Temperate* climate; and the sixth, or last, headed C, the species denoting a *Cold* climate.

It will be seen that six of the Kent's Cavern Mammals—*Machairodus latidens*, Cave Bear, Mammoth, Woolly Rhinoceros, Gigantic Irish Deer, and Cave Pika—are regarded as certainly extinct. No doubt, some palæontologists would place three, if not five, others in the same category; but as many who have recently written on the subject regard *Felis spelæa* and *Hyæna spelæa* as but varieties of the existing *Felis leo* and *Hyæna corocuta* respectively, as Professor Boyd Dawkins says, "We are unable to draw any sharp line separating the *Equus plicidens* of Prof. Owen from the recent species [*Equus caballus*]," and as most writers regard *Bos primigenius* and *B. longifrons* as the ancestors of our common domestic cattle and of the Short-horn of the hill country of Wales and Scotland respectively, I have placed them all in the *Recent* list.

Of the 20 species thus regarded as Recent, though in some cases rather as varieties of, than as identical with, the existing representatives, a total of 11—the Wild Cat, Fox, Badger, Horse, Wild Bull, Short Horn, Red Deer, Hare, Water Vole, Field Vole, and Bank Vole,—still exist in Britain, and cannot be supposed to give any very decided evidence in favour of a climate differing from that in which they now live.

As there is no doubt that the Wolf, Brown Bear, and Beaver—three of the remaining nine existing species—have occupied Britain within historic times and have been extirpated by the direct or indirect agency of man, they, so far as climate is concerned, may be added to the eleven still dwelling amongst us.

In order to prepare the fourth, fifth, and six columns, that is those setting forth the climatal indications of the existing species, I have compiled the following statements on Zoological Geography from the *Penny Cyclopædia*.

Lion. "The true lions belong to the old world exclusively. . . . . At present they are confined to Asia and Africa. . . . . That lions were once found in Europe there can be no doubt." xiv. 29.

Wild Cat. "[It occupies] all the wooded countries of Europe, Germany especially; Russia, Hungary, the north of

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Asia and Nepâl. The animal is larger in cold climates." x. 223.*

SPOTTED HYÆNA. "[It occupies] Southern Africa, and especially the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope." xii. 369.

WOLF. "Colonel Smith observes that the typical Wolf of Europe and Asia, and the varieties belonging to the tribe in America, may be described as animals occupying the two continents from within the Arctic circle on the north, to Spain, and perhaps to Morocco, on the west side of the Old Continent; to Syria, and beyond the Crishna in India; and to near the isthmus of Panama in the New World." xxvii. 502.

FOX. "Cuvier mentions it as reaching from Sweden to Egypt." x. 391.

GLUTTON. "[It extends] throughout the whole northern parts of the American continent from the coast of Labrador and Davis Straits to the shores of the Pacific and the islands of Alaska. It even visits the islands of the Polar Sea, its bones having been found in Melville Island nearly in latitude 75° N. Not rare in Canada. Extent of range to the southward not mentioned by American writers. . . .

Captain James Ross . . . remarks . . . . we know that it remains throughout the winter as far north as 70° N. lat., and is not, like other animals of that rigorous climate, subject to any change of colour from the intense cold. . . . .

Pennant notes it as inhabiting Lapland, the northern and eastern parts of Siberia, and Kamtschatka.

Lesson states that it inhabits a complete circle round the north pole, in Europe and Asia, as well as in America." xi. 484.

BADGER. "Found throughout all the northern parts of Europe and Asia." iii. 263.

GRIZZLY BEAR. "The Rocky Mountains, and the plains to the eastward of them, ... are the chief haunts of the grisly bears. To the north they have been observed as far as 61° of latitude. To the south it is said they extend as far as Mexico." iv. 89.

* It is perhaps worthy of remark that Professor Boyd Dawkins says, "The remains from Kent's Hole and the Mendip caverns indicate a species slightly larger than the wild cat, that is becoming extinct so fast at the present moment in Britain."—*Pleistocene Mammalia*, Pal. Soc., p. 21. Since these Notes were written I have had the pleasure of receiving from Mr. J. E. Lee, F.S.A., F.G.S., a copy of his Translation of *Excavations at the Kesslerloch, near Thayngen, Switzerland. A Cave of the Reindeer Period* By Conrad Merk, 1876, and have been much interested in reading the following passage:—"We find the wild cat (*Felis catus*), of which however only one under-jaw of a *very large animal* has come down to us." p. 19.

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BROWN BEAR. "The mountainous districts from very high latitudes (Arctic Circle) in the north, to the Alps and Pyrenees in the south; Siberia, Kamtschatka, and even Japan to the eastward, and a portion of the northern regions of America, form the range of its geographical distribution." iv. 84.

HORSE. "Although the Horse, the Ass, and the Mule are now spread over the whole face of the civilized earth, and although the Horse is found wild, or rather has reverted to a wild state, in both the New and the Old World, there can be no doubt that the form which we are now considering was originally entirely confined to the latter portion of the globe, where the truly wild species of the family, the Zebra, the Quagga, &c., are still found in all their native freedom. . . . . .

It seems to be quite clear that the wild horses of Tartary are as much the descendants of a domesticated race as the wild horses of America, whose ancestors were introduced by the Spaniards." xii. 306–7.

In the absence of direct evidence from horses living in a wild state, in the correct sense of the term, it does not appear safe to say more than that the species probably betokens a temperate climate.

The same remarks apply to the two species of Ox—*Bos primigenius* and *B. longifrons*.

BISON. "Cuvier considers it certain that this animal [is] still to be found in some of the Lithuanian forests, and perhaps in those of Moldavia, Wallachia, and the neighbourhood of the Caucasus." iv. 463.

RED DEER. "It is a native of the forests of the whole of Europe and Asia where the climate is temperate." viii. 359.

REIN-DEER. "They are . . . spread . . . abundantly through all the habitable parts of the Artic regions and the neighbouring countries, extending in the New Continent to a much lower latitude than in the Old, and passing still farther south on all the principal mountain chains. In America, the southern limit of the reindeer across nearly the whole continent appears to be about the parallel of Quebec; but the animal is most numerous between 63° and 66°. Passing westwards, it is said to be unknown in the islands interposed between America and Asia, but is again abundant in Kamtschatka, throughout nearly the whole of Siberia, in Northern Russia, Sweden, and Norway, and more especially in Finmark and Lapland . . . . . According to M. Cuvier, the Baltic forms in Europe its southern limit; in Asia, however, it extends along the Ural chain to the foot of the Caucasus;

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and we have the authority of a passage in Cæsar's *Commentaries* . . . for its having existed in his day in the Hercynian Forest . . . . . this location would imply a more southern Europæan habitat than any that is at present known. Again, crossing the ocean, we find the reindeer in Spitzbergen, in Greenland, and in Newfoundland." viii. 355–6.

HARE. [The geographical distribution is not mentioned; but the names given it by the Greeks, Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese, French, Germans, Danes, Swedes, Anglo-Saxons, Ancient British, and Scotch, are stated, and thus a clue to the localities is furnished. xiii. 440.]

WATER VOLE. [The geographical distribution is stated simply as "most parts of Europe;" but the names given to the species by the Italians, Germans, Dutch, Swedes, Danes, and Ancient British are stated, and thus a clue to the localities is furnished. xv. 487–8.]

FIELD VOLE. [The geographical distribution is stated to be Europe, and it seems to have been known to the French, Italians, Danes, and Ancient British. xv. 498–9.]

BANK VOLE. [This species is not mentioned in the *P. Cyclopædia*, but according to Bell's *British Quadrupeds*, 1837, pp. 330–2, it occurs in France, Belgium, and Britain.]

BEAVER. "Pennant says that the geographical range of the American Beaver [believed to be identical with that of the European species] commences in lat. 60° in Hudson's Bay, and terminates in lat. 30° in Louisiana; but Say places their limit . . . about seven degrees farther northward of Pennant's southern boundary. Dr. Richardson observes that their most northern point is probably on the banks of the Mackenzie . . . . . as high as 67½° or 68° lat., and that they extend east and west from one side of the continent to the other, with the exception of the barren districts." iv. 124.

The foregoing statements appear to justify the climatal generalizations embodied in the three right-hand columns of the table; and which may be thus enunciated:—

The presence of the Lion is consistent with a warm climate; the Wild Cat, with either a temperate or cold climate; but the remark of Professor Boyd Dawkins (see foot-note p. 220), that the bones of this species are rather larger than their representatives of the present day, coupled with that of the writer in the *Penny Cyclopædia* (see p. 220), that the animal is larger in cold countries, is rather suggestive of a cold, than of a temperate, climate; the Hyæna is consistent with a warm climate; the Wolf, with either warm, temperate, or cold; the Fox, with warm or temperate; the Glutton, with cold;

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the Badger, with temperate; the Grizzly Bear, with either temperate or cold; the Brown Bear, with either temperate or cold; the Horse, with temperate; the Wild Bull, with temperate; the Short Horn, with temperate; the Bison, with temperate; the Red Deer, with temperate; the Reindeer, with cold; the Hare, with temperate; each of the three Voles with temperate; and the Beaver with either temperate or cold.

It is difficult to understand on what grounds the Reviewer was led to regard the Beaver as conflicting with evidence in favour of "a climate milder than the present." A creature living within 14°, if not within 7°, of the tropics can scarcely be incapable of enduring a somewhat warmer climate than that which at present obtains in even the warmest parts of Britain.

Nor is it at all obvious why he made the Reindeer and Beaver the only exceptions, since the Glutton is quite as formidable as the Reindeer, and undoubtedly more so than the Beaver.

In endeavouring to form an opinion on this question, it should not be forgotten that those who deny that the Cave Lion and Cave Hyæna are extinct *species*, admit that they are strongly marked and extinct varieties of the existing *Felis leo* and *Hyæna crocuta*, and thus suggest the necessity for caution respecting the supposed thermal indications afforded by their mere fossil bones, in the absence of all knowledge of their dermal coverings. Indeed, it is by no means impossible that the present limitation of the Lion and Hyæna to warm regions may not be entirely ascribable to their inability to endure a lower temperature. It is a well-established historical fact that the lion formerly occupied Thrace; and, though we no doubt associate usually a comparatively warm climate with the existing Tiger, I once heard the late Mr. Atkinson, the traveller, state that he had seen the veritable Bengal Tiger (*Felis tigris*) killing Reindeer on the banks of the river Amoor, which has its origin in 50° N. latitude, touches nowhere a lower parallel than 47½° N, and enters the sea in 53° N. It should be borne in mind, moreover, that such a latitude on the eastern side of a continent, all other things being the same, represents a colder climate than it would on the western side of the continent; a colder climate, for example, than that of Britain, or the adjacent parts of Western Europe.

Again, it must be unnecessary to state that though, according to the old couplet,

> "Geographers, for want of towns,
> Place elephants on Afric's downs,"

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in other words, though we suppose commonly a warm region to be alone suitable for the Elephant and Rhinoceros, yet we have most conclusive evidence that the Mammoth and tichorhine Rhinoceros could and did live in cold regions, and were furnished, at least when in those regions, with arctic clothing adapting them to such habitats, and justifying the names of *Woolly* Elephant and *Woolly* Rhinoceros, which have been given them; not that they were necessarily or probably unable, or that they failed, to exist in more genial climes, where their warm clothing would be neither needed nor possessed.

In short, it does not appear to me necessary to attach much climatal importance to the presence of the osseous remains of the extinct *varieties*, if not *species*, of Lion or Hyæna in Kent's Hole, or elsewhere in corresponding latitudes. But if they are cancelled, where is the evidence of "a climate milder than the present"? The only existing species then remaining in our Cavern list for which the existing climate of Britain is unsuitable are the Reindeer and the Glutton, and they undoubtedly require a temperature lower than that which at present obtains; and it should be remembered that a lower temperature would be perfectly consistent with the presence of the Wild Cat, Wolf, Grizzly and Brown Bears, Mammoth, Woolly Rhinoceros, and Beaver.

Nor is this all. The climate of Britain during the era of the Cave-Earth of Kent's Hole was, of course, in harmony with the requirements of the members of the contemporary British fauna whether all found in that Cavern or not.

6. The Reviewer is, no doubt, quite correct in stating that but few Beavers have been met with in English Caves. Indeed, so far as I am aware, the species has been found only in Kent's Hole, where the remains were very few. If, however, we include, under the general name of *England*, all Britain south of the Tweed and Solway, the Reindeer is not, as the Reviewer states, sparingly represented in the cavern fauna; for it has been found in Devonshire in the Caverns of Ash-Hole, Bench, Windmill Hill—all near Brixham,—Kent's Hole near Torquay, and Oreston near Plymouth; in Somersetshire in those of Banwell, Bleadon, Hutton, Uphill, and Wokey Hole; in Broughton Cave near Maidstone, in Kent; Pleasley Vale Cave, in Derbyshire; Kirkdale Cave, in Yorkshire; and in the following Welsh Caverns:—Bacon's Hole, Bosco's Hole, Caswell Bay, Long Hole, Minchin Hole, Paviland, and Spritsail Tor—all in Gower, Glamorganshire;

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Coygau, in Caermarthenshire; and Cefn in Denbighshire * Nor were the remains of the species met with in small numbers only; for, from "Bosco's Hole" or "Den" alone, "no less than one thousand antlers of the reindeer . . . . . were extracted by the persevering exertions of Colonel Wood, who estimated that several hundred more still remained in the bone earth."† I remember that very soon after this remarkable discovery was made, it was mentioned by the late Dr. Falconer, who identified the remains, to Sir C. Lyell and myself; and when I remarked that possibly many of them were shed horns, he replied "No. There is good evidence in that cave of the existence of upwards of a thousand reindeer."

VIII. PROFESSOR DANIEL WILSON ON KENT'S CAVERN.

Professor Daniel Wilson, of University College, Toronto, so well known to Anthropologists as the author of the *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, and of *Prehistoric Man*, has made frequent mention of Kent's Cavern in the third edition of the latter work,‡ as is shown in the following extracts, all from the first volume:—

1. "Kent's Hole, *Devonshire*, one of the richest depositories of British fossil carnivora, yielded no less remarkable traces of primitive mechanical arts. Intermingled with remains of the rhinoceros, cave-hyæna, great cave-tiger, cave-bear, and other *extinct* mammalia in unusual abundance, lay *not only worked flints and the like traces of human art, but also* numerous implements wrought from their bones." pp. 41–2.

2. "Though in its indications of the presence of man . . . [the Brixham cavern] evidence is meagre when compared with Kent's Hole, it is wholly free from any confusing elements such as in that remarkable cavern manifestly pertain to Celtic, Roman, and even Saxon times." pp. 42–3.

3. "Kent's Cavern yielded a greatly more varied illustration of primitive arts, such as barbed harpoon heads, bodkins, awls, and needles of bone. Like others found in the French

* See Professor Boyd Dawkins, in *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.*, Lond., vol. xxv. 1869, p. 194.

† See Lyell's *Antiquity of Man*, fourth edition, 1873, p. 110.

‡ *Prehistoric Man.* By Daniel Wilson, LL.D., F R.S.E. Third edition. In two volumes. 1876.

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Caves, they suggest comparison with the ingenious arts of the Esquimaux: and may also justify the inference that in milder regions, and under other favouring circumstances, contemporary man, then as now, manifested a higher intellectual vigour when free from the exhausting strain involved in the battle for life, either of the modern hyperborean, or of the post-glacial artificer of the cave period.

"At an epoch which, though still prehistoric, is modern when compared with the latest traces of post-glacial or cave periods, the worked flints and implements of bone, found in many European primitive deposits, in caverns, chambered cairns, barrows, and among the chance disclosures of the agriculturist, continue to exhibit the most infantile stage of rudimentary art. Fragments of sun-baked urns, and rounded slabs of slate of a plate-like form, are associated with indications of rude culinary practices, illustrative of the habits and tastes of savage man. Broken pottery, calcined bones, charcoal ashes, and other traces of cooking operations, have been noted under similar circumstances, alike in England and on the continent of Europe; showing where the hearth of the Allophylian had stood. Along with those in Kent's cavern especially, the flints lay dispersed in all conditions, from the rounded mass as it came out of the chalk, through various stages of progress, on to finished arrow-heads and hatchets; while small flint chips, and partially used flint-blocks, thickly scattered through the soil, served to indicate that the British troglodyte had there his workshop, as well as his kitchen, and wrought the raw material of that primitive stone period into the requisite tools and weapons of the chase. Nor were indications wanting of the specific food of man in the remote era thus recalled for us. Besides accumulated bones, shells of the mussel, limpet, and oyster, lay heaped together near the mouth of the cave, along with a palate of the scarus: indicating that the aborigines found their precarious subsistence from the products of the chase and the spoils of the neighbouring sea." pp. 44–5.

4. "The caves also undoubtedly embody in the contents of their silt and stalagmite the industrial implements of a later period than that of the river gravels; and, as in the case of Kent's Cavern, even preserve the evidence of a succession of occupants belonging to distinct eras, and probably to essentially diverse races of men." p. 77.

5. "The original disclosures of Kent's Cavern included

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arrow and lance heads, bodkins, pins, hair-combs, netting-tools, and other implements, all made of bone." pp. 120–1.

The foregoing paragraphs, compiled, no doubt, partly from Mr. Vivian's edition of the Rev. J. Mac Enery's *Cavern Researches,** and partly from Mr. Evans's *Ancient Stone Implements,*† fail occasionally to convince me that I have quite caught the author's meaning. I trust, however, that in the following brief comments my endeavours to give them the correct interpretation may not be unavailing.

The following are the topics on which I purpose offering a few remarks:—

1. The bone tools found in the Cavern.
2. The alleged confusion of the deposits and remains.
3. The commingling of pottery with palæolithic tools.
4. The flints and flint tools.
5. The shells of Molluscs found in the Cavern.

1. *The bone tools found in the Cavern:*—On turning to the second edition of the author's *Prehistoric Man*, published in 1865, the following passage will be found at page 38:—"Kent's Hole, *near Torbay*, one of the richest depositories of British fossil carnivora, yielded no less remarkable traces of primitive mechanical arts. Intermingled with remains of the rhinoceros, cave-hyæna, great cave-tiger, cave-bear, and other *fossil* mammalia in unusual abundance, lay numerous implements wrought from their bones." This passage will be found to be essentially the same as the first of the quotations from the new, or third, edition; the only differences being that in the edition of 1876, as shown by the words I have italicised, "Devonshire" has been substituted for "near Torbay" in that of 1865, and "extinct" for "fossil," and that the words "not only worked flints and the like traces of human art, but also" have been interpolated.

It is obvious therefore that the author is not referring to any bone implements found by the Committee appointed by the British Association for exploring the Cavern, since that body did not commence its researches until the very year in which Professor Wilson published his second edition, and but a bare month before the date of his preface. In short, the passage must have been prepared from data furnished by

* *Cavern Researches.* By the late Rev. J. Mac Enery, F.G.S. Edited from the Original Manuscript Notes By E. Vivian, Esq. 1859.

† *The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments of Great Britain.* By John Evans, F.R.S., F.S.A. 1872.

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Mr. Vivian's edition of Mr. Mac Enery's *Cavern Researches*, already mentioned. I believe, however, that there is no passage in Mac Enery which justifies the statement that "Intermingled with remains of the .... extinct mammalia .... lay .... implements wrought from their bones." Mr. Mac Enery, no doubt, found bone implements; but I am not aware that he states, or hints, or suggests that they were wrought from the bones of any *extinct* mammal, and it is perfectly clear from his own description that he found them in the uppermost deposit, known as the Black Mould, and intermingled with remains of animals belonging exclusively to the *existing* fauna.

The first and only bone tools met with in the Cavern, inosculating with the *Rhinoceros tichorhinous* and his contemporaries, were found by the Committee now engaged in exploring the Cavern; and, instead of being "numerous," were but seven in number.*

The passage forming the third quotation, does not occur in the earlier editions of *Prehistoric Man*. It was compiled apparently from Mr. Evans's work, already named, and somewhat rhetorically enumerates "bodkins, awls, and needles," as amongst the bone tools. The fact is, however, the tools thus announced are but two in number, of which one is, no doubt, an *awl*, whilst the other may be termed a "bodkin" *or* a "needle," but not both. My own impression is that *bodkin* is the more appropriate designation, as the tool could not have been strong enough to open a passage for itself through skins, such as it was probably used to stitch together, but would well serve to carry a thread through a hole made by the contemporary awl just mentioned.

The words, "the *original* disclosures of Kent's Cavern," with which the fifth quotation commences, suggest that, though the paragraph does not occur in Dr. Wilson's earlier editions, it was compiled from Mr. Mac Enery's pages; and this is strengthened by the fact that the researches now in process have not been rewarded with the discovery of any "arrow and lance heads," "made of bone," such as the author speaks of. Moreover, the following, no doubt the parent, passage will be found on the fifth page of Mr. Vivian's edition of *Cavern Researches*†:—"At a short distance nearer the entrance were found, in a continuation of the same mould, articles of bone of three sorts,—some of an inch long and pointed at one end, or arrow heads,—others about three inches long, rounded, slender, and likewise pointed.

* See *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, vol. vii. 1875, p 309.
† Also see *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, vol. viii. 1869, p. 219.

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Conjecture was long busy as to their destination,—they were thought by some to be bodkins, by others, for confining the hair, like those ornaments used by the women in Italy;—lastly, they were supposed, with more probability, to be a species of pin for fastening the skin in front which served savages for garments.

'The shaggy wolfish skin he wore,
Pinned by a polished bone before.'

The third article does not seem quite so easy to explain. It is of a different shape, quite flat, broad at one end, pointed at the other. The broad part retains the truncated form of a comb, the teeth of which were broken off near the root. Whether it was used as a comb, or for making nets for fishing, is not clear. There was only this solitary one found, and two of the former, but several of the first, with a quantity of bone chips. All three bore marks of polish."

The foregoing objects, it should be remembered, were all found, not with the remains of extinct mammals, but in the *Black Mould*, that is the most modern of the Cavern deposits.

The Committee now exploring the Cavern have also met with bone implements in the same deposit, and speak of them in some of their annual Reports.

Thus, "The objects fashioned in bone are a comb, which in size and outline resembles a common shoe-lifter having teeth cut in the broad end; a spoon, neatly formed of a portion of a rib, and measuring about 6 inches long and of an inch broad; a chisel, about 2·6 inches in length, and at its broad end ·4 of an inch in width; a wedge, somewhat rudely fashioned out of a horn or antler; two small fragments which appear to be portions of combs, and one of which bears traces of ornamentation; and an article about 3 inches long, apparently the handle of some tool."*

Again, "The bone implements include an awl; a portion of some prismatic tool with rounded edges, and having on its surface a series of equidistant grooves or notches, such as to suggest that it may be part of a measuring rod; two bone combs, and fragments of two others. The combs belong to the same class as that described in the First Report [quoted above]—'having the form of a shoe-lifter, with teeth at the broad end.' One of them is small, and rudely formed; the other is larger, and is highly finished. Two parallel lines traverse its surface, in a zig-zag series, from end to end. At the end opposite that for containing the teeth, there is a hole, as if for suspending it.†

* See *Report Brit. Assoc.*, 1865, p. 21. † *Ibid*, 1867, p 28.

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Further, "But for the more or less perfect specimens found in former years, it would not have been easy perhaps to identify the fragment of bone comb. It is but a portion of what may be called the shaft, both ends having been broken off. It must have been of the same type as those described in previous Reports, all of which had their teeth at one end; but it differs from all those found before in being ornamented with well-drilled, small, circular punctures, which traverse the shaft obliquely in two parallel series, the direction of one set being at right angles to that of the other."*

2. *The alleged Confusion of the deposits and remains:*—Dr. Wilson's statement, in the second quotation, that Brixham Cavern "is wholly free from any confusing elements such as in Kent's Cavern manifestly pertain to Celtic, Roman, and even Saxon times," is calculated, whether intended or not, to convey the idea that the Kent's Hole deposits and remains are generally in a confused state; and is thus not unlikely to produce an incorrect and unworthy notion respecting the value of the evidence which that famous spot has yielded.

It cannot be doubted, however, that there is a marked difference between the two famous Torbay caverns. The history of that at Brixham, on the southern shore of the bay, closed certainly at the end of, or during, the Palæolithic age. Its uppermost deposit is the Floor of Stalagmite which contained remains of Reindeer, *Rhinoceros tichorhinus*, and Mammoth. Kent's Hole, on the contrary, contains a much more modern chapter. The "Black Mould," or the deposit which covers a stalagmite coeval, no doubt, with the stalagmite of the Brixham Cavern, is certainly post-palæolithic, and probably post-neolithic. All its mammalian remains are those of existing species, at least most of which still live in the surrounding district; and its human industrial relics extend from the middle of the present century back through the Middle ages, through the Saxon and Roman eras, to pre-Roman or *British* times, all of which are represented—some fully and others scantily.

The following is a list of the articles betokening the presence of man found in this accumulation: Whet-stones; a polishing stone; curvilineal plates of slate, all of them more or less broken, supposed to be covers for earthenware vessels; a large number of flint flakes, chips, and cores; spindle whorls made of different kinds of stone, such as the Devonian grit and slate, and the harder varieties of the Triassic red

* See *Report Brit. Assoc.*, 1868, p. 47.

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sandstone of the district, and a somewhat coarse, greenish, schistose rock, not found in the neighbourhood, and Kimmeridge coal (?); bronze articles, including a fibula, the bowl and part of the stem of a spoon, a spear head, an almost perfect socketed celt and a fragment of another, a hook, rings, part of a helical coil, a pin about 3·75 inches long, and an article in form of a horse shoe but not more than an inch long; portions of plates of smelted copper; a halfpenny of 1806, and a sixpence of 1846; numerous potsherds, including a piece of Samian ware; and the bone tools already mentioned.

It is quite true that the foregoing objects were in most cases mingled confusedly together; and when it is remembered that the Black Mould which contained them extended no further than the chambers into which the entrances of the Cavern opened immediately, and to those adjacent to them, those, in fact, which every visitor, human and infrahuman, must enter; that the deposit had no protective stalagmite above it; that it was the floor on which every visitor walked; and that many small animals had their dormitories within it; the commingling of objects belonging to the Iron and Bronze ages must be looked upon as eminently probable if not inevitable.

And, as already stated, such a commingling was "in most cases" met with. There was, however, one exception to this. In the south-eastern portion of the "Great Chamber," the Black Mould was itself overlaid by a cake of stalagmite, from one to two inches thick, and extending continuously seven feet from north to south and six feet from east to west. The Black Mould thus protected, and certainly undisturbed during the time represented by the stalagmitic cake above it, yielded two portions of bone combs, a grit spindle-whorl, a cockle shell, several potsherds, and a bone cut with some keen-edged tool.

It may not be quite safe to insist upon it, but I have little or no doubt that all the objects thus protected, belong to pre-Roman times, none of them reaching back to the Neolithic Age; so that they would belong to either the Bronze or early Iron Age. Elsewhere, however, there can be no doubt that "Celtic, Roman, and Saxon" objects were commingled in the Black Mould, as Professor Wilson says: The anthropological evidence, however, produced by the Committee from the *older* deposits, is free from any such confusion.

3. *The commingling of pottery with palæolithic tools*:—It is very necessary to be carefully on the watch against the

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reception of false impressions when reading the following statement, forming part of the third quotation from Dr. Wilson:—"Broken pottery, calcined bones, charcoal ashes, and other traces of cooking operations, have been noted . . . . . alike in England and on the continent of Europe; . . . . . Along with those in Kent's Cavern especially, the flints lay dispersed in all conditions from the rounded mass as it came out of the chalk, through various stages of progress, on to finished arrow-heads and hatchets." The asserted commingleement of potsherds and flint tools, to which alone attention will be directed at present, is, no doubt, perfectly true. Indeed, I have already mentioned abundant evidence of the fact. It must be distinctly understood, however, that this intermingling applies only to the flint tools found in the Black Mould, that is the most modern of all the Cavern deposits; and that no such inosculation presented itself in any of the older beds. Flint implements, differing in character from those already mentioned, implements, in fact, of the palæolithic type exclusively, presented themselves in the Stalagmitic Floor immediately below the Black Mould, and still more abundantly in the next lower and older deposit known as the Cave-Earth; whilst the yet lower-lying and still more ancient deposit, termed the Breccia, also contained its flint tools, but they were of a decidedly more archaic character. None of those beds however contained any trace of the potter's art. Potsherds occurred in the uppermost bed, the Black Mould, alone.

4. *The flints and flint tools:*—"The flints," says Dr. Wilson, "lay dispersed in all conditions, from the rounded mass as it came out of the chalk, through various stages of progress, on to finished arrow-heads and hatchets; while small flint chips, and partially used flint-blocks, thickly scattered through the soil, served to indicate that the British troglodyte had there his workshop, as well as his kitchen, and wrought the raw material of that primitive stone period into the requisite tools and weapons of the chase."

This passage was, no doubt, compiled from the following in Mr. Mac Enery's *Cavern Researches:*—"The flints were in all conditions, from the rounded pebble as it came out of the chalk, to the instruments fabricated from them and figured in plate T, representing arrow and spear heads and hatchets. Some of the flint blocks were chipped only on one side, such as had probably furnished the axes; others had been on several faces corresponding exactly to the long blades found

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by their side, and from which they had evidently been sliced off; other pebbles were still more angular, chipped at all points, which were no doubt those which yielded the small arrow-heads, which abounded in by far greatest number. Small irregular splinters not referrible to any of the above divisions, and which seem to have been struck off in the operation of detaching the latter, not unlike the small chips in a sculptor's shop, were thickly scattered through the stuff, indicating that this spot was the workshop where the savage prepared his weapons of the chase, taking advantage of its cover and the light."*

The points inviting comment in the quotation, from Professor Wilson, now under notice, are, (A) The source and form of the unwrought flints; and (B) The tools into which some of the flints had been converted.

(A.) That the flints were chalk flints there can be no doubt; but that man extracted them from actual chalk beds, or that, if he had done so, they would have been "rounded pebbles," I very decidedly doubt. At present the chalk *in situ* nearest to Kent's Hole is that near Weston Mouth east of Sidmouth, fully 21 miles distant as the crow flies, that is across the great bay from the chord of which Exmouth is the most distant point.

If it were necessary to believe that no nearer supplies of flints existed at that time, there would, of course, be no difficulty in believing also that they might have been drawn from the Weston beds; but as there is an almost unlimited number of suitable flint and chert pebbles in the gravels of Milber Down, about 4·5 miles from the Cavern, formed of the wreck of chalk and many other deposits, it seems most reasonable to regard that accumulation as the source whence the Cave-men drew the raw material of their stone implements, unless, indeed, the Torbay beaches of their time, like their representatives at present, contained flints perhaps fully sufficient for their needs.

With regard to the forms of the unwrought flints, there is a marked difference between those taken immediately from the chalk beds, and those obtained from supracretaceous gravels. The former are, no doubt, commonly nodular; but they have usually so many protuberances as to give them somewhat grotesque forms, and to render it inappropriate to call them "rounded pebbles," as Mr. Mac Enery does. Dr. Wilson seems apparently to have suspected this probable

* See *Cavern Researches*. Mr. Vivian's edition, 1859. See also *Trans. Devon Assoc.* vol. iii. 1869, p. 221.

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inappropriateness, for, though he certainly trusted to Mr. Mac Enery for his facts, he has substituted the word "mass" for Mac Enery's word "pebble."

It may be safely held that a flint retaining all its grotesque protuberances, already mentioned, was taken immediately from the chalk beds; that, if these have been at all rounded off, it has undergone some travel, and was taken from some supracretaceous deposit; and that the travel was long-continued and, perhaps, distant in proportion as this rounding-off is strongly marked, or, in other words, in proportion to the claim of the mass to be termed a "rounded pebble." In short, Mac Enery's "rounded pebble" points, not to chalk beds anywhere, but to some accumulation of travelled flints, like that of Milber Down, as the source whence the Cave men obtained their flints; and this is in harmony with the conclusion to which I have been led respecting the flint and chert nodules met with during the present exploration of the Cavern.

(B.) As to the tools into which some of the flints had been converted, it has already been stated that they included "finished arrow-heads and hatchets" according to Professor Wilson, who no doubt copied, almost verbatim, Mac Enery's statement that they were "arrow and spear heads and hatchets." I have long been impressed with the idea that Mr. Mac Enery, like all the early explorers, and, indeed, like some of those of our own day also, used such words as "arrow-head" in a much looser sense than it is commonly employed at present, when the more general and safer term of "tool" or "implement" is preferred. Mr. Mac Enery refers, fortunately, to the figures in his "Plate T," as "representing arrow and spear heads and hatchets." Plate T contains 13 figures, neither of which appears to me to be entitled to the name of "arrow-head," and few, if any, of them to that of "spear-head." Figures 11, 12, 13 are those of large tools—no doubt Mac Enery's "hatchets;" but Mr. Evans regards them as having been used for scraping a hard substance.*

5. *The Shells of Molluscs found in the Cavern*:—Professor Wilson states that, "besides accumulated bones, shells of the mussel, limpet, and oyster, lay heaped together near the mouth of the cave along with a palate of the scarus: indicating that the aborigines found their precarious subsistence from the products of the chase and the spoils of the neighbouring sea."

* See *Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments of Great Britain.* By John Evans, F.R.S., F.S.A., 1872, pp. 446–457.

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The following is the corresponding, and, no doubt, the original, passage in Mr. Mac Enery's *Cavern Researches*:—"Nearer the mouth were collected a good number of shells of the Mussel, Limpet, Oyster, Curdshell, with a palate of the Scarus. This, as well as the nacre of oyster, which was thickly disseminated throughout the mould, served, as they do at the present day among savages, most probably for ornament. The shell fish may have furnished bait for fishing, as the bone article may have served for making nets for the same purpose. The presence of these rude articles renders it probable that they were collected here by the ancient aborigines who divided their time between the chase and fishing in the adjacent sea."

The following are amongst the topics for remark, suggested by the passage just quoted from Dr. Wilson:—(A) The locality occupied by the Shells; (B) The species found in the Cavern; (C) The deposits and eras to which they belonged; (D) The motive for taking them to the Cavern.

(A.) Marine shells have been found by the Committee at present exploring the Cavern, not only "near the entrance," but almost everywhere in the "Vestibule" and "Great Chamber,"—into which the "Northern" and "Southern Entrances" open respectively,—in the "Sloping Chamber" and "Wolf's Cave"—prolongations of the Vestibule,—and in the "Lecture Hall"—an off-shoot of the Great Chamber. They were most abundant, however, near the Entrance referred to by Mr. Mac Enery, where shells of the common Oyster lay in considerable heaps. No marine shells were found in the "Long Arcade," to which the Sloping Chamber immediately leads, nor in any branch of the Cavern still more remote from the Entrances.

(B.) In addition to the Shells of Mussel, Limpet, and Oyster, mentioned by Dr. Wilson, the Exploring Committee have met with those of Whelk, Cockle, Pecten, Solen, and the internal shell of the Cuttle-fish—*Sepia officinalis*.

(C.) By far the greater number of the shells, of all kinds, were found in and on the Black Mould, that is the uppermost deposit; and there can be no doubt that Mr. Mac Enery's specimens were met with exclusively in that accumulation. A few, however, have been detected during the researches now in progress, belonging to earlier beds: thus, a Cockle shell presented itself in the Sloping Chamber, at a depth of

* See *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, vol. iii. 1869, p. 219. See also Mr. Vivian's edition of *Cavern Researches*, p. 5, to which, alone, Dr. Wilson had access, in all probability.

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18 inches in the Granular Stalagmite, on which the Black Mould lay; and at the entrance of the Wolf's Cave 25 Pecten shells, some of them of great size, were met with occupying interspaces between large fallen masses of limestone, the whole being sealed with stalagmitic accumulations.

The Cockle and Pecten shells just mentioned were, in all probability, taken to the Cavern by human contemporaries of the Mammoth; nevertheless, no shells of any kind have been detected in the Cave-Earth immediately underlying the stalagmite. The specimens found in the Black Mould do not appear to me to justify any speculations respecting the food of the "*aborigines*"—whatever that term may signify,—for it is quite possible that many of the shells themselves may have been taken to the Cavern even as late as the present century.

(D.) Oyster shells were, no doubt, the most numerous; but they were less generally distributed than those of the Pecten. That many, perhaps most, of the shells were conveyed to the Cavern simply on account of their edible molluscous occupants seems not improbable; and we may therefore accept, at least partially, Professor Wilson's statement that the contemporary Cave-Men found a portion of their subsistence in "the spoils of the neighbouring sea." This hypothesis seems, at least, more reasonable than that of Mr. Mac Enery, that "the shell-fish may have furnished bait for fishing," since it is difficult to see why the fisherman would take his bait from the sea shore, where he could alone use it, to the Cavern, where it was useless, and then have to carry it back to the shore again, in order to be able to turn it to account.

Be all this as it may, it seems certain that the presence of the shells does not in all cases betoken molluscous diet, or, indeed, any use of the *mollusc* at all; for many of them, especially those of Oyster and Pecten, were found to have Serpulæ and other marine organisms adhering to their inner surfaces, showing that they were undoubtedly "dead shells," selected, perhaps, for toys, or, more probably, for domestic uses. One Pecten shell, found in the Black Mould, in the Lecture Hall, has a small elliptical hole, in all probability artificial, near its anterior margin, and indicating, it may be believed, that it had been perforated to increase its utility. The Pecten shells found at the entrance of the Wolf's Cave were thickly encrusted with carbonate of lime, containing in one or two instances, traces of charred wood. Some of them were "dead shells;" and, in one instance, two, and, in another,

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five of them were found fitted neatly into one another, thus leaving no doubt that man had not only packed them, but placed them in the cupboard-like interspaces in which they were detected. It is obvious that no importance should be attached to the fact that Oyster shells occurred in *heaps* near the entrance, as the piles may be due to the disturbances which the Black Mould has there undergone at the hands of early visitors and explorers.

IX. MR. PATTISON ON KENT'S CAVERN.

In a paper *On the Chronology of Recent Geology*, by S. R. Pattison, Esq., F.G.S., 1876, read to the Victoria Institute, London, 1 March, 1875, the author has the following brief statement respecting Kent's Cavern :—

"Kent's Cavern at Torquay, offers us in its lowest bed a typical instance of the occurrence of man's works contemporaneously with the mammoth. . . . . The stratum in question was accumulated or drifted when the entrance to the cave was from seventy to one hundred feet lower than at present relatively to the sea level. After an elevation had first taken place, a second depression occurred, bringing the cave floor level with the sea beach; since that, gradual changes only have followed, from causes now in operation, resulting in the present contour of the country. Unquestionably this indicates vast lapses of time; but the two principal factors—the raising and submersion—require the intervention of causes not now in operation in the district. We know not how suddenly they may have arisen and fulfilled their course. A space of two thousand years is adequate to account for all the phenomena, if we take this into account, whilst, on the other hand, no allowance of time whatever is adequate to account for it on the other supposition, *i.e.* as effected by causes now progressing here." pp. 12, 13.

It may, no doubt, be safely concluded from the foregoing statement that Mr. Pattison holds—

1st. That man's works were found in the "lowest" of the Cavern beds.

2nd. That the said works, and hence their makers, were contemporary with the mammals, the remains of which occurred with them.

3rd. That remains of the Mammoth were found in the "lowest bed."

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4th. That when the Mammoth-bearing bed was accumulated the entrance to the Cavern, and hence the Cavern hill, was from 70 to 100 feet lower than it is at present.

5th. That subsequent to that period, the hill underwent an elevation to an extent which is either unknown, or is of no importance in the present enquiry.

6th. That this was followed by a subsidence which brought the Cavern floor down to the level of the sea beach, that is to a level 200 feet lower than at present.

7th. That there are no causes now in operation in the district capable of producing the changes of level already mentioned.

8th. That the changes of all kinds which have occurred since the Cavern floor was at the level of the sea beach may be ascribed to causes still in operation in the district.

9th. That if the elevations and subsidences due to locally non-existent causes were sudden, the time represented by the Cavern phenomena would be shorter than if they were gradual.

10th. That if the changes of level were so sudden that the time they represent would not appreciably affect the aggregate, a space of two thousand years is adequate to account for all the Cavern phenomena.

I purpose offering a few remarks on the foregoing points.

1st and 2nd. It must be unnecessary to say that I accept most unreservedly the two first articles of Mr. Pattison's Kent's-Hole creed, and that I am gratified, but not surprised, at finding that he believes Man and the Mammoth to have been contemporaries in Devonshire, and that they both belonged to the era of what he calls the "lowest bed" of the Cavern.

3rd. I have unfortunately to dissent from the third article, as it is certainly not true that remains of the Mammoth were found in the lowest bed. The lowest bed in which traces of this great proboscidan were met with is that known as "The Cave-Earth." It is, no doubt, true that in it were found Human Industrial Remains as well as remains of the Mammoth; but this is not the whole truth. There are two still lower and older beds—the first, or uppermost, of them being that known as "The Crystalline Stalagmite," and the second, or lowest, "The Breccia." The latter—the lowest and most ancient bed in the Cavern so far as is at present known—has yielded works of man and remains of extinct mammals, but no relic or trace of the Mammoth. The Human Industrial

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Remains are massive flint tools, utterly unlike the implements found in The Cave-Earth or Mammoth-bearing bed, but which, it cannot be doubted, Mr. Pattison would unhesitatingly ascribe to human workmanship. The osseous remains are numerous, but almost exclusively ursine, the only known exceptions being a very few feline and vulpine relics. Whether the deposit belongs to a period prior to that of the Mammoth in Devonshire I give no opinion. The evidence is simply negative: there is no relic or trace of the Mammoth in "The Breccia," or lowest known bed of the Cavern. Should it be replied that Mr. Pattison was probably not aware of the existence of the Crystalline Stalagmite and the Breccia, and that by the "lowest bed" he meant the Cave-Earth, I can only say that if this be true Mr. Pattison cannot be well qualified to discuss the question, as he cannot have done all that might have been expected to keep himself abreast of its literature. The discovery of the two deposits in question was duly reported to the British Association as long ago as 1869, and must have been in Mr. Pattison's hands the following year. Moreover, the Breccia and its remarkable contents have occupied prominent places in almost every one of the subsequent Annual Reports on the Cavern,* as well as in some separate Memoirs.†

4, 5, and 6. Though, as stated elsewhere, I believe that the Torbay district, in common with Western Europe generally, underwent various changes of level during the periods over which the Cavern History ranges,‡ I should have been glad to learn what were the facts which led Mr. Pattison to the same general conclusion, and especially on what data he has fixed on from "70 to 100 feet" as the extent by which the entrance to the cave was lower at the time when, what he calls, the "lowest bed" "was accumulated or drifted;" why he thinks this low level to have synchronized with the deposition of that bed; why he supposes the next vertical movement to have been of an elevatory character; why he holds that the subsequent depression brought "the cave floor level with the sea beach;" and with which of the Cavern beds he co-ordinates this second depression. I know of no facts calculated to justify or even to suggest such definite conclusions, and hence the more deeply regret the author's

* See *Reports Brit. Assoc.*, 1872-5.

† See *Report Brit. Assoc.*, 1873, pp. 209-14; *Quart. Journ. Science*, vol. v. (N.S.), pp. 141-55; and *Trans. Plymouth Inst.*, vol. v. part ii. pp. 341-75.

‡ See *Trans. Devon Assoc.* vol. vii. p. 321, and *Reader*, 19 November, 1864.

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entire silence respecting those with which he is, or ought to be, acquainted.

7. Elevations and subsidences of land are, of course, due to subterranean force of some kind,—some form of what has been called *Vulcanicity*. The operation may be sudden or gradual; and when gradual may or may not be attended by periods of intermittence. There are apparently no other modes.

The sudden process, no doubt, betokens earthquake or volcanic action; and if the author contemplates anything of this nature, he is happily correct in saying that such causes are "not now in operation in the district," though the newspapers inform us, from time to time, that earthquake tremors have been felt in the Dartmoor region.

The gradual process is usually so very slow and tranquil as to be appreciable by philosophers only, and through observations made with great care, and at widely separated times. In all probability no changes of even this kind have been wrought in the Torbay district since the Christian era; but as such movements appear to be suspended, at least in some instances, during protracted periods, he can scarcely be largely gifted with the caution held to be a pre-requisite of scientific investigation who would venture to assert that causes are not at present in operation in the Torbay region capable of producing either elevation or depression of any assignable ultimate extent.

8. Indeed, it appears to me that Mr. Pattison has himself, no doubt unintentionally, admitted tacitly, and in fact employed, such a cause. It will be remembered that, having depressed the cave floor level with the sea beach, he says "since that, gradual changes only have followed, *from causes now in operation*, resulting in the present contour of the country." The Cavern floor, however, instead of being "level with the sea beach," is now about 200 feet above it, and the author cannot but admit that the district must have been raised to that extent, and, as he tells us, gradually and through *causes now in operation*. In other words, Mr. Pattison at once admits and denies that there are causes now in operation in the district capable of performing all the vertical movements he has contemplated. It must be left to him to reconcile these conflicting opinions.

9. I cannot see that the *sudden* occurrence of such changes

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as the author contemplates would affect the time adequate to account for all the Cavern phenomena, amongst which there are none, so far as I am aware, requiring "the entrance to the cave to be from seventy to one hundred," or any other conceivable number of feet, lower than at present, none that in the remotest degree suggest that subsequently, or at any time, the cave floor was level with the sea beach, none that, so far as I perceive, would be *chronologically* affected by such changes, whether brought about suddenly or gradually.

As to the question, apart from any bearing on time, were the changes, supposing them to have occurred, produced suddenly or gradually? it must be borne in mind that, according to the hypothesis of the author, the Cavern was from 70 to 100 feet lower than at present during the accumulation of his "lowest bed," that is the Cave-Earth; that it was subsequently elevated; and, later still, depressed to the level of the sea beach. Let us, for the sake of simplicity, admit the movements and the figures, and confine ourselves to the mode of action.

Every one conversant with the geology of the Torbay district is aware that all our *Devonian* Slates and Limestones are traversed by numerous "joints," which resolve themselves into two systems, one having an approximately east and west direction, and the other running north and south; and that these joints are much older than the Caverns occurring in the limestones, being, in fact, the first chapter in the history of the formation of the caverns themselves, the Galleries and Passages of which have been corroded and eroded along the lines, and therefore in the directions, of the jointage. Now, to take one typical and representative example, the "Reindeer Gallery" in the Windmill Hill Cavern, at Brixham, has been tunnelled by natural agency in the line of a north-and-south joint, which, though not an open or "gaping" fissure, is distinctly visible at the apex of the roof of the Gallery. Now, is it conceivable that a sudden upheaval of the district could take place without the roof of this Gallery, having such a line of weakness, being "faulted" in the least degree? and that this could be followed by an equally sudden downthrow, to the amount of 100 feet if not considerably more, and that this too should be unattended by any faulting whatever?

Again, there are in the same Gallery remnants of a floor of Stalagmite, extending in unbroken continuity across the Gallery from wall to wall, at a higher level, and of greater antiquity, than the Cave-Earth bed, and which must have shared in all the elevations and depressions which the Cave-

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Earth has experienced. I ask again, Is it conceivable that such sudden, great, and repeated movements as we are now dealing with could have taken place without snapping across these comparatively thin remnants of old floor? Yet it is an undoubted fact that neither the Limestone Roof, nor the Stalagmitic "Ceiling"—as the remnants have been called—display any indication whatever of any such faulting, or of any such suddenness of movement.

Further, on almost all our tidal strands there are exposed from time to time, but with variable frequency, remnants of a "Submerged Forest," denoting a very wide-spread and general depression of the land to an extent of at least 70 feet. From the osseous remains found plentifully in them, these forests are less ancient than the Cave-Earth of the neighbouring caverns. In almost all of them, stumps of trees *in situ* still rise above the peaty soil through which the roots and rootlets ramify—the one being as decidedly vertical, and the other as nearly horizontal, as are the trunks and rootlets of trees growing around us in the present day. This well-established fact appears to me incapable of being reconciled with the hypothesis of a great and *sudden* submergence.

Finally. Co-extensive with the Forests just named are the well known "Raised Beaches" which fringe our cliffs, and clearly betoken that the south-west of England, to go no further, was formerly about 30 feet lower than at present. These beaches are geologically modern, as the numerous shells found in them are those of species of molluscs still living in the adjacent waters. They are necessarily not contemporary with the Submerged Forests, as the same locality cannot be at one and the same time both 70 feet higher and 30 feet lower than at present; and, though the evidence is meagre, there is little doubt that they belong to a more ancient period. I am not aware of any fact indicative of their age relatively to that of any of the cavern deposits. The rocks on which the beaches rest are traversed by the joints already mentioned, yet, notwithstanding the undoubted movements which they have undergone, the beaches themselves consist of beds as nearly horizontal as is the surface of any modern beach, and they are in no instance faulted;—facts which, again, appear to me utterly inconsistent with great and *sudden* vertical movements.

In short, I appeal to the Raised Beaches, the Submerged Forests, the Caverns, and the Jointed Structure of the older rocks, as being decidedly confirmatory of the opinion that the vertical movements which the Torbay district has cer-

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tainly undergone in recent geological times have been not sudden but gradual.

Before dismissing this question, it may be as well to state that whilst sudden, considerable, and wide-spread upheaval or depression in such a district as that now under consideration appears to me to necessitate faults and other forms of disturbance, such derangements would not necessarily indicate suddenness, since they are perfectly consistent with, though not necessitated by, gradual movements.

10. But waiving all this for the present, our author is of opinion that "a space of two thousand years is adequate to account for all the phenomena" of Kent's Cavern, if we admit suddenness of vertical movement. It should be borne in mind that there are inscriptions in the Cavern showing that the Granular Stalagmite, and, therefore also, the deposits beneath, were in all respects essentially the same upwards of 250 years ago as they are at present. This at once makes a resistless demand for one-eighth of the entire period. It would have been interesting to know how the author apportions the remainder; how much of the 1750 years he would assign to his "lowest bed"—the Cave-Earth—and how much to the Granular Stalagmite, to say nothing of the overlying Black Mould. In short, I cannot but think that Mr. Pattison ought to have shown us the steps by which he reached his "space of two thousand years." If I have caught his meaning, the Cave Lion, the Cave Hyæna, the Glutton, the Cave Bear, the Grizzly Bear, the Mammoth, the Tichorhine Rhinoceros, the Bison, the Gigantic Irish Deer, the Reindeer, and the Cave Pika must all have been living in Devonshire within the last 2000 years, and at least some of them in considerable numbers. Indeed, they ought still to be living in the traditions and legends of this country. Cæsar probably saw them here, and they should have been living in his imperishable writings. Moreover, Roman remains might reasonably have been looked for, as well as tools of bone and stone, embedded with the Mammalian remains in the Cave-Earth. Mr. Pattison may, as he does, readily admit the contemporaneity of man with the Mammoth in Devonshire, for he appears to me to be committed to the belief in the existence of the Mammoth and his contemporaries in this district at the time of the Roman invasion.

It must be needless to say that Mr. Pattison's chronological estimate differs very widely from that reached by those who

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have been engaged in the systematic exploration of Kent's Cavern. They, having found in the Black Mould, or uppermost of the Cavern deposits, numerous industrial relics belonging to the Romano-British and pre-Roman eras, mingled with abundant remains of mammals all belonging to existing species, have been led to assign 2,000 years as the *minimum* value of this single upper bed alone, and have necessarily supposed the underlying Granular Stalagmite and the still lower Cave-Earth—in both of which are bones of extinct mammals, but no human industrial remains except those of bone and stone,—to be two successive and important steps into a more remote antiquity. But waiving, not abandoning, all this, Mr. Pattison has dealt with but *a part* of the Cavern phenomena. More ancient than his "lowest bed," and therefore belonging to times prior to his 2,000 years, are the two beds already mentioned—the Crystalline Stalagmite and the Breccia which it covers. Whatever may be the chronological value of the deposits from the Black Mould back to the Cave-Earth inclusive, few acquainted with the facts will grudge as much more to the two still lower and older beds; and in the oldest of them flint and chert tools have been found, which I feel assured Mr. Pattison, with his well-known and characteristic fairness, would at once acknowledge to be of human workmanship.

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THE FAUNA OF DEVON.

Part XIV.

BIRDS.

BY EDWARD PARFITT.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

Birds have been the admiration of man from the earliest times. The savage plumes and decorates himself with the brilliant feathers of birds. The extraordinary variety of colouring, the graceful forms, their habits, and modes of speech, shall I say, and song to charm their lovers, are deservedly the admiration of man. The wonderful structures they build for nests, and the great variety in the form and colouring of their eggs, are each worthy of the study that is directed to them.

Again, the wonderful instinct shown in their year-by-year migration, coming back again to the same spot to make their nest and rear their young; and in this they show such a degree of intelligence, that it is impossible to separate it from reason of a more than ordinary kind. The extraordinary regularity with which this migratory movement is performed is very remarkable, and the only thing which appears to operate upon or cause a break in the regularity is cold. Thus I have noted the arrival of the cuckoo in the neighbourhood of Exeter for sixteen years, and from 1860 to 1876 he has been heard once on the 11th April, once on the 13th, twice on the 16th, once on the 18th, twice on the 19th, twice on the 20th, twice on the 21st, five times on the 22nd; thus for sixteen consecutive years it has arrived from the 11th to the 22nd April.

The blackcap is more irregular in his appearance; and this irregularity appears to be caused by the temperature, or perhaps the "weather" would be a better expression. Thus the earliest appearance that I have noted is February 11th,

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and the latest April 23rd. The very early appearance of the bird, February 11th, is accounted for in this way: the winter was exceedingly mild. On January 7th self-sown barley was in full ear, on the 10th snowdrops were in blossom, and on the 12th elms were in blossom; and on the 3rd February elms and white-thorns were bursting into leaf, and there were young shoots of elms 2½ inches long by the 18th, 1869. In contrast to this I have noted the year 1865. The bird did not put in an appearance till April 7th. The reason of this seems clear enough, when compared with other years. The ground in March of that year was covered with snow on the 23rd, 25th, 27th, but the time of his general arrival is from the 22nd to the 29th of March.

The arrival of the swallow is, so far as my observations go, from April 11th to the 25th. The martin has been observed to remain so late as December 20th, 1863. "The migrations of birds probably means that they were originally permanent inhabitants of the countries to which they migrate for the purposes of breeding, and that they were slowly driven elsewhere during the winter by very gradual changes in the climate. . . . . Thus the nightingales cross from Europe to Africa by three routes only—one at Gibraltar, another by Sicily and Malta, and another by Greece and Cyprus; they are therefore always in sight of land, crossing always in moonlight, and when the wind is steadily east or west. If we look at the soundings of the Mediterranean, and the geological facts displayed by them, we find that not a very great while ago those three routes were tracts of dry land; and the conclusions are inevitable that the present sea-levels have been altered slowly since the birds began to migrate, and that the customary routes have been maintained by the shortening of the life of individual birds. Permitting of no recollection of the growing differences, what changes in the nightingale have been effected by the new necessities we do not know; but we may be certain that an increased power of flight must have been developed by the drowning of those unable to cross the increasing expanse of water."*

The brilliantly-coloured birds, like the more beautiful flowers, are principally found and, I might almost say, confined to the warm regions of the earth. It would seem that heat and light are necessary to the development of the resplendent brilliancy of the coverings of these beautiful creatures: that they are more or less encased in polished metal has to a certain extent been proved by an analysis of their feathers.

* A. Wallace *On the Distribution of Animals.*

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This brilliancy of colouring would seem to take the place and to compensate the wearers for the melodious voice and song of their more sober-painted relatives of the cooler regions of the globe. But there is an exception even to this; for the songsters, strictly speaking, are almost confined to the northern hemisphere. And, as the elegant and fluent writer Michelet says, "Just as vegetable life renews itself in spring by the return of the leaves, is animal life renewed, rejuvenified by the return of the birds, by their loves and by their strains. There is nothing like it in the southern hemisphere—a youthful world in an inferior condition, which, still in travail, aspires to find a voice. That supreme flower of life and the soul, song, is not yet given to it." And he continues of the lark: "Espoir, hope, is the old device of us Gauls, and for this reason we have adopted as our national bird that humble minstrel, so poorly clad, but so rich in heart and song."

As we are anxious to ascertain as near as it is possible to do so the origin and first introduction of the various forms of creatures upon this planet, we turn at once to the geological record, the great stone-book in which the records of the progress of creation, or as I think it is better expressed by the word "evolution," are kept; and however repugnant this word may be to those who still persist in the old theory of an actual creation, or making of the creatures as we now behold them, and eschewing the evolving of higher and still higher forms out of others below them, to me the evolution theory is far grander than that of the creation, as it involves the conception of a far seeing into futurity and the womb of time. It also embraces the great scheme of the gradual and slow progress of the physical changes that the earth has undergone, and with this slow progress, so the progress of the creatures that are dependent on it for their support and endurance. The conception of the evolution of the various forms from the lower to the higher is beautiful. The gradual unrolling, as it were, of the great panorama of life, and then at each halting-place to view the scene, you observe the creatures fitted to the environment, and the surroundings have also helped to mould the forms to it. At each halt, then, we see the progress and the stage at which each has arrived.

We are often asked by those who will not investigate for themselves, to point out one of those creatures in which a transition can be traced. They want to see a creature half fish and half reptile, or something else, before they will

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accept the theory of evolution. They cannot conceive of the gradual modification of form, atom by atom, as it were, until one form is lost or absorbed in another.

Now, fortunately, we have entomed in the Solenhofen slates a very remarkable genus of animals called *Compsognatus*, which are nearly related on the one hand to the *Dinosaurians*. The hind limbs of this creature are entirely bird-like; it also seems that the tibia and astragalus were actually united. The fore limbs were very small. It had a small head and an extremely long neck; and from its conformation it is almost certain that this *Compsognatus* must have walked on its hind legs. We have here a creature half bird-like and half reptilian, and this was closely related to the *Dinosauria*, a form more reptilian, whose remains lie below or had preceded the *Compsognatus* in time. In these, so far as we know at present, we get the first glimpse of ornithic life. The first bird-like germ seems here just springing into life, a kind of potential energy of ornithic nature is seen here making its way upwards.

The idea of a scheme of evolution is not new, although it has been brought more prominently before the world in our day, and many more facts are brought to bear upon it, or are included in it, than ever before. The idea at least is as old as Aristotle. Such a scheme had forced itself upon the mind of this distinguished man from an examination of the numerous creatures that were brought to him from the then known parts of the earth. Thus he concluded that every thing is ready to burst into life, and that the various organic forms presented to us by nature, are those which existing conditions permit. Should the conditions change, the forms will also change. Hence there is an unbroken chain, from the simple element, through plants and animals, up to man; the different groups merging by insensible shades into each other.

The environment and the physical conditions are here brought prominently forward, as the active agents in assisting to mould the various forms subject to their influence.

The same idea forced itself upon the mind of Goethe. While working at anatomy, he was strongly impressed with the differences in the various structures that came under his observation, and he conceived that those differences in the anatomy of animals were to be looked upon as variations from a common type, induced by differences of habit, locality, or food.

That the present ornithic fauna is the gradual outcome of

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those curious sub-reptilian forms—a few of whose remains have been met with in America, and on the continent of Europe—there can, I think, be little doubt; for, if the present forms were in existence then, when the germ of ornithic life first showed itself, why are they not discovered as well as the reptilian forms? The same rocks that preserved the one would have also preserved the other. We therefore come to the conclusion that they did not exist, but, from the first dawn of the reptilo-ornithic forms, the remains of birds increased in number and variety, as we ascend in the geological scale towards the present existing fauna.

"It is no mere theory," writes the Duke of Argyle,* "but a fact as certain as any other fact of science, that Creation has had a history. It has not been a single act, done and finished once for all; but a long series of acts and work, continuously pursued through an inconceivable lapse of time."

Again—alluding to the classification of the higher forms of animal life—the same distinguished writer observes: "These classifications are imperfect, not because they are founded on ideal connections where none exist, but only because they fail in representing adequately the subtile and pervading order which binds together all living things. . . . In almost all the leading types of life which have existed in the different geological ages there is an orderly gradation, connecting the forms which were becoming extinct with the forms which were for the first time appearing in the world."

The earliest indication of a bird (adhering to the common acceptance of that term) is the evidence of the impression of a single feather, found impressed upon the oolitic slate of Solenhofen, in Bavaria, and described by M. Herman von Meyer in 1861. In this same year another discovery was made in the same formation, and this time the remains of an actual fossil bird of a very remarkable structure, having a long reptile-like tail, with a pair of feathers growing out horizontally from each joint. "The preserved parts," says Professor Owen, "of the feathered creature, indicate its size to have been about that of a Rook or peregrine Falcon."

We here see that the great scheme of evolution is demonstrable from the first dawn of vertebrate creatures. That it can be better traced in this group is owing to their possessing a bony structure. We find that the whole of the bony skeletons are based upon one common plan, so that it only requires the modification of parts to suit the

* *Reign of Law*, pp. 218, 219.

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conditions into which the creatures may be thrown. That they are made, as it were, on a plastic and impressionable model seems clear enough. The first idea of the vertebrate skeleton, with its caudal development, is still seen in many, if not in all, the embryonic forms. Thus in the embryo rook, as many as ten free but short vertebræ are indicated beyond the acetabulum; and in the young ostrich, from eighteen to twenty such vertebræ may be seen; so that we have still in this respect the reptilian character preserved. Again, in the young robin and the young crow, the feet are webbed like those of the duck. Thus we see in the various creatures around us the modifications of this wonderful vertebrate skeleton; and, in the words of Professor Owen,* "we discern in the main differential character of the by-fossil-remains-oldest-known feathered vertebrate [the *Archæopteryx macrura*, Owen] a retention of a structure embryonal and transitory in the modern representatives of the class, and a closer adhesion to the general vertebrate type."

America has contributed the largest portion of fossil birds yet discovered, and some of the forms are quite as remarkable as the Archæopteryx from Bavaria. "The museum of Yale College contains," says Professor Marsh, "a large series of remains of birds from the Cretaceous deposits of the Atlantic coast and the Rocky Mountain region, thirteen species of which have been already described by the writer."

The most important of these remains, so far as is known, are the *Odontornithes*, or birds with teeth. The first species of birds in which teeth were detected was *Ichthyornis dispar* (Marsh), described in 1872. These remains indicate an aquatic bird fully adult, and about the size of a large pigeon. In each lower jaw there are twenty-one distinct sockets, and the series extends over the entire upper margin of the dentary bone. The teeth in these sockets are small, compressed, and pointed, and all are directed more or less backward, and the crowns are covered with nearly smooth enamel. The maxillary teeth appear to have been numerous, and essentially the same as those in the mandible.

One very remarkable character pertains to this bird; that is, the centre vertebræ are all biconcave, the concavities of each being distinct, and nearly equal. When the bird was alive, these concavities were in all probability filled with catilege, which would permit great freedom of motion, laterally as well as vertically. The strong curved and

* *Trans. Royal Society*, vol. cliii. p. 46.

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enamelled teeth, set in powerful jaws, would indicate the bird to have been carnivorous. Its powerful wings indicate that it was capable of prolonged flight.

The most interesting bird with teeth yet discovered, Professor Marsh says,* is perhaps *Hesperornis regalis*, a gigantic diver, also from the Cretaceous formation of Kansas, and discovered by him in 1870, the length from the apex of the bill to the end of the toes being between five and six feet. The habits of this gigantic bird are clearly indicated in the skeleton, almost every part of which has been found. The rudimentary wings prove that flight was impossible, while the powerful swimming legs and feet were peculiarly adapted to rapid motion through the water.

The geological horizon of all the *Odontornithes* now known is the upper Cretaceous, and the associated vertebrate fossils are mainly Mosasauroid reptiles and Pterodactyls.

To come nearer home in both geographical and geological time, the eocene formation at Sheppey has furnished the head and other remains of a remarkable bird named *Dasornis*. This has been described by Professor Owen as combining *Dinornithic* with *Struthious* characters; or, in other words, combining the gigantic New Zealand birds with those of the ostrich. Not to be outdone by the great discoveries of dentigerous birds in America, our island of Sheppey has furnished the remains of one almost equal to any that has yet been discovered. Although the teeth of this species are not set in true sockets, as in the American, they are peculiarly arranged, being alternated by two or three short ones and a long one throughout the whole length of the mandibles. This species has been named by Professor Owen *Odontopteryx toliapicus;* and he remarks, "Thus *Odontopteryx*, independently of its teeth, shows, in the unique fossil representing the genus, its distinctness from all known existing genera of birds." †

It will be seen from what has been stated, that there appears in the various fossils yet discovered a gradual evolution of the ornithic form out of the reptilian—it can scarcely be called a blending of the two characters, as we have no proof of the existence of birds until long after the reptilian forms were introduced—and at a certain geological horizon we see the first indications of ornithic development.

So far the discoveries of fossil birds have not helped us to solve the problem of variation or change of climate; for

* Prof. Marsh, in *Geol. Mag*, 1876, p 53.

† *Journal of Geological Society*, vol. xxix., 1873, pp. 511–22.

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being more or less independent of change of temperature, if their food fail them in one place, they can and do soon migrate to another and more genial clime. This of course applies principally to the insectivorous and fruit-eating birds; for those inhabiting the sea and the fresh-water lakes and rivers are scattered over the entire globe, so that allied genera and species are found in almost every part of the world, where similar degrees of temperature and physical condition prevail, and we can deduce nothing as to the former conditions of the earth as regards temperature and change of climate from this. The finding of the bones of the snowy owl with those of the reindeer in the South of France, both being natives of the cold or Arctic regions, would seem to point to a time when that country was subject to a greater degree of cold than at present. But we must not be led away by this, as several of these birds were observed on Dartmoor this spring, three of which were killed. As there is some doubt about the species of fossil reindeer found associated with this bird, we can draw no conclusion therefrom. That temperature and environment act upon the various forms in some mysterious manner I think there can be little or no doubt; for when we compare the so-called species from, say Japan, a country very similar to our own, the avi-fauna of which is so like ours that in "some cases the closest examination has failed to detect any distinction that may be called specific between the members of their avi-fauna; but in most it is possible to discover just sufficient difference to warrant a separation of the subjects. Nevertheless, it is clear that in Japan we have, as it were, a repetition of some of our most familiar species—the redbreast and the hedge sparrow, for example—slightly modified in plumage or otherwise, so as to furnish instances of the most accurate representation." * This similarity is not confined to the birds, but is also strongly seen in the insect fauna, perhaps more especially in the lepidoptera; for out of a collection lately made and published, no less than seventeen species are shown to be the same as our own. This refers to the butterflies alone.

To come nearer home, and compare some of the well-known forms of birds from different localities, which forms might easily be, and in many instances have been, described as distinct species, because they have been found in distant districts, and in a slightly different dress; but, happily, the study of ornithology has now so far advanced as to break down these specific lines of demarcation, and to establish

* Parker and Newton.

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species on a more sound and permanent basis. For by comparing the nearly allied forms from the no-matter-how-far-distant localities, they are found to merge so closely upon and into each other, that, in making allowance for a slight difference in the coloration, they can be easily united.

Thus Professors Parker and Newton, in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. iii. 1875, p. 757, article "Birds," speak of the Red Grouse (*Lagopus Scoticus*) and the Willow Grouse (*L. albus*). The former is found in certain localities in abundance in the British Isles, whereas the latter is found throughout the whole of the northern parts of the palæarctic region from Norway to Kamtschatka, and again throughout the same or even lower latitudes of the nearctic region from Alaska to Newfoundland. "It is not for us," say these gentlemen, "now to enter into any hypothetical discussion; but it is hard to resist drawing an inference that at a time, geologically speaking, not very recent, both these species of grouse had a common ancestor, and that the severe winters to which it has for a long period been exposed have caused the willow grouse to don a snowy garb that is characteristic of it and other species of the genus, the more so since we find it in its first plumage possessed of coloured quills, which are precisely similar to those of the Red Grouse at the same age."

There is one thing apparently inseparable from the influence of climatic and physical conditions which affect and operate on some of our commonest birds; namely, food, and to me these variations bear considerable weight in the scale in favour of the theory of evolution; for it shows that there is an amount of plasticity in these forms that are operated on by the environment. The learned authors of the article "Birds," before quoted, are prudent enough not to commit themselves to theory, although they must have abundance of facts to build up a strong fortress. I am not so prudent; and I also take advantage of some of the facts brought forward by Messrs. Parker and Newton.

"Thus the Cole Titmouse of England is to be recognised from that of continental Europe (*Parus ater*), and accordingly by some ornithologists it is regarded as a distinct species (*P. Britannicus*); but the scanty remnants of the ancient pine forests of Scotland are inhabited by birds between which and European examples no difference can be established." This then seems tolerably strong proof that the food and habits which are comparatively forced upon these inhabitants of those forests, both on the Continent and in Scotland, work so marked a change in the birds as to cause

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them to be regarded by practical ornithologists as distinct from those specimens inhabiting the plains between those forest districts. That certain kinds of food given to birds in confinement for a long time do work a change in the coloration of their feathers is pretty well established; and if this act on birds in confinement, why should it not in the pine forests, where their food would be limited to the few species of insects which only, as is well known to entomologists, live on the pine trees?

"The home-bred bottle-titmouse of Britain has from its darker coloration been accorded specific rank; but then we occasionally find continental birds of this species (*Acredula caudata*) varying in this respect, and the specific validity of the British form (*A. rosea*) can hardly be with consistency maintained." Variations of this kind might be enumerated almost to any extent; but I must draw this essay to a close with a comparison of the number of birds discovered in Cornwall as compared with those found in Devon. With our long sea-board and genial climate, we get a goodly number of visitors; but whether they have increased or diminished in numbers I have no means of ascertaining.

The number of species enumerated by G. R. Gray in his *Catalogue of British Birds*, and whose nomenclature I have followed in this, is 402; of this number, I have catalogued here, 297 as having been seen or captured in Devon. This, it will be observed, includes all, both resident and migratory, and at the same time excludes the ornithological fauna of Lundy Island.

In the neighbouring county, Cornwall, according to Mr. E. H. Rodd's catalogue, published in 1864, this gentleman enumerated 256 species as having been observed or captured in that county, which numbers leave us a majority in favour of Devon of 41 species.

We have often heard, and sometimes seen, what the exhibitor is pleased to call the "happy family;" that is, a number of birds of various kinds—hawks, owls, sparrows, pigeons, finches, &c. &c., with cats, rats, rabbits, &c., brought together into one large cage. In this case, or rather cage, this so-called happiness has been forced upon the various creatures. They have been made to respect and regard each other as friends; whereas in the case I am about to mention, the social habits of the various birds congregated together for domestic purposes are natural, and not forced. At such

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times as the period of incubation, birds of widely different temperament and general habits congregate, and merge their differences in one common object—the continuity of their like. Thus in 1863 I wrote the late Mr. Charles Waterton, the amiable and well-known ornithologist, stating that we had near here a pair of jackdaws and a pair of owls nesting in the hollow of an old tree, and that they appeared to live in perfect harmony. On the receipt of this communication, Mr. Waterton wrote me, September 25th, 1863:

"Last year, in the hollow of a huge oak tree, I had an extraordinary family in ornithology. The lower part of this oak serves for a comfortable and a sheltered seat to watch the wild fowl on the lake below; the upper part serves as a large apartment for jackdaws, owls, starlings *et id genus omne*. There is only one entrance into this upper chamber. It is roofed with slates in such a manner that I can lift up some of them, and see to a nicety what is going on amongst the tenants.

"Last year, in the month of July, I made my usual visitation. Sideways from the entrance a jackdaw was sitting on five eggs, and on a ledge within two feet of the jackdaw's nest there was a redstart's nest, with six green eggs in it. The rest of the chamber was tenanted by six barn owls, independently of the two old birds, which flew away at my intrusion. Two of the young owls were nearly feathered, but apparently not quite able to fly; two others were half-fledged; and two others (making six in all) were barely covered with white down. I then bade the pretty babes of the old oak tree good-night (by-the-way it was ten o'clock in the morning), and I closed the slates, promising that nobody should ever molest them. I have almost forgot to add that there were two sleek field mice lying dead at the side of the unfledged pair." Here then we have an excellent illustration of a happy family, observed and recorded by one of England's true lovers of nature.

In conclusion I beg to thank those gentlemen who so kindly favoured me with notes on the rarer species of birds in their respective localities; and my thanks are especially due to J. Gatcombe, Esq., of Stonehouse, and F. Pershouse, jun., of Torquay.

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CATALOGUE.

WITH NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS.

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Class, AVES, *Linnæus.*
Order, ACCIPITRES, *Linnæus.*
Family, FALCONIDÆ, *Bonaparte.*

GENUS, **AQUILA**, *Brisson.*

CHRYSAETOS, *Linn.*, The Golden Eagle.

Morris, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 19; *Yarrell*, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 9.

An occasional visitor on Lundy Island.

NÆVIA, *Briss.*, The Spotted Eagle.

Morris, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 28.

One specimen shot by Mr. Heaven on Lundy Island, 1859, as recorded by Mr. Matthews. *Vide Zoologist*, 1861.

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GENUS, **HALIÆTUS**, *Savigny.*

ALBICILLA, *Briss.*, The White-tailed Eagle.

Morris, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 8; *Yarrell*, v. i. p. 15.

One captured in 1834. "Specimens have been killed in Hampshire and Devonshire." One was captured by two workmen at Holsworthy, in North Devon, 1856. This bird was exhibited in Exeter and several towns.

GENUS, **PANDION**, *Savigny.*

HALLÆTUS, *Linn.*, The Osprey, or Fishing Hawk.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 20; *Morris*, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 31.

A fine female specimen of this species was shot at on Slapton Ley, where it had been seen fishing for roach and perch for several days previously; H. Nicholls, jun., in *Zoologist*, 1864, p. 9039. There is a specimen in the British Museum from Col. Montagu's collection.

Mr. Gatcombe informs me that "there appears to have been quite a flight of Ospreys on the Devonshire coast during the early part of the past autumn (1875). Three were seen at Millbrook, just opposite Devonport, one of which was killed. Two were observed in the neighbourhood of Barnstaple, where one was obtained, and another frequented the river Avon, not far from Plymouth." One was also killed on the Dart in September, 1875.

GENUS, **FALCO**, *Linnæus.*

ISLANDICUS, *Kaup*, The Gyr-Falcon.

Brit. Zoology, v. i. p. 217; *Yarrell*, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 26.

Dr. E. Moore has recorded a notice of a specimen taken in Devonshire in the year 1834.

PEREGRINUS, *Briss.*, Peregrine Falcon.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 32; *Morris*, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 88.

Not uncommon; breeds in the cliffs along the south coast. In May last (1875) one took up its abode in the midst of a colony of Herring Gulls which were nesting on the cliffs at Wembury, near the mouth of the Yealm; J. Gatcombe *in litt.*

SUBBUTEO, *Linn.*, The Hobby.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 40; *Morris*, Brit. Birds, p. 100.

Rare; used formerly to breed in Lydford Woods and Warleigh. There is a male in the British Museum; collection from Col. Montagu.

An immature male was obtained on the 1st September, 1874, at Yarner Wood, about two miles from Bovey

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Tracey, by Mr. F. Pershouse, jun. There is a male in the Museum, Torquay, killed on Dartmoor.

RUFIPES, *Bechstein*, Orange-legged Hobby.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 44; *Morris*, v. i. p. 107.

Mr. Morris says, "Two have been procured near Plymouth, both males, as I am informed by Mr. R. R. Julian;" and a specimen was obtained near Kingsbridge about 1840. And Mr. Yarrell says, "A specimen is preserved in the Museum at Devonport, obtained not far off."

ÆSALON, *Linn.*, The Merlin.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 48; *Morris*, v. i. p. 112.

This is a rare bird with us; only four or five specimens are known to have been killed in the county. One in the British Museum collection from Col. Montagu. A specimen was obtained at Bishopstowe, Torquay, November, 1872, and an immature one at Paignton. These are in the Museum, Torquay.

TINNUNCULUS, *Linn.*, The Kestrel.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 52; *Morris*, p. 121.

This is one of the commonest of all the Raptores found in this county, and may frequently be seen hovering over its prey in our fields and woods.

PALUMBARIUS, *Penn.*, Goshawk.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 57; *Morris*, p. 136.

This species was recorded by Dr. Moore as found occasionally on Dartmoor, but I have heard of none having been seen or captured of late years.

GENUS, **ASTURE**, *Brisson.*

NISUS, *Linn.*, The Sparrow-Hawk.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 62; *Morris*, v. i. p. 145.

The commonest of all the birds of prey found in the county. There is in a collection at Chudleigh, belonging to W. B. Scott, Esq., what I believe to be an exceeding rarity; namely, an *Albino* of this species; but where it was obtained Mr. Scott does not know, and the person is dead of whom he had it, but I thought it as well to record the fact.

GENUS, **MILVUS**, *Brisson.*

REGALIS, *Briss.*, The Kite.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 66; *Morris*, v. i. p. 70.

In 1861 one of these now scarce birds was trapped at Countisbury, near Lynmouth; still more recently, in

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October, 1862, near Aveton Gifford, a fine old male was shot whilst feeding on a dead sheep. (Brooking Rowe's *List of Birds.*) 1862, a fine male was killed on the banks of the Avon, near Kingsbridge; and another was shot at on the cliffs at Kingsbridge, 1864, and was afterwards found wounded. (J. Nicholas, in *Zoologist*, 1864, p. 9039.) Dartmoor. G. W. Ormerod. A specimen was killed in Yarner Wood, and is now in the possession of Mr. Watts, Ford House, Newton Abbot.

GENUS, **BUTEO**, *Beehstein.*

VULGARIS, *Bechst.*, Common Buzzard.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 76; *Morris*, v. i. p. 41.

Dartmoor. G. W. Ormerod. List of Birds in the neighbourhood of Chagford and Moretonhampstead. Not uncommon in many localities. There is a chick in British Museum collection from G. Leach, Esq.

LAGOPUS, *Brun.*, Rough-legged Buzzard.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 81; *Morris*, v. i. p. 52.

Chagford. G. W. Ormerod's List. Two specimens were killed at Egg Buckland, 1836.

GENUS, **PERNIS**, *Cuvier.*

APIVORUS, *Linn.*, Honey Buzzard.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 85; *Morris*, p. 60.

This is an exceedingly rare bird; none appear to have been seen of late years. One trapped on Dartmoor, 1848. Mr. Brooking Rowe says, "This specimen was examined by Mr. Gatcombe, who found that the stomach contained long whitish caterpillars." Mr. Gatcombe informs me that he has examined two specimens taken in the neighbourhood of Plymouth.

GENUS, **CIRCUS**, *Lacépede.*

ÆRUGINOSIS, *Linn.*, Moor Buzzard; or, Marsh-Harrier.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 90; *Morris*, v. i. p. 156.

This is an occasional visitor only. Mr. Brooking Rowe says, "During a severe winter about twenty years since many of these birds were obtained, all the bird preservers having specimens sent them; but since that time none appear to have been met with.

CYANEUS, *Linn.*, The Hen Harrier.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 94; *Morris*, v. i. p. 163.

Less common than formerly; but is met with occasionally on Dartmoor. It is called the Blue Hawk by the country

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people. See Tucker's *Ornithologia Danmoniensis*, p. i., for a figure of the young of this species. A specimen was shot on the Dawlish cliffs; it is in the Museum, Torquay.

CINERACEUS, *Montagu*, Montagu's Harrier.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 100; *Morris*, v. i. p. 169.

A beautiful male was taken in a trap at Killerton, April, 1866. It measured three feet five inches from tip to tip of its wings. In 1867 two others were taken in traps, a male and female, at North Tawton. There is a male in Col. Montagu's collection in the British Museum from Devonshire. Two were shot on Bovey Heath in the summer of 1866.

Mr. Gatcombe writes me, as regards Montagu's Harrier, "To be met with occasionally on Dartmoor. In the stomach of an adult male killed there a few years ago I found the remains of fourteen lizards, most of them nearly entire, with exception of their tails, which were all off, and lying by the sides of the bodies in the stomach of the hawk."

Family, STRIGIDÆ, *Swainson*.
GENUS, **STRIX**, *Linnæus*.

BUBO, *Linn.*, The Eagle Owl.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 107; *Morris*, v. i. p. 183.

This according to both these authorities has been taken in Devonshire.

OTUS, *Linn.*, The Long-eared Owl.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 117; *Morris*, v. i. p. 178.

This species is occasionally met with. Mr. Broughton Kingdon obtained eggs on Haldon 13th May, 1863. Several were killed at Plymouth 1873–74. W. S. M. D'Urban.

BRACHYOTOS, *Gmel.*, The Short-eared Owl.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 121; *Morris*, v. i. p. 173.

Several specimens were shot near Exeter in the winter of 1865–66, W. S. M. D'Urban, Chagford; G. W. Ormerod, Oftener met with than the *Little Owl;* indeed, it may be considered not uncommon.

NYCTEA, *Montagu*, The Snowy Owl.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 134; *Morris*, v. i. p. 194.

Two or three specimens of this splendid bird have been killed on Dartmoor this spring; the last was reported in the *Western Times*, April 3rd, 1876.

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FLAMMEA, *Linn.*, The White Owl.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 126; *Morris*, v. i. p. 205.

Common; may frequently be seen flying along the side of hedges in search of mice, &c.

ALUCO, *Linn.*, Tawny Owl.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 131; *Morris*, p. 200.

Common throughout the county.

GENUS, **SURNIA**, *Dumeril.*

PASSERINA, *Linn.*, Little Owl.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 142; *Morris*, p. 216.

Very rare. Dr. Moore mentions two having been killed, and Col. Montagu one. One was obtained at Downes, near Crediton, October, 1851. Dr. Tucker records one as taken near Ashburton.

Order, INCESSORES, *Bonaparte.*
Family, LANIDÆ, *Strickland.*

GENUS, **LANIUS**, *Linnæus.*

EXCUBITOR, *Linn.*, Great Grey Shrike.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 149; *Morris*, v. i. p. 229.

Mr. Brooking Rowe says, "Scarce; but specimens are now and then obtained." I have seen a few specimens brought to the bird preservers in Exeter during the last twenty years. One was killed near Torquay in the spring of 1865.

COLLURIO, *Pennant*, Red-backed Shrike.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 154; *Morris*, p. 234.

A specimen of this was shot at Topsham, and one was seen on the telegraph wires at Broadclist, August, 1875. Specimens have been seen near Chagford.

RUFUS, *Kaup*, The Woodchat Shrike.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 160; *Morris*, v. i. p. 241.

A few years since Mr. Gatcombe purchased a female of this species from a bird-catcher, who had caught it at Mount Batten. It seems that it had pounced down upon the bird-catcher's call-birds, and got entangled in the net.

Family, MUSICAPIDÆ, *Bonaparte.*
GENUS, **MUSICAPA**, *Linnæus.*

GRISOLA, *Linn.*, Spotted Fly-catcher.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 164; *Morris*, v. i. p. 292.

Common everywhere on naked palings through the summer, where they sit watching for their prey.

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ATRICAPILLA, *Linn.*, Pied Fly-catcher.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 169; *Morris*, v. i. p. 287.

Only three or four specimens are known to have been taken in the county, one of which was shot at Ilsham, near Torquay, April, 1866.

Order, PASSERES, *Linnæus.*
Tribe, FISSIROSTRES, *Cuvièr.*
Family, CAPRIMULGIDÆ, *Stein.*
GENUS, **CAPRIMULGUS**, *Linnæus.*

EUROPÆUS, *Linn.*, Goat-sucker, or Night-jar.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii p. 242; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 67.

Common around wooded districts and on the borders of Dartmoor.

Family, HIRUNDINIDÆ, *Leach.*
GENUS, **CYPSELUS**, *Illiger.*

APUS, *Linn.*, The Common Swift.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 233; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 75.

Common throughout the county. Abundant this summer (1876), more so than I have seen them for many years.

GENUS, **HIRUNDO**, *Linnæus.*

RUSTICA, *Linn.*, The Chimney Swallow.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 213; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 89.

Very common generally throughout the county. Rather rare this season (1876).

GENUS, **COTYLE**, *Boie.*

RIPARIA, *Boie.*, The Sand Martin.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 228; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 121.

Build in great numbers in sand-pits and along the cliffs of the south coast.

GENUS, **CHELIDON**, *Boie.*

URBICA, *Linn.*, The Martin Swallow, or House Martin.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 222; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 115.

Common everywhere in fine summers. There is a white variety in the British Museum, from Colonel Montagu's collection, obtained in Devonshire. The Martin has been observed on the cliffs at Teignmouth as late as December 14th.

Family, CORACIIDÆ, *Bonaparte.*
GENUS, **CORACIAS**, *Linnæus.*

GARRULA, *Linn.*, The Garrulous Roller.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 195; *Morris*, v. i. p. 297.

A specimen was shot, October 20th, 1866, near Alphington. On the 21st June, 1866, "I examined a fine male speci-

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men, killed on Spriddlestone Farm, near Yealmpton. Its stomach contained beetles and the skins of long, whitish grubs, or caterpillars. A female was said to have been in company with it. The male is now in the collection of F. C. Hingston, Esq., of Plymouth;" Mr. Gatcombe *in lit.*

Family, ALCEDINIDÆ, *D'Orbigne.*
GENUS, **ALCEDO**, *Linnæus.*

ISPIDA, *Linn.*, The Common Kingfisher.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, vol. ii. p. 206; *Morris*, v. i. p. 302.

This beautiful bird has become scarce of late years, owing to the foolish fashion of decorating ladies' hats with their preserved skins; and a war has also been waged against them from their supposed habit of eating the spawn of trout and salmon.

Family, MEROPIDÆ, *Bonaparte.*
GENUS, **MEROPS**, *Linnæus.*

APIASTER, *Linn.*, The Common Bee-eater.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 200; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 312.

There is a specimen in the British Museum, presented by Addis Archer, Esq., from this county, and Dr. Tucker records this bird as observed near Ashburton.

Family, UPUPIDÆ, *Bonaparte.*
GENUS, **UPUPA**, *Linnæus.*

EPOPS, *Linn.*, The Common Hoopoe.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 167; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 316.

A specimen was obtained at Bigbury by Colonel Montagu, and one was shot at Budleigh, 1865. Several others are mentioned as having been killed near the south coast. The last was a pair shot near Ringmore, Ivybridge, 10th April, 1872. It is said that this bird has been known to breed in Devon.

Family, CERTHIADÆ, *Bonaparte.*
GENUS, **CERTHIA**, *Linnæus.*

FAMILIARIS, *Linn.*, The Common Tree Creeper.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 158; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 6.

Common; I frequently see them on the elm trees from a window in the Cathedral-yard, and they build in holes of trees in the immediate vicinity of the city.

GENUS, **SITTA**, *Linnæus.*

EUROPÆA, *Linn.*, The Nuthatch.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 174; *Morris*, vol. ii. p. 362.

Common throughout the county.

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GENUS, **TROGLODYTES**, *Vieill.*

PARVULAS, *Linn.*, Common Wren.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 162; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 259.

Common everywhere, though not abundant.

Family, LUSCINIDÆ, *Linnæus.*
GENUS, **CALAMODYTA**, *Mey and Wolf.*

LOCUSTELLA, *Latham*, The Grasshopper Warbler.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 261; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 179.

Plentiful some seasons in the neighbourhood of Exeter; to be heard in almost every field; and again some seasons it is very scarce.

PHRAGMITES, *Bonp.*, The Sedge Warbler.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 265; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 187.

Not uncommon along the quiet banks of our streams in all parts of the county.

STREPERA, *Vieill*, Reed Wren, or Warbler.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. 269; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 193.

Rare; one specimen only is recorded in Dr. Moore's List, 1837.

GENUS, **LUSCINIA**, *Linnæus.*

PHILOMELA, *Pr. Bonp.*, The Nightingale.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 274; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 198.

About twenty-five years ago one was caught in Sir J. Duckworth's Park by a bird-catcher by the name of Burge, and last year I heard one in Stoke Wood, near Exeter; but it must be considered an exceedingly rare visitor to us.

Mr. W. S. M. D'Urban says, in his list in Besley's *Handbook*, that "a pair bred near Exeter in June, 1872." There is a specimen in the Albert Museum, Exeter, from the Ross collection, said to have been obtained in Stoke Wood, near Exeter.

GENUS, **AEDON**, *Boie.*

GALAETODES, *Temm.*, The Rufous Sedge Warbler.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, 2nd supp., p. 6; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 268.

A specimen of this beautiful bird was obtained at Start Point by W. Llewellyn, Esq., and presented to the British Museum. The bird was killed September 25th, 1859.

GENUS **SYLVIA**, *Latham.*

TURDOIDES, *Meyer*, The Thrush Nightingale, or Warbler.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, supp., v. ii. p. 1; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 207.

Mr. Morris says, "N. Rowe, Esq., of Worcester College, Oxford, has informed me that two eggs of this rare

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British bird were taken at Staddiscombe, near Plymouth, in Devonshire, in 1850; and that the Rev. H. Roundell procured others in Kent."

UNDATA, *Bodd.*, The Dartford Warbler.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 311; *Morris*, vol. iii. p. 255.

Specimens are occasionally seen on our downs near Ashburton (Dr. Tucker). There is a female in the British Museum collection obtained by Col. Montague in the county; and one was shot at Budleigh Salterton, by H. S. Percival, June 10th, 1871.

Specimens have been seen on Bovey Heathfield among the furze-brakes. (W. Brodrick, Esq.) A specimen was shot at Lympstone, 1874. This is in the Albert Museum, Exeter. This species has been seen occasionally near Beer Head.

CURRUCA, *Gml.*, The Lesser Whitethroat.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 293; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 230.

One shot at Mutley, as recorded by R. A. Julian, jun., in the *Naturalist*, v. i. p. 87.

CINEREA, *Lath.*, The Whitethroat Warbler.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 289; *Morris*, v. iii. 223.

Common everywhere.

ATRICAPILLA, *Linn.*, The Black-cap Warbler.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 280; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 211.

Common most seasons; but last year, 1875, this species, as well as all the Sylvidæ, were very scarce.

For many years this bird (whether the same it is impossible to say) used to put in an appearance at Weir Cliff, near Exeter, from the 23rd to the 30th of March.

HORTENSIS, *Gml.*, The Garden Warbler.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 285; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 219.

Not uncommon in the wooded districts throughout the county.

RUFA, *Lath.*, The Chiff-Chaff.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 307; *Morris*, v. iii. 249.

Common everywhere.

TROCHILUS, *Linn.*, The Willow Warbler.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 302; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 204.

This is also a common species with us.

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SIBILATRIX, *Bechst.*, The Wood Warbler.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i p. 297; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 235.

First noticed in Devon by Col. Montagu; it is now common in our woods.

GENUS, **REGULUS**, *Cuvier.*

CRISTATUS, *Ray.*, The Golden-crested Regulus.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 317; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 273.

Generally distributed, but not abundant.

IGNICAPILLUS, *Brehm.*, The Fire-crested Regulus.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 322; *Morris*, v. iii. 283.

Mr. Brooking Rowe says, "Two specimens of this bird are in the collection of Mr. Pincombe, said to have been obtained in a garden at Devonport." I have seen specimens brought in to Truscott, the bird-presever in Exeter. At the same time it must be considered a scarce species.

Mr. F. Pershouse, jun., informs me that two specimens have been obtained near Torquay. One, in 1874, was picked up dead at Torre.

GENUS, **SAXICOLA**, *Bechst.*

ÆNANTHE, *Linn*, The Wheatear.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 253; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 170.

Common on our moors and wild places.

GENUS, **PRATINCOLA**, *Kock.*

RUBETRA, *Linn*, The Whin-Chat.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 249; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 164.

Common on all our downs amongst furze, &c.

RUBICOLA, *Linn.*, The Stone-Chat.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 245; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 158.

Common on Haldon, Dartmoor, and very generally distributed.

GENUS, **RUTICELLA**, *Brehm.*

PHŒNICURA, *Linn.*, The Redstart.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 237; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 144.

Frequent about our orchards and gardens during the summer months.

TITHYS, *Scopoli*, The Black Redstart or Redtail.,

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 241; *Morris*, v. iii. p 154.

This beautiful bird is a frequent visitor along our southern shores during the winter months, generally appearing

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about the first week in November, and leaves us again about the end of March. It feeds on flies, &c. found amongst the marine rejectmenta on the shore. Sometimes it comes inland; for instance, one was observed by the Rev. J. Hellins in his garden attached to the gaol in Exeter the end of December, 1875, and was seen about there for several days.

GENUS, **ERYTHACUS**, *Cuvier.*

RUBECULA, *Linn.*, The Redbreast.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 229; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 109.

Common everywhere.

GENUS, **CYANECULA**, *Brehm.*

SUECICA, *Linn.*, Blue-throated Warbler.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 233; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 140.

Mr. D'Urban says that this bird "has been observed near Exeter more than once."

GENUS, **ACCENTOR**, *Bechstein.*

ALPINUS, *Bechst.*, The Alpine Accentor.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 219; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 97.

This species has been occasionally met with; at the same time it must be considered one of our rarest visitors. It occurred at Teignmouth, 1844. Five were shot by Mr. Gatcombe, at Plymouth, 10th January, 1859; and it has been seen at Torquay. One was killed on Berry Head. This is in the Museum, Torquay.

MODULARIS, *Linn.*, The Hedge Accentor, or Hedge Sparrow.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 223; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 101.

Common everywhere.

Family, PARIDÆ, *Bonaparte.*
GENUS, **PARUS**, *Linnæus.*

MAJOR, *Linn.*, The Great Titmouse.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 326; *Morris*, v. i. p. 244.

Common in orchards and woods throughout the county.

CÆRULEUS, *Linn.*, The Blue Titmouse.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 330; *Morris*, v. i. p. 259.

Very common.

In the early spring of 1855 the ground was for some days thickly covered with snow, and birds generally were hard driven for food. Instinct, or something else, directed the Tits to peck into the galls on the oaks, produced by *Cynips Kollari*, in which they found an abundant supply of food in the fat white larvæ, or the perfect insects

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themselves. Previous to this, I never observed these galls broken into by anything; but since then these birds, or their progeny, have never forgotten what is inside the spherical galls; for they even begin to open them before they have hardened or turned brown in autumn, which is very injudicious, and that they would find should 1855 repeat itself. The two species which attacked the galls were *P. Cœrulea* and *P. Ater*. See *The Field*, 1872, October 19th, p. 379.

ATER, *Linn.*, The Cole Titmouse.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 337; *Morris*, v. i. p. 249.

Common in all our woods and gardens.

PALUSTRIS, *Linn.*, The Marsh Titmouse.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 340; *Morris*, v. i. p. 270.

Very generally distributed throughout the county.

CAUDATUS, *Temm.*, The Long-tailed Titmouse.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 344; *Morris*, v. i. p. 275.

Common in all our woods and orchards.

BIARMICUS, *Linn.*, The Bearded Titmouse.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 349; *Morris*, v. i. p. 282.

This is a very scarce species in Devon; only two or three specimens are known to have been taken.

GENUS, **MOTACILLA**, *Linnæus*.

ALBA, *Linn.*, The White Wagtail.

Yarrell's Supp. Brit. Birds, p. 22; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 133.

There is a very great doubt amongst the best ornithologists whether this is distinct from the next. Mr. Gatcombe, of Plymouth, has killed three specimens of what he believes to be *alba* of Linnæus.

YARRELLII, *Gould*, The Pied Wagtail.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 302; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 125.

Common along all our rocky streams.

BOARULA, *Penn.*, The Grey Wagtail.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 370; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 138.

Frequent, and generally distributed through the county.

FLAVA, *Linn.*, The Grey-headed Wagtail.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 375; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 143.

Morris says a pair were shot by John Gatcombe, Esq., of Wyndham Place, Plymouth, in a large marsh at Laira, near that town, May 1st, 1850.

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CAMPESTRIS, *Pall.*, Ray's Wagtail.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 380; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 147.

There are three specimens in the Albert Museum, Exeter; killed at Topsham.

GENUS, **ANTHUS**, *Bechstein.*

PRATENSIS, *Linn.*, The Meadow Pipit.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 389; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 153.

Generally distributed.

RICHARDII, *Vieill*, Richard's Pipit.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 398; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 150.

This rare European species has been several times obtained in different parts of the county; seven specimens are recorded as having occurred at Plymouth, and Mr. Mathew shot one at Barnstaple, 1869.

ARBOREUS, *Bechst.*, The Tree Pipit.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 384; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 161.

Common, and generally distributed.

OBSCURUS, *Lath.*, The Rock Pipit.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 394; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 166.

Frequently to be seen along the shore, and is generally common.

SPINOLETTA, *Linn.*, The Water Pipit.

Bree's Birds of Europe, v. ii. p. 164.

A specimen was obtained by Mr. Gatcombe on the 8th March, 1873.

Family, TURDIDÆ, *Bonaparte.*
GENUS, **HYDROBATA**, *Vieill.*

CINCLUS, *Linn.*, The Common Dipper.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 173; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 16.

Very generally distributed along our rocky streams, and quiet places where there is water.

GENUS, **TURDUS**, *Linnæus.*

VISCIVORUS, *Linn.*, The Missel Thrush.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 179; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 22.

Common everywhere.

PILARIS, *Linn.*, The Fieldfare.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 189; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 30.

Very generally distributed.

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MUSICUS, *Linn.*, The Song Thrush.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 193; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 45.

Common.

ILIACUS, *Linn.*, The Redwing.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 198; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 39.

Generally common in the winter season; but it depends almost entirely on the severity of the weather.

TORQUATUS, *Linn.*, The Ring Ouzel.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 206; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 84.

Not uncommon around Dartmoor, and is said also to breed there.

MERULA, *Linn.*, The Blackbird.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 202; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 64.

Common.

GENUS, **ORIOLUS**, *Linnæus.*

GALBULA, *Linn.*, The Golden Oriole.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 212; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 92.

Few examples are recorded by Dr. Moore to have been killed in Devonshire. Mr. J. Brooking Rowe says that a female was obtained at Millbrook a few years ago, and he saw one at Leigham in 1856 or 1857. Mr. Gatcombe saw one in April, 1866, as reported in *The Field.*

Family, AMPELIDAE, *Bonaparte.*
GENUS, **AMPELIS**, *Linnæus.*

GARRULA, *Linn.*, The Bohemian Waxwing.

Yarrell, v. i. p. 356; *Morris*, v. i. p. 358.

Several specimens of this beautiful bird have been obtained in the county. The last I saw were killed by Mr. Harte, at Alphington, near Exeter, about ten years ago. Several were obtained, in the winter of 1849-50, in different parts of the county. It is mentioned by Dr. Tucker as occurring near Ashburton.

Tribe, CONIROSTRES, *Dumeril.*
Family, CORVIDÆ, *Bonaparte.*
GENUS, **GARRULUS**, *Brisson.*

GLANDARIUS, *Linn.*, The Jay.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds. v. ii. p. 116; *Morris*, v. i. p. 354.

Common in all our woods.

GENUS, **NUCIFRAGA**, *Brisson.*

CORYOCATACTES, *Linn.*, The Nutcracker.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds. v. ii. p. 122; *Morris*, v. i. p. 349.

A specimen of this bird was shot in North Devon in 1808.

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Another was killed near Dawlish, 1829; and Mr. J. B. Rowe says, "I am pretty sure that I saw one in the woods at Saltram, in October, 1862." Dr. Tucker gives it in his *List of Birds* in the neighbourhood of Ashburton.

GENUS, **PICA**, *Brisson.*

CAUDATA, *Flem.*, The Magpie.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, vol. ii. p. 107; *Morris*, v. i. p. 346.

Common, and generally distributed.

GENUS, **CORVUS**, *Linnæus.*

CORAX, *Linn.*, The Raven.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 68; *Morris*, v. i. p. 325.

Generally distributed, but not common. Several pairs, Mr. Gatcombe very kindly informs me, breed in the cliffs on the coast near Plymouth; and he found them rather plentiful on the coast near Ilfracombe last year (1875).

FRUGILEGUS, *Linn.*, The Rook.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 91; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 338.

Very common; Albinos are sometimes met with. Rooks generally visit their old nests about the middle or end of September and October. The birds get into the nests and turn themselves round several times, making many gesticulations, and a great deal of cawing; while others are flying round and round the tops of the trees, keeping up a great noise, in which the Jackdaws, who generally accompany them, join. The Rooks have just been (Feb. 6th) to visit their old haunts in the Cathedral Close, and after two or three consultations they have torn out the whole of their old nests, so that there is not a stick left.

MONEDULA, *Linn.*, The Jackdaw.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 102; *Morris*, v. i. p. 343.

Very common; Albinos are seen occasionally.

CORONE, *Linn.*, The Carrion Crow.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 79; *Morris*, v. i. p. 330.

Generally distributed. The gamekeepers wage a constant war against these birds.

CORNIX, *Linn.*, The Hooded Crow.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 83; *Morris*, v. i. p. 335.

Rare in this county; only an occasional visitor in the winter months. Mr. Ross had one in his collection,

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killed at Topsham April 6th. A specimen was obtained in the marshes near Newton in the autumn of 1854, and another on the Dart, which is in the Museum, Torquay.

GENUS, **CORACIA**, *Brisson.*

GRACULA, *Linn.*, The Cornish Chough.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 56; *Morris*, v. i. p. 320.

There is a specimen in the Torquay Museum, obtained at Torquay; but this bird has become very scarce. Mr. Gatcombe informs me that he thinks they are increasing in numbers, and that a small party may be daily seen among the cliffs in the neighbourhood of Morthoe, North Devon.

Family, STURNIDÆ, *Vigors.*
GENUS, **PASTOR**, *Temm.*

ROSEUS, *Linn.*, The Rose-coloured Pastor.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 51; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 356.

Very rare, but specimens occur now and then. There is a specimen in the British Museum from Devonshire, obtained near Ashburton by Dr. Tucker. Mr. Gatcombe killed one at St. Budeaux, near Plymouth, June 17th, 1851.

GENUS, **STURNUS**, *Linnæus.*

VULGARIS, *Linn.*, The Common Starling.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 44; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 1.

This bird has increased of late years abundantly. Some years ago they were winter visitors only in the south of the county; this year (1876) they have begun building very early in Exeter; viz., January 15; and they roost in hundreds in a row of evergreen oaks in the grounds of Polesloe Park, Exeter, the residence of C. T. Follett, Esq.

Family, FRINGILLIDÆ, *Bonaparte.*
GENUS, **COCCOTHRAUSTES**, *Brisson.*

VULGARIS, *Stevens*, The Hawfinch, or Grosbeak.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 483; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 299.

Occasionally met with in winter. Two were killed at Alphington a few years ago. Ashburton, Dr. Tucker.

GENUS, **FRINGILLA**, *Linnæus.*

CŒLEBS, *Linn.*, The Chaffinch.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 460; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 236.

Very common.

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MONTIFRINGILLA, *Linn.*, The Mountain Finch.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 465; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 252.

Frequent in hard and cold winters. It is said to have been known to breed at Topsham.

CARDUELIS, *Linn.*, The Goldfinch.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 490; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 305.

Frequent in orchards throughout the county.

SPINUS, *Linn.*, The Siskin, or Aberdevine.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 496; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 310.

Small flocks of this species generally visit us in winter. They feed on alder seeds. I have frequently seen them by the side of the Exe, near Salmon Pool.

CHLORIS, *Linn.*, The Greenfinch.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 479; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 292.

Common everywhere.

CANNABINA, *Linn.*, The Common Linnet.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 502; *Morris*, v. ii. 315.

Common.

LINARIA, *Linn.*, The Lesser Redpole.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 514; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 321.

This pretty bird is not uncommon some winters in our woods; feeding on the seeds of birch.

FLAVIROSTRIS, *Linn.*, The Mountain Linnet, or Twite.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 521; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 329.

A scarce species with us.

Genus, **PASSER**, *Brisson.*

DOMESTICUS, *Linn.*, The House Sparrow.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 474; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 266.

Common.

MONTANUS, *Lynn.*, The Tree Sparrow.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 469; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 260.

This must be considered a rare species with us; at the same time several have been obtained in different parts of the county.

Genus, **EMBERIZA**, *Linnæus.*

MILIARIA, *Linn.*, The Common Bunting.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 433; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 206.

Common, and generally distributed.

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SCHÆNICLUS, *Linn.*, The Black-headed or Reed Bunting.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 438; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 211.

Not common, still several are to be seen along the banks of streams. One in Mr. Ross' collection was shot on the Clist river June 3rd.

CITRINELLA, *Linn.*, The Yellow Bunting.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 443; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 217.

Common.

CIRLUS, *Linn.*, The Cirl Bunting.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 448; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 225.

I have seen this pretty bird frequently by the side of the Exe. Colonel Montagu first discovered this species in Devonshire, near Kingsbridge, in the winter of 1800, and it sometimes breeds on or near the south coast.

GENUS, **PLECTROPHANES**, *Meyer.*

NIVALIS, *Linn.*, The Snow Bunting.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 425; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 194.

Not uncommon in both North and South Devon in the winter months.

GENUS, **ALAUDA**, *Linnæus.*

ARVENSIS, *Linn.*, The Skylark.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 409; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 182.

Common everywhere. A buff-coloured variety was killed at Hoopern, Exeter; it is now in the Albert Museum.

ARBOREA, *Linn.*, The Woodlark.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 417; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 177.

Common.

GENUS, **OCTOCORIS**, *Prince Bonaparte.*

ALPESTRIS, *Linn.*, The Shorelark.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. i. p. 402; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 170.

Taken on Braunton Burrows; feeding on the seeds of the sea blite.

"A nest of this species, containing four eggs, was found by Wentworth Buller, Esq., on July 12th, 1851, amongst some bent grass close to the sea at Exmouth. The hen bird was captured on the nest." W. S. M. D'Urban, in Besley's *Hand-book*. 1875.

GENUS, **MELANOCORYPHA**, *Boie.*

CALANDRA, *Linn.*, The Calandra Lark.

Brees, Birds of Europe, v. ii. p. 195.

This is an exceedingly rare bird in this country, a speci-

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men of which was detected by Mr. Gatcombe in a collection of a bird-preserver (Mr. Pincombe of Devonport) in 1863; and Mr. Gatcombe says, in *Zoologist*, 1863, p. 8768, "He assured me it had been killed in the neighbourhood, but that he had hitherto considered it to have been a specimen of the Shorelark."

This is believed to be the first and only specimen of this species that has occurred in Britain.

GENUS, **PYRRHULA**, *Moehr.*

RUBICILLA, *Pallas*, The Bullfinch.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 1; *Morris*, v. ii. 332.

Common in some of our large orchards and cherry gardens at certain seasons of the year.

There is a black variety in the British Museum, from Devonshire, in Col. Montagu's collection.

GENUS, **LOXIA**, *Linnæus.*

CURVIROSTRA, *Linn.*, The Common Crossbill.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 14; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 341.

Has been taken occasionally and also known to breed here. "A pair built at Ogwell House, near Newton, the seat of T. W. Taylor, Esq., in April, 1839." (Morris.) There is a female in Col. Montagu's collection in the British Museum, from Devonshire, Ashburton. (Dr. Tucker.) A pair were killed on Chapel Hill, Torquay, March, 1867. (Mr. F. Pershouse, jun.)

PYTIOPSITTACUS, *Bechst.*, The Parrot Crossbill.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 34; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 347.

A very rare visitor. "Mr. Newton shot nine of them near Millaton in 1838." (Rowe's *Dartmoor*, p. 285.)

LEUCOPTERA, *Gmel.*, The American White-winged Crossbill.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, Supp., p. 22; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 350.

The first specimen of this beautiful bird was picked up dead on the shore at Exmouth by E. B. Fitton, Esq., September 17th, 1845. It is in Mr. Yarrell's collection.

Order, SCANSORES, *Illiger*,
Family, PICIDÆ, *Vigors*,
GENUS, **PICUS**, *Linnæus.*

MAJOR, *Linn.*, The Great Spotted Woodpecker.

Yarrell, Brit Birds, v. ii. p. 142; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 20.

This bird is not uncommon in the woods at Killerton, Haldon, and various places in the county. It has been

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said to breed in Exwick woods, near Exeter, and near Ashburton. There are two specimens in the Museum, Torquay, one obtained at Cockington, and the other at Bagtor.

MINOR, *Linn.*, The Lesser-spotted Woodpecker.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 147; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 26.

Not uncommon. In 1871 one used to frequent the large elm trees on Northernhay almost every morning for a long time. It always seems to me that these birds (that is, the woodpeckers generally) have their regular rounds in search of food.

GENUS, **DRYOCOPUS**, *Boie.*

MARTIUS, *Linn.*, The Great Black Woodpecker.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, vol. ii. p. 127; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 10.

Mr. Rowe, in *Perambulation of Dartmoor*, says one was obtained by Mr. Newton; killed near Crediton.

GENUS, **GECINUS**, *Boie.*

VIRIDIS, *Linn.*, The Green Woodpecker.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 132; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 15.

Common in all our woods.

GENUS, **YUNX**, *Linnæus.*

TORQUILLA, *Linn.*, The Wryneck.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 151; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 1.

Rare. This bird, although so common in the eastern counties, is exceedingly rare in Devonshire. Mr. Gatcombe writes me, that "I have met with but three in all my experience as an observer of Devonshire birds."

Family, CUCULIDÆ, *Bonaparte.*
GENUS, **CUCULUS**, *Linnæus.*

CANORUS, *Linn.*, The Common Cuckoo.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 179; *Morris*, v. ii. p. 44.

Common throughout the county. In 1873 they were very numerous, more so than I had ever seen them before anywhere.

Order, COLUMBÆ, *Latham.*
Family, COLUMBIDÆ, *Leach.*
GENUS, **COLUMBA**, *Linnæus.*

PALUMBUS, *Linn.*, The Ring Dove.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 249; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 286.

Common. A pair built a nest in the trees opposite my window in the Cathedral-yard in October, 1875.

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ÆNAS, *Linn.*, The Stock Dove.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 254; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 300.

Rather scarce generally speaking; at the same time small flocks may be seen occasionally late in autumn. The land-slip at Seaton is their great rendezvous and breeding-place.

LIVIA, *Temm.*, The Rock Dove.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 259; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 304.

A few are said to breed in the cliffs on the coast. There have been a pair about the Cathedral for the last two years. I am not sure whether they bred there or not, as I have only seen two. (?)

GENUS, **TURTUR**, *Selby.*

AURITUS, *Linn.*, The Turtle Dove.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 267; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 311.

I have seen specimens brought in occasionally to the game and poultry dealers in Exeter; but it must be considered rare. There is a specimen in the British Museum, from Devonshire, in Col. Montagu's collection.

Order, GALLINÆ, *Linnæus.*
Family, PTEROCLIDÆ, *Bonaparte.*
GENUS, **SYRRHAPTES**, *Illiger.*

PARADOXUS, *Pallas*, Pallas's Sand Grouse.

At Heaton Court, near Barnstaple, December 11th, 1863, a gamekeeper shot a fine old female of this species, and in June of the same year two specimens were shot out of a covey of thirteen at Slapton Ley. The most curious thing connected with the appearance of this bird in the British Isles is, that it appeared all at once all over the United Kingdom. No less than sixty-three were killed in Norfolk and Suffolk. They were scattered equally over Ireland and Scotland. The native home of this beautiful bird is Tartary, and what should have induced so many to migrate to so great a distance is a mystery unfathomable by the best ornithologists.

Family, PHASIANIDÆ, *Auct.*
GENUS, **PHASIANUS**, *Linnæus.*

COLCHICUS, *Linn.*, The Common Pheasant.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 277; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 319.

Common. Varieties frequently occur in which the plumage is more or less mottled; and the ring-necked variety is in some localities common.

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Family, TETRAONIDÆ, *Leach*.
GENUS, **CACCABIS**, *Kaup*.

RUFA, *Linn.*, The Red-legged Partridge.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 343; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 373.

Specimens are occasionally brought in to the game shops in Exeter.

GENUS, **PERDIX**, *Brisson*.

CINEREA, *Linn.*, The Common Partridge.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 333; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 360.

Common.

VAR FERRUGINEOUS, *Gould*.

This beautiful bird was, I believe, first noticed by W. B. Scott, Esq., Chudleigh, in whose collection I saw it. The specimen, I am informed by Mr. Scott, was killed near Tavistock.

This apparently distinct variety or race is described in Sir W. Jardine's *Naturalist's Library*, vol. 34. It is, so far as can be ascertained, confined to the localities of Tavistock and Plymouth. In December, 1860, two specimens were killed in the neighbourhood of Plymouth, and taken to the Rev. W. S. Hore, of Shebbear. These are described in the *Zoologist*, 1861, pp. 7544–5.

In reference to the common Partridge, Mr. Easton, granite mason, of Exeter, who has quarries near Blackinston Rock, Dartmoor, informs me that on June 12th, 1873, his dog had taken a partridge off its nest; and before he was able to liberate it, the dog had killed it. She was in good condition; her crop was very full, so much so as to attract Mr. Easton's attention. He opened it, and found it stuffed with the common pill wood-louse, and what appeared to him the flower buds of the common buttercup; but of this he did not feel sure. Of the wood-lice there could be no mistake.

GENUS, **COTURNIX**, *Mœhr*.

COMMUNIS, *Bonn.*, The Common Quail.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 355; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 384.

In 1870–71 this species was unusually numerous in the county during the winter. Many were killed on Lundy Island. They have been known to breed in the county. And Mr. J. B. Rowe says, "I have a young one, which was caught by a boy near the Plymouth Cemetery in the autumn of 1862. In 1876 many imported specimens escaped from Mr. Gosden, fishmonger, Exeter, and were not recaptured.

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GENUS, **TETRAO**, *Linnæus.*

TETRIX, *Linn.*, The Black Grouse.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 304; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 335.

This fine bird exists in small numbers on and around Dartmoor. They were formerly abundant there, but are apparently fast disappearing. One was killed on Haldon, 1870. There is a male in Col. Montagu's collection in the British Museum.

It may be as well to remark in this place that several examples of hybrids between the Black Grouse and the Pheasant have been obtained near Plymouth and Tavistock. Dr. E. Moore, in his "Notes on the Birds of Devonshire," in *Magazine of Natural History*, 1837, says, "A hybrid of this kind was shot at Widey, near Plymouth, by the Rev. W. Morshead. A male Pheasant, a female Grouse, and one young one had been observed in company for some time by the keeper. Mr. Morshead shot the Pheasant, and in a few days the young hybrid. The young bird bears the marks of both parents; but the most prominent characters are those of the Grouse." (Yarrell,) p. 310. The Rev. W. S. Hore has described one, and referred to others of those hybrids shot in the county. See *Zoologist*, 1861, p. 7545.

GENUS, **LAGOPUS**, *Brisson.*

SCOTICUS, *Lath.*, The Red Grouse.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 315; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 342.

Two or three specimens have been obtained on Dartmoor, some years since, but none, so far as I am aware, have been seen of late. I believe they have been introduced at various times into the Moor; but they either get killed, or do not succeed.

ALBUS, *Boie.*, The Ptarmigan.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 322; *Morris*, v. iii. p. 351.

Mr. J. B. Rowe says, "A single specimen, in summer plumage, was shot on Dartmoor by Mr. Newton in October a few years since.

Order, STRUTHIONES, *Latham.*
Family, STRUTHIONIDÆ, *Vigors.*
GENUS, **OTIS**, *Linnæus.*

TARDA, *Linn.*, The Great Bustard.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 362; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 1.

So far as is known, this fine bird is not now indigenous to this county, or perhaps country; but migratory speci-

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mens are occasionally shot. One was killed at Bratton Clovelly, North Devon, December 31st, 1851, in a marshy piece of ground. This specimen was examined by Mr. Gatcombe, who found "that its stomach contained a large quantity of turnip leaves, mixed with several flat flinty stones about the size of a sixpence."

Seven specimens of this Bustard were observed on Braunton Burrows on the 31st December, one of which was shot, another at Croyde, and another wounded. See *Land and Water*, January, 1871.

TETRAX, *Linn.*, The Little Bustard.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 271; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 7.

Specimens of this species occur now and then, but it is very rare. A specimen is recorded by Dr. Tucker as killed near Ashburton. The last, so far as I am aware, was shot by Lieut. Pearce near the Start Lighthouse, March, 1864. See *Zoologist*, 1864, p. 9039.

There is a specimen in the British Museum presented by W. Prideaux, Esq., from Plymouth.

Order, GRALLÆ, *Linnæus.*
Family, CHARADRIDÆ, *Bonaparte.*
GENUS, **ŒDICNEMUS**, *Temminck.*

CREPITANS, *Temm.*, The Great Plover.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 380; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 21.

This must be considered a rare bird with us. At the same time we have many instances recorded of its having been killed in the county.

Mr. Gatcombe writes me, that he has examined two or three specimens that were killed near Plymouth in winter. There are two in the Museum, Torquay, obtained near there.

GENUS, **CURSORIUS**, *Latham.*

GALLICUS, *Gmel.*, The Cream-coloured Courser.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 376; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 19.

The only authority for this bird in Devonshire, so far as I am aware, is Mr. Gervase F. Mathew, of Raleigh House, near Barnstaple, who communicated to the *Zoologist*, 1860, a notice of two specimens observed by himself on Braunton Burrows; "one of which was an adult male in splendid plumage, the other a female, or young bird of the year, in immature plumage." See *Zoologist*, 1860, pp. 6980–81.

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GENUS, **GLAREOLA**, *Brisson.*

PRATINCOLA, *Linn.*, The Collared Pratincole.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 1; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 15.

Two specimens of this beautiful bird were seen by the Hon. T. L. Powys and W. W. Butter, Esq., at the mouth of the Exe, the 7th September, 1851; and the late Mr. Ross informed Mr. J. Gatcombe that he once saw two on the Warren Sands, near Exmouth.

GENUS, **VANELLUS**, *Linnæus.*

CRISTATUS, *Meyer.*, The Crested Lapwing, or Pee-wit.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 417; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 58.

Common on all the moorland districts.

GENUS, **SQUATAROLA**, *Cuvier.*

HELVETICA, *Linn.*, The Grey Plover.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 413; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 53.

Specimens are occasionally met with; but it is by no means common.

GENUS, **CHARADRIUS**, *Linnæus.*

PLUVIALIS, *Linn.*, The Golden Plover.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 385; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 27.

Comparatively common along our shores.

MORINELLUS, *Linn.*, The Dotterel.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 392; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 33.

This bird is now rare in Devon. It is said to have bred at one time on Dartmoor. The latest specimens that have been obtained are two in the Albert Museum, Exeter, shot on the Exe, August, 1870.

HIATICULA, *Linn.*, The Ringed Plover, or Dotterel.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 401; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 40.

Common all along our shores. This pretty bird is called the "Cat's-head" by the fishermen on the Exe.

CANTIANUS, *Lath.*, The Kentish Plover.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 405; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 49.

Only two or three specimens of this bird are known to have been obtained in Devonshire, one of which was killed on the Breakwater, Plymouth, by Mr. F. C. Hingston, in whose collection it now is, May 7th, 1861; and Mr. Gatcombe informs me that a very prettily-marked immature bird of this species was killed on one of our rivers during the past autumn (1875) by a naval officer.

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GENUS, **HÆMATOPUS**, *Linnæus.*

OSTRALEGUS, *Linn.*, The Oyster-Catcher.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 432; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 81.

Not common; but scarcely a season passes without some are brought in to the bird-preservers in Exeter.

GENUS, **CINCLUS**, *Mœhr.*

INTERPRES, *Ill.*, The Turnstone.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 422; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 66.

Frequent along our shores.

Family, ARDEIDÆ, *Vigors.*
GENUS, **GRUS**, *Linnæus.*

CINEREA, *Bechst.*, The Common Crane.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 437; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 87.

A single specimen was killed at Buckland Monachorum, on the borders of Dartmoor, in 1826. J. B. Rowe, and by G. R. Gray, in *British Museum Catalogue*, p. 144.

GENUS, **ARDEA**, *Linnæus.*

CINEREA, *Linn.*, The Common Heron.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 444; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 96.

The Heron was once considered a delicacy at the rich man's table, and the breed was cultivated in large heronries; but they have fallen into disrepute. We see one or two occasionally hung up at our game sellers; but they do not appear to attract buyers. At the same time, there are several heronries in the county. For instance, one on the Tamar, at Warleigh; one on the Dart, at Sharpham; on the Exe, at Powderham; and at Shute, near Axminster; and Mr. Gatcombe informs me that "there is a small heronry a few miles from Prince Town, on Dartmoor; and another was formed of late years in the woods at Sheviocke, by the side of the St. Germans river."

PURPUREA, *Linn.*, The Purple Heron.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 450; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 108.

Specimens are occasionally obtained; the last, so far as I know, was an immature one, procured by Mr. Gatcombe, in October, 1857.

ALBA, *Linn.*, The Great White Heron.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 454; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 114.

Exceedingly rare, one only having been seen on the Avon, by the Rev. Kerr Vaughan, in 1805.

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GARZETTA, *Linn.*, The Little Egret.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 458; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 118.

This is also a very rare bird with us, two or three only having been taken. The last was killed at Topsham in 1870.

COROMANDA, *Bodd.*, The Buff-backed Heron.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 462; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 121.

A single specimen only of this splendid bird has been obtained in the county. It was killed near Kingsbridge (1805), and is now in the Montagu collection in the British Museum.

COMATA, *Pall*, The Squacco Heron.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 466; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 123.

Very rare. One was killed near Kingsbridge, July, 1840; and one or two others have been obtained on the Tamar.

MINUTA, *Linn.*, The Little Bittern.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 469; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 141.

One was killed on the Erme (May, 1873) by Mr. Gatcombe, and one was taken on the railway near Axmouth in 1869. Several others have been recorded on or near the south coast. There is a specimen in the Montagu collection in the British Museum, from Devonshire.

GENUS, **BOTAURUS**, *Stephens.*

LENTIGINOSA, *Montague*, The American Bittern.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 481; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 148.

Very rare. One was killed at Chudleigh, and is now in the collection of W. B. Scott, Esq. One was shot at Mothecombe, near Plymouth, 22nd December, 1829.

STELLARIS, *Linn.*, The Common Bittern.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 495; *Morris*, v. iv. v. 133.

I have seen many brought in to the bird-preservers within the last twenty years, but they seem to be getting scarcer of late.

GENUS, **NYCTICORAX**, *Stephens.*

GRISEUS, *Linn.*, The Night Heron.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 485; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 127.

Eight of these beautiful birds were killed on the river Erme, in June, 1849, by the Rev. C. Bulteel; and a female was met with in the same locality about two years since, and is now in the possession of the Rev. J. Bulteel. A specimen has been taken on the Axe.

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GENUS, **PLATALEA**, *Linnæus.*

LEUCORODIA, *Linn.*, The White Spoonbill.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 499; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 166.

Several specimens of this curious and beautiful bird have been obtained in the south of the county. Mr. Gatcombe reports, that "on November 3rd three White Spoonbills were killed at one shot, out of a flock of four, on the banks of the St. Germans river, in the vicinity of Plymouth: they were all young birds of the year." There is a female in the Montagu collection in the British Museum, from Devonshire. I always feel hurt when I read of the destruction of such charming birds, that ought rather to be encouraged than shot down directly they show themselves on our shores.

GENUS, **CICONIA**, *Linnæus.*

ALBA, *Bechst.*, The White Stork.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 489; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 151.

Four specimens of this rare bird are recorded as having been taken in Devonshire. Three are mentioned by Dr. Moore as killed on Slapton Ley, and one other, shot near Topsham, on the Exe, by N. Rowe, Esq., July 28th, 1852.

NIGRA, *Linn.*, The Black Stork.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 493; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 162.

One shot on the river Tamar, November 5th, 1831.

GENUS, **IBIS**, *Mœhr.*

FALCINELLUS, *Gmel.*, The Glossy Ibis.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 505; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 171.

There is a male in Col. Montague's collection in the British Museum, from Devonshire; and one is recorded in the *Western Times*, of October 11th, 1851, as having been shot at Holsworthy. It was preserved by Truscott, of Exeter. Mr. Shopland, bird-preserver, Torre, had a specimen brought him, in the autumn of 1869, killed in the neighbourhood of the Dart. (Mr. F. Pershouse, jun.)

Family, SCOLOPACIDÆ, *Bonaparte.*
GENUS, **NUMENIUS**, *Mœhr.*

ARQUATA, *Linn.*, The Common Curlew.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 510; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 177.

Tolerably common; is said to breed on the moors.

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PÆHOPUS, *Linn.*, The Whimbrel.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 516; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 183.

Common along the shore in spring and autumn. This is the "Cuckoo Curlew" of the fishermen on the Exe.

GENUS, **LIMOSA**, *Brisson.*

LAPPONICA, *Linn.*, The Bar-tailed Godwit.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, vol. ii. p. 569; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 238.

Not uncommon along the shore in autumn.

ÆGOCEPHALA, *Linn.*, The Black-tailed Godwit.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 563; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 233.

This is rare with us. There is a female in the Montague collection in the British Museum, from Devonshire; and there is a male, in full summer plumage, in the Albert Memorial Museum, killed on the Exe. Two or three others have also been obtained on the Exe.

GENUS, **TOTANUS**, *Bechstein.*

FUSCUS, *Leisler*, The Spotted Redshank.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 520; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 188.

Several specimens have been obtained on the Exe at different times. There is a young female in the British Museum collection, from Devonshire.

CALIDRIS, *Linn.*, The Common Redshank.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 524; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 193.

Not uncommon along our shores, especially in autumn.

FLAVIPES, *Gmel.*, The Yellow-shanked Sandpiper.

Morris, v. vi. p. 272.

A specimen is recorded by Mr. Ross as having been shot on the Exe by R. Hall.

GLOTTIS, *Bechst.*, The Green Shank.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 549; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 219.

Tolerably common all along the southern shore in autumn. Specimens were shot by Mr. Ross, September, 1844.

OCHROPUS, *Linn.*, The Green Sandpiper.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 528; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 199.

Several have been shot on the River Erme, near Plymouth.

GLAREOLA, *Linn.*, The Wood Sandpiper.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 534; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 204.

First distinguished as a British bird by Colonel Montagu. There is a female specimen in his collection in the British

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Museum. It is a very rare bird with us. A specimen was obtained by Mr. Mathew, on Braunton Burrows, on August 11th, 1859. It was in poor condition, as if the bird had flown a great distance; its stomach was filled with sandy grit, amongst which were found several small white larvæ and fragments of minute crustacea. (See *Zoologist*, 1859, p. 6728.)

GENUS, **TRINGOÏDES**, *Prince Bonaparte.*

HYPOLEUCA, *Linn.*, The Common Sandpiper.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 539; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 210.

Common; sometimes seen in very large flocks, and breeds on the banks of the Moor rivers.

GENUS, **RECURVIROSTRA**, *Linnæus.*

AVOCETTA, *Linn.*, The Avocet.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 555; *Morris*, v. iv. 224.

Very rare; four or five solitary birds have been observed from the years 1847 to 1869. The last was shown to me as having been killed on the Exe in the latter year. Mr. Ross records a flock of six, seen on the Exe in November, 1837.

GENUS, **HIMANTOPUS**, *Brisson.*

CANDIDUS, *Bonn.*, The Black-winged Stilt.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 559; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 230.

Exceedingly rare. There has been no captures of late years that I can hear of.

GENUS, **PHILOMACHUS**, *Mœhr.*

PUGNAX, *Linn.*, The Ruff.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 573; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 243.

Rarely met with in full plumage. Immate birds are seen occasionally on the Exe and at Slapton Ley.

GENUS, **TRINGA**, *Linnæus.*

CANUTUS, *Linn.*, The Knot.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 630; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 291.

This is of frequent occurrence in autumn along our shores. There are three specimens in the British Museum; namely, a male in summer plumage, one in change, and the other young, from this county, presented by W. Comyns, Esq. Mr. Gatcombe says that sometimes large flocks of Knots remain in the neighbourhood of Plymouth all through the winter.

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MARITIMA, *Brünn.*, The Purple Sandpiper.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 665; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 326.

This pretty bird is sometimes met with in winter on the rocky parts of our coast. It comes to us about October, and remains till spring.

BONAPARTEI, *Schleg.*, Bonaparte's, or Schinz's, Sandpiper.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 651; *Morris*, v. iv. 313.

Mr. J. Gatcombe, in *The Field*, February 5th, 1865 says, "This I presume was killed near Plymouth."

PECTORALIS, *Say.*, The Pectoral Sandpiper.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 654; *Morris*, v. iv. 316.

Two specimens of this American species were shot on Braunton Burrows, September 12th, 1871, by Mr. M. S. Richards, of Clifton, and reported in *The Field*, September 30th.

ALPINA, *Linn.*, The Dunlin.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 658; *Morris*, v. p 319.

Common all along our sandy and muddy shores.

MINUTA, *Leisler*, The Little Stint.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 643; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 305.

Sometimes seen in small flocks, but it must be considered rather rare. Braunton Burrows, Mr. M. S. Richards. There is a specimen in the Museum, Torquay, shot near Barnstaple, Mr. F. Pershouse, jun.

TEMMINCKII, *Leisler*, Temmincks Stint.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. p. 647; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 309.

Mr. J. B. Rowe says, "Two of these birds were shot, in 1837, near Stonehouse Bridge."

There is a specimen, in winter plumage, in Col. Montagu's collection in the British Museum.

WILSONII, *Nutt*, The American Stint.

I am not certain that I am right in including this bird in our list. *T. pusilla* was reported in *The Field* as having been shot on Braunton Burrows in September, 1869, but whether it was *minuta*, which is called *pusilla* by some authors, I have no means of ascertaining. Wilsonii has been taken near Penzance; it is not improbable therefore that this was the true Wilsonii.

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SUBARCUATA, *Guldenst.*, The Curlew Sandpiper.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 625; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 286.

Not uncommon amongst other birds on the shore, such as Dunlins, Ring Dotterels, &c., at Plymouth, Braunton Burrows, and Exmouth Warren, Goodrington Sands, &c.

GENUS, **CALIDRIS**, *Cuvier.*

ARENARIA, *Linn.*, The Sanderling.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 427; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 75.

Common all along our shores; although around Torbay Mr. Pershouse informs me that the bird is considered scarce.

GENUS, **MACRORAMPHUS**, *Leach.*

GRISEUS, *Gmel.*, The Brown Snipe.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 6–21; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 283.

First made known as a British bird by Col. Montagu. It was obtained in October, and is now in his collection in the British Museum. Another example was found in the collection of Mr. Drew, a taxidermist, at Devonport. A specimen of probably the same species was shot by W. B. Scott, Esq., on Chudleigh Knighton, Heathfield, Feb. 25th, 1858.

GENUS, **GALLINAGO**, *Leach.*

MAJOR, *Gmel.*, The Great Snipe.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 597; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 261.

Specimens of this fine bird are occasionally met with. The last that I have heard of as having been shot in Devonshire was killed by Capt. Dawson, September 16th, 1871, at Morley; it weighed 7½ ounces. (See *Field*, September 30th, 1871, p. 281.) It is included in the list of birds seen near Ashburton by Dr. Tucker.

MEDIA, *Leach*, The Common Snipe.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 603; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 266.

Common; breeds on Dartmoor.

A very amusing story is told of a tame Snipe kept by Mr. D. C. Copham, of Starcross, in *Zoologist*, 1861, pp. 7435–6, by W. B. Scott, Esq.

GALLINULA, *Linn.*, The Jack Snipe.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 611; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 275.

Specimens are obtained occasionally. It has been observed on Dartmoor as late as March.

The late F. W. L. Ross examined the stomach of one of these birds, and in it he found a recent specimen of the common fresh-water Turbo, *Bythinia tentacuta.* (?)

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GENUS, **SCOLOPAX**, *Linnæus.*

RUSTICOLA, *Linn.*, The Woodcock.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. ii. p. 583; *Morris*, v. iv. p. 250.

Common in some seasons, and generally distributed. In April, 1853, a nest with four eggs was found in the parish of Whitstone. The young were hatched 23rd April. (Mr. W. S. M. D'Urban, in Besley's *Hand-book.*)

GENUS, **PHALAROPUS**, *Brisson.*

FULICARIUS, *Linn.*, The Grey Phalarope.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 43; *Morris*, v. v. p. 52.

A great number were seen, and some killed, on Exmouth Warren, September, 1866. Many were observed on the coast, 1874. This is called the "Coot-footed Sandpiper" by the fishermen on the Exe.

HYPERBOREUS, *Linn.*, The Red-necked Phalarope.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 49; *Morris*, v. v. p. 58.

Very rare. "One or two specimens only have occurred." J. B. Rowe.

The first, an immature one, in 1831; the second, a fine adult specimen in summer plumage, was killed off Torpoint. J. Gatcombe *in lit.*

Family, RALLIDÆ, *Bonaparte.*
GENUS, **RALLUS**, *Linnæus.*

AQUATICUS, *Linn.*, The Water Rail.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 24; *Morris*, v. v. p. 24.

Not uncommon in quiet and secluded places where there is water.

GENUS, **ORTYGOMETRA**, *Linnæus.*

CREX, *Lath.*, The Land-rail, or Corn-crake.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 6; *Morris*, v. v. p. 1.

Common some seasons, and very rare in others.

PORZANA, *Linn.*, The spotted Crake.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 11; *Morris*, v. v. p. 11.

Not common; but specimens are occasionally met with. One was found on the Tavistock Railway last year dead. It had probably met its death by flying against the telegraph wires. Three specimens are recorded as having been killed in the marshes near Newton. There are two (male and female) in the Montagu collection in the British Museum.

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MINUTA, *Pallas*, The Little Crake.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 16; *Morris*, v. v. p. 16.

This is a rare bird with us. There is a specimen in the British Museum, in the Montagu collection from Ashburton. Two or three others have been met with.

BAILLONI, *Vieil.*, Ballion's Crake.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 20; *Morris*, v. v. p. 21.

Two specimens only are recorded as having been captured in the county; one was taken alive at Devonport, 13th May, 1829 (Dr. E. Moore), and the second specimen was sent to Mr. Shopland for preservation from Instow, February 5th, 1876.

GENUS, **GALLINULA**, *Brisson.*

CHLOROPUS, *Linn.*, The Moor Hen.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 28; *Morris*, v. v. p. 29.

Common.

GENUS, **FULICA**, *Linnæus.*

ATRA, *Linn.*, The Common Coot.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 36; *Morris*, v. v. p. 44.

Very generally distributed throughout the county.

Order, ANSERES, *Linnæus.*
Family, ANATIDÆ, *Leach.*
GENUS, CHENALOPEX, *Stephens.*

ÆGYPTIACA, *Linn.*, The Egyptian Goose.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 83; *Morris*, v. v. p. 102.

Specimens of this fine bird are met with occasionally on our rivers. Several have been killed on the Exe, and on the Plymouth waters; but these were questionable wild specimens.

GENUS, **BERNICLA**, *Stephens.*

LEUCOPSIS, *Temm.*, The Bernicle Goose.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 72; *Morris*, v. v. p. 89.

A rare species with us; none have been obtained of late years. There are two specimens in the British Museum collection, from Devonshire.

BRENTA, *Stephens*, The Brent Goose.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds., v. iii. p. 75; *Morris*, v. v. p. 95.

In April, 1861, several were observed at Barnstaple by Mr. Murray and A. Mathew; and numbers were seen at Exmouth, December and January, 1870–71.

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RUFICOLLIS, *Gmel.*, The Red-breasted Goose.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 80; *Morris*, v. v. p. 99.

Two specimens only are recorded as having been obtained in Devonshire; one on Dawlish Warren, in 1828, and the other on the River Teign, February 1st, 1837.

CANADENSIS, *Linn.*, The Canada Goose.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 91; *Morris*, v. v. p. 109.

It is questionable whether this can claim a place among the wild birds of Devon, or whether the specimens—and they are several—have not escaped from artificial waters.

GENUS, **ANSER**, *Brisson.*

FERUS, *Gmel.*, The Grey Goose.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 53; *Morris*, v. v. p. 63.

Two or three specimens only have been obtained in the county, two of which were obtained in the neighbourhood of Plymouth.

SEGETUM, *Gmel.*, The Bean Goose.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 59; *Morris*, v. v. p. 77.

Met with occasionally in winter. Mr. J. B. Rowe says that "in 1830 many were procured."

ERYTHROPUS, *Gmel.*, The White-fronted Goose.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 68; *Morris*, v. v. p. 85.

One was killed on the Exe, January 22nd, 1841; and many were obtained during the winter of 1830 on the Plymouth waters.

GENUS, **CYGNUS**, *Linnæus.*

FERUS, *Leach*, The Whistling Swan.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 97; *Morris*, v. v. p. 114.

"In the winter of 1830 a great many swans were brought to the markets in Plymouth and Devonport, which proved to be of this species. In the same year several were obtained in the north of the county." Mr. J. B. Rowe. One was killed on the Clist a few years ago.

MINOR, *Keys*, Bewick's Swan.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 104; *Morris*, v. v. 124.

Several specimens of this fine bird have been obtained in the county, but none of late years, that I have heard of.

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ATRATA, *Van Dieman*, The Black Swan.

Latham's Synopsis, Supp., v. ii. p. 343.

This beautiful bird cannot by any possibility be considered a British bird, being a native of New Holland; but two specimens shot in the county must have escaped from some artificial waters, such as Bicton.

GENUS, **TADORNA**, *Fleming.*

VULPANSER, *Flem.*, The Common Shieldrake.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 141; *Morris*, v. v. p. 140.

Specimens are occasionally obtained in winter in our estuaries.

GENUS, **MARECA**, *Stephens.*

PENELOPE, *Linn.*, The Wigeon.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 190; *Morris*, v. v. p. 186.

Not uncommon on Slapton Ley, and are occasionally killed on the Exe in winter. There are specimens in the Montagu collection in the British Museum, from Devonshire.

GENUS, **DAFILA**, *Leach.*

ACUTA, *Linn.*, The Pin-tailed Duck.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 158; *Morris*, v. v. p. 155.

Specimens have been obtained on the Exe and on the Tamar. There is a male in the Montagu collection in the British Museum, from Devonshire.

GENUS, **ANAS**, *Linnæus.*

BOSCHUS, *Linn.*, The Wild Duck.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 169; *Morris*, v. v. p. 162.

Common in winter in our estuaries, and generally distributed.

GENUS, **QUERQUEDULA**, *Stephens.*

CRECCA, *Linn.*, The Teal.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 185; *Morris*, v. v. p. 180.

Frequent in winter on Slapton Ley, Braunton, and various parts of the county.

GENUS, **PTEROCYANEA**, *Prince Bonaparte.*

CIRCIA, *Linn.*, The Garganey.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 181; *Morris*, v. v. p. 175.

A scarce species. One shot on the Exe 11th March, 1841 (F. W. L. Ross); a pair shot on the Exe 12th March, 1850. These are in the Museum, Exeter. A male killed close to Plymouth 13th April, 1872. (J. Gatcombe.) One shot near Torquay is in the Museum there.

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GENUS, **CHAULELASMUS**, *G. R. Gray.*

STREPERA, *Linn.*, The Gadwall.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 154; *Morris*, v. v. p. 150.

A very rare bird with us. Only two or three specimens are recorded as having been taken in Devonshire, one of which was shot near Plymouth in the winter of 1855. And there is one in the Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter, said to have been obtained on the Exe.

GENUS, **SPATULA**, *Boie.*

CLYPEATA, *Linn.*, The Shoveler.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 147; *Morris*, v. v. p. 145.

Rather rare. Mr. J. B. Rowe has specimens in his collection killed on the Tamar. One shot on the Exe in September weighed eighteen and a half ounces. (F. W. L. Ross, MS.)

GENUS, **BRANTA**, *Boie.*

RUFINA, *Pallas*, The Red-crested Whistling Duck.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 229; *Morris*, v. v. p. 223.

One specimen only, so far as I can learn, has been taken in the county. This was killed by a fowler, on Braunton marshes, in 1869, and was purchased of him by Mr. Rowe, gunsmith and bird-preserver, at Barnstaple. This information was kindly given me by W. B. Scott, Esq., Chudleigh, in whose collection the bird now is.

GENUS, **FULIGULA**, *Stephens.*

CRISTATA, *Leach*, The Tufted Duck.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 257; *Morris*, v. v. p. 245.

Specimens are occasionally met with in the winter months; but it must be considered a rare bird with us.

MARILA, *Linn.*, The Scaup Duck.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 241; *Morris*, v. v. p. 239.

Occasionally obtained in severe winters.

GENUS, **NYROCA**, *Fleming.*

FERINA, *Linn.*, The Pochard.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 233; *Morris*, v. v. p. 227.

An occasional winter visitor. There is a male in the Montagu collection in the British Museum, from Devonshire.

LEUCOPTHALMA, *Bechst.*, The Ferruginous Duck.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 238; *Morris*, v. v. p. 235.

Rare. "Only one or two specimens have occurred." (J. B. Rowe.)

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GENUS, **CLANGULA**, *Fleming.*

GLAUCION, *Linn.*, The Golden-eye Duck.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 267; *Morris*, v. v. p. 262.

This beautiful little duck is met with occasionally during the winter months; but it must be considered rare.

HISTRIONICA, *Linn.*, The Harlequin Duck.

Yarrell. Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 262; *Morris*, v. v. p. 257.

One was obtained in the winter of 1830. (Morris, on the authority of Dr. Moore.)

GENUS, **HARELDA**, *Leach.*

GLACIALIS, *Linn.*, The Long-tailed Duck.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 255; *Morris*, v. v. p. 250.

Very rare. An adult male in summer plumage was shot on the Exe in 1847, and is now in the Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter; a young male occurred in October, 1851, and a small flock on the 18th November, 1867, also on the Exe. A flock was seen in Torbay in the winter of 1846–7. (W. S. M. D'Urban.) There is a specimen in the British Museum in the collection of Col. Montagu, from Devonshire. An immature specimen was shot in Torbay, 24th November, 1873. (Mr. F. Pershouse, jun.)

GENUS, **SOMATERIA**, *Leach.*

MOLLISIMA, *Linn.*, The Eider Duck.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 201; *Morris*, v. v. p. 195.

Specimens have been obtained from time to time in the county. One was killed off Exmouth in 1871. An immature male was killed in the winter of 1875, in Torbay.

GENUS, **OIDEMIA**, *Fleming.*

FUSCA, *Linn.*, The Velvet Scoter.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 215; *Morris*, v. v. p. 211.

A very rare bird with us. Only one or two specimens have been obtained.

NIGRA, *Linn.*, The Common Scoter.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 220; *Morris*, v. v. p. 216.

A female specimen was killed on the Exe in October some years ago, and recorded by Mr. Ross; but must be regarded as a scarce bird in this county.

PERSPICILLATA, *Flem.*, The Surf Scoter.

Yarrel, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 225; *Morris*, v. v. p. 220.

Mr. F. Pershouse, jun., Torquay, writes me, "A friend of

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mine informs me that he has an immature specimen that was shot in Torbay in 1860."

GENUS, **MERGUS**, *Linnæus.*

CASTOR, *Pr. Bonaparte*, The Goosander.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 292; *Morris*, v. v. p. 284.

Young birds are met with occasionally late in the autumn.

SERRATOR, *Linn.*, The Red-breasted Merganser.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 287; *Morris*, v. v. p. 278.

Like the former young birds in immature plumage, are occasionally met with in winter on various parts of our coast. The late F. W. L. Ross, Esq., killed one on the Exe.

GENUS, **MERGELLUS**, *Selby.*

ALBELLUS, *Linn.*, The Smew.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 227; *Morris*, v. v. p. 270.

Very rarely met with in full plumage; but young birds of the year are sometimes seen. Several were exposed for sale in the Plymouth market this last winter, as I am informed by Mr. Gatcombe. Mr. J. B. Rowe has a male in fine summer plumage, killed on the Laira, Plymouth. A pair were killed on the Dart in 1871.

Family, COLYMBIDÆ, *Leach.*
GENUS, **COLYMBUS**, *Linnæus.*

GLACIALIS, *Linn.*, The Great Northern Diver.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 320; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 1.

I have seen many specimens of this fine bird brought to Mr. Truscott's, the bird-preserver of Exeter, some in fine plumage. This bird is called the *Wabble* by men on the Exe. Common in Torbay in the winter months.

ARCTICUS, *Linn.*, The Black-throated Diver.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 328; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 10.

There is a fine specimen in full plumage in the Museum of the Torquay Natural History Society; and young birds are commonly met with on the coast.

SEPTENTRIONALIS, *Linn.*, The Red-throated Diver.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 335; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 15.

This is a rare bird with us. The late F. W. L. Ross, Esq., killed one on the Exe in October some years ago; and young birds are sometimes seen on various parts of the coast. There is a specimen in the Montagu collection in the British Museum, from Devonshire.

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GENUS, **PODICEPS**, *Latham.*

RUBRICOLLIS, *Lath.*, The Red-necked Grebe.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 304; *Morris*, v. v. p. 297.

Five specimens were killed on Slapton Ley in 1809. One was shot at Plymouth in October, 1861, and two were seen; one shot at Topsham, December, 1852; and one was killed at Torquay in 1871.

CORNUTUS, *Gmel.*, The Sclavonian Grebe.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 308; *Morris*, v. v. p. 302.

Birds in immature plumage are not uncommon on the coast in winter. Mr. Ross records one killed on the Exe, October 5th; and Mr. W. S. M. D'Urban records one that had been shot, on January 21st, 1856, on Slapton Ley. *Zoologist*, 1856, p. 5065.

CRISTATUS, *Linn.*, The Great Crested Grebe.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 297; *Morris*, v. v. p. 291.

Fine specimens have sometimes been brought in to the late Mr. J. Truscott, bird-preserver, Exeter; and they are not uncommon on the Dart, Slapton Ley, Torbay, &c. in winter. There is a fine pair in the British Museum in the Montagu collection, from Devonshire.

AURITUS, *Linn.*, The Eared Grebe.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 313; *Morris*, v. v. p. 307.

We have several recorded instances of mature birds of this species having been obtained in the county; thus, one on the Exe, December, 1867; Plymouth, 1871; Torquay, January, 1871; and Dawlish, 1874. Immature specimens are not unfrequent.

MINOR, *Gmel.*, The Little Grebe, or Dabchick.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 316; *Morris*, v. v. p. 310.

Tolerably common on our ponds and quiet streams.

Family, ALCIDÆ, *Bonaparte.*

GENUS, **ALCA**, *Linnæus.*

IMPENNIS, *Linn.*, The Great Auk.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 369; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 56.

Extremely rare. Dr. E. Moore recorded one found dead on Lundy Island in 1829. This is the only specimen, so far as I am aware, that has ever been found on the shores of Devon. See notice of this further on, in Introduction to the Birds of Lundy Island.

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TORDA, *Linn.*, The Razor-Bill.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 366; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 52.

Common all round the coast.

GENUS, **FRATERCULA**, *Brisson.*

ARCTICA, *Linn.*, The Puffin, or Sea Parrot.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 362; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 46.

Very rare in the south, but common on the rocky shores of the north of the county; and breed in great numbers on the northern end of Lundy Island, and it is said that they are seldom, if ever, seen in any other part of the island.

GENUS, **URIA**, *Mœhr.*

TROILE, *Linn.*, The Common Guillemot.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 343; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 22.

Common all round the coast.

LEUCOPTHALMOS, *Faber*, The Ringed Guillemot.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 351; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 30.

Specimens have been obtained by Mr. J. Gatcombe in Plymouth Sound; and birds of this kind are sometimes brought to Plymouth by the mackerel-boats in the spring, mixed with the common species. It is met with occasionally in Torbay.

GRYLLE, *Linn.*, The White-winged Black Guillemot.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 355; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 33.

Rare. Mr. J. B. Rowe has one, and apparently the last that has been obtained in the county; it was shot in January, 1863. There is a specimen in winter dress in the Museum, Torbay, killed in the bay.

GENUS, **ARCTICA**, *Mœhr.*

ALLE, *Linn.*, The Little Auk.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 358; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 37.

This is a scarce species. There is a male in the British Museum, in the Montagu collection, from Devonshire. One was obtained on Plymouth Hoe in December, 1850, and another specimen was shot at Plymouth in 1863. There is also one in the Torquay Museum, taken alive in Torbay by two fishermen in 1875.

Family, PROCELLARIDÆ, *Auct.*
GENUS, **PUFFINUS**, *Brisson.*

CINEREUS, *Eyton*, The Greater Shearwater.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 502; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 226.

Specimens of this are occasionally obtained. One took a

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fisherman's bait whilst he was fishing on the whiting ground outside Torbay in the summer of 1865, and another was taken in a similar manner; this is in the Museum, Torquay. (Mr. F. Pershouse, jun.)

Mr. Gatcombe informs me that he bought one that was killed near Seaton a year or two since.

ANGLORUM, *Ray*, The Manx Shearwater.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 508; *Morris*, v. vi. 229.

This, like the former, is rather rare.

GENUS, **THALASSIDROMA**, *Vigors.*

PELAGICA, *Linn.*, The Stormy Petrel.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 524; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 250.

Common all round the coast.

LEACHII, *Temm.*, The Forked-tailed Petrel.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 520; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 266.

One was picked up on the shore near Tor Abbey, December, 1849; one near Plymouth, in an exhausted state, December, 1852, and one January, 1856; and one at Paignton, 1870.

GENUS, **PROCELLARIA**, *Linnæus.*

GLACIALIS, *Linn.*, The Fulmar Petrel.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 497; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 237.

This is a rare bird with us; at the same time, we have several specimens recorded over a long series of years. There is one in the Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter, that was killed with an oar near Topsham. It formerly belonged to F. W. L. Ross, Esq. One was picked up alive on the beach near Dawlish, 30th November, 1866 (C. Smith); and Mr. J. B. Rowe has one that was killed at Bigbury Bay, and this gentleman notes another that was killed in the north of the county; and one is recorded by Mr. Pulman in his *Book of the Axe*, p. 27.

Family, LARIDÆ, *Auct.*

GENUS, **STERCORARIUS**, *Brisson.*

CATARRHACTES, *Linn.*, The Common Skua.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 481; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 208.

This is met with on the coast occasionally in autumn and winter. In April, 1850, one was caught in a net near Plymouth. Mr. Gatcombe, in *The Naturalist*, v. iii. p. 228, records one having been picked up in an exhausted state on the rocks in Plymouth Sound, January 15th,

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1853. There is a specimen in the Montagu collection in the British Museum, from Devonshire.

POMARINUS, *Temm.*, Pomarine Skua.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 485; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 213.

Rather rare, but met with sometimes in autumn and winter. Mr. J. B. Rowe says that this and the following are called "Irish Lords" by the boatmen.

PARASITICUS, *Linn.*, The Arctic Skua, or Richardson's Skua.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 489; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 218.

Occasionally met with in autumn. Young birds are not uncommon on the Exe in autumn. There is one mature specimen in the Museum, Torquay.

LONGICAUDA, *Briss.*, Buffon's Skua.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 494; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 223.

Rare. One is recorded by Mr. Gatcombe as having been killed near Plymouth; another was killed in Kingsbridge estuary in 1860. This is recorded in *Zoologist*, p. 7106, by H. Nichols, jun. One, immature, was shot in the winter (1863) in Torbay.

GENUS, LARUS, *Linnæus.*

GLAUCUS, *Brünn.*, The Glaucus Gull.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 475; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 197.

Young birds are not uncommon along the coast in winter; and adults have been taken both in Torbay and Plymouth, and one at Exmouth in 1871. Mr. J. Reading noticed one, a young bird (See *Zoologist*, 1863, p. 8448), and Mr. Gatcombe shot one in Plymouth Sound, January 11th, 1873.

LEUCOPTERUS, *Faber*, The Iceland Gull.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 456; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 177.

One was killed on the Laira, near Plymouth, January, 30th, 1855; and a young bird of the year was killed in Plymouth Sound in 1863; and specimens were observed in Torbay in 1871.

MARINUS, *Linn.*, The Great Black-backed Gull.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 471; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 185.

This fine bird is not uncommon along our shores.

FUSCUS, *Linn.*, The Lesser Black-backed Gull.

Yarrell, v. iii. p. 463; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 181.

Of somewhat frequent occurrence.

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ARGENTATUS, *Brünn.*, The Herring Gull.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 468; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 190.

Common all round our shores.

CANUS, *Linn.*, The Common Gull.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 452; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 172.

Very common.

ICHTHYAËTUS, *Pall.*, The Great Black-headed Gull.

Bree's *Birds of Europe*, v. iv. p. 106.

This interesting bird was shot the end of May or beginning of June, 1859, in the river Exe, near Exmouth, by W. Pine, the boatman to W. Taylor, Esq., of Bridgwater, into whose hands the bird went; but the specimen afterwards came into the possession of F. W. L. Ross, Esq., of Topsham. The specimen is now in the Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter. It is the only one, so far as is known, to have been killed in England. (See Mr. Ross' description taken while the bird was in the flesh. *Zoologist*, 1860, p. 6860.)

RIDIBUNDUS, *Linn.*, The Great Black-headed Gull.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 433; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 148.

Common generally. Great numbers on the Exe in Nov., 1875.

CAPISTRATUS, *Temm.*, The Masked Gull.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 430; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 145.

One specimen of this bird was procured on the Dart, December, 1849, and three others at Torquay, January, 1871.

MINUTUS, *Pall.*, The Little Gull.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 426; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 137.

One specimen was killed by F. W. L. Ross, Esq., November 28th, 1844; another near Exeter the last day of January, 1851" (Morris); and several others have been obtained at different times. The last appears to have been at Topsham in 1873. There is one in the Montagu collection in the British Museum. There are two in the Museum, Torquay, that were obtained in Torbay.

GENUS, **XEMA**, *Leach.*

SABINI, *Leach*, Sabine's Gull.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 421; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 131.

Two immature examples of this species have been obtained near Plymouth within the last few years. One of these Mr. Gatcombe saw in the flesh in the shop of Mr. Pincombe, bird-stuffer, of Devonport, and the other in the collection of the Rev. Alan Furneaux, of St.

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Germans. This specimen was killed in the night by a wild-fowl shooter, who fired at a flock of Curlews, and amongst them was this rare bird. There are two specimens in the Torquay Museum, shot in Torbay. Mr. Ross records one killed on the Exe, where it is known to the fishermen as the "Sea-pigeon."

GENUS, **RISSA**, *Leach.*

TRIDACTYLA, *Linn.*, The Kittiwake Gull.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 444; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 202.

Frequent along our coasts during the autumn and winter months.

GENUS, **PAGOPHILA**, *Kaup.*

EBURNEA, *Gmel.*, The Ivory Gull.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 449; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 168.

An immature specimen of this beautiful bird was shot on the Exe, September, 1841, and recorded by the late F. W. L. Ross, Esq.; and one was killed at Livermead, Torquay, January 19th, 1853. It was in a very exhausted state, and very poor. *The Naturalist*, vol. iii., p. 107.

GENUS, **STERNA**, *Linnæus.*

CANTIACA, *Gmel.*, The Sandwich Tern.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 389; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 88.

Specimens are occasionally met with in our estuaries and along the coast.

CASPIA, *Pall.*, The Caspian Tern.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 385; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 84.

Rare. Only two or three specimens are known to have been taken; one, an immature bird, was killed at Teignmouth, October, 1861 (R. Cumming); one on the Exe (F. W. L. Ross); and an immature specimen was shot in Torbay, September 26th, 1873.

PARADISEA, *Brünn.*, The Roseate Tern.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 393; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 93.

Very rare. Only one or two specimens have been obtained; one shot in the autumn of 1863 or 1864 (C. Smith).

HIRUNDO, *Linn.*, The Common Tern.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 396; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 97.

Common all round the coast in autumn.

MACROURA, *Naum.*, The Arctic Tern.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 399; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 102.

Very generally distributed along the coast in autumn.

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ANGLICA, *Montagu*, The Gull-billed Tern.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 407; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 111.

Two specimens only of this bird are recorded as having been taken on our shores. One, in immature plumage, was killed a few years since in Plymouth Sound; it is now in the collection of Mr. J. B. Rowe (Mr. Gatcombe).

MINUTA, *Linn.*, The Lesser Tern.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 410; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 116.

This is a rare species with us. Mr. F. W. L. Ross noted one as having been killed on the Exe; and one or two others have been obtained on other parts of the coast.

GENUS, **HYDROCHELIDON**, *Boie.*

HYBRIDA, *Pallas*, The Whiskered Tern.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 404; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 109.

Mr. Gatcombe informs me *in lit.*, that on May 10th, 1865, he purchased a fine adult example of this extremely rare British Tern, which was captured off Plymouth, and brought in by some fishermen. It is now in the collection of F. C. Hingston, Esq.

FISSIPES, *Linn.*, The Black Tern.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 313; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 120.

A number of young birds of this species were seen on Exmouth Warren in September, 1866, some of which were killed. There is a young specimen in the Museum, Torquay.

Family, PELECANIDÆ, *Bonaparte.*

GENUS, **SULA**, *Brisson.*

BASSANA, *Linn.*, The Gannet.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 381; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 73.

Many specimens have been obtained in winter. There are three in the Montagu collection in the British Museum, from Devonshire.

GENUS, **GRACULUS**, *Linnæus.*

CARBO, *Linn.*, The Common Cormorant.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 373; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 59.

This is not uncommon in the Exe; I have seen many during the last twenty years brought to the late Mr. Truscott's to be preserved.

CRISTATUS, *Fab.*, The Shag, or Green Cormorant.

Yarrell, Brit. Birds, v. iii. p. 378; *Morris*, v. vi. p. 69.

Not uncommon in our estuaries, and all along our rocky shores.

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LUNDY ISLAND.

THE island of Lundy forms an appendix to Devonshire, though sixteen miles distant from the nearest part of the mainland. Being therefore an island, and lying so far away, I have treated it as such, instead of embodying the list of its ornithological fauna in the catalogue of the birds found on the mainland; a repetition of the species must therefore of necessity occur.

Lundy Island "shows itself as a lofty table-headed granite rock, rising to the height of 500 feet, surrounded by steep and occasionally perpendicular cliffs, storm-beaten, and scarred over with grisly seams and clefts, and hollowed out here and there along the shore into fantastic coves and grottoes, with huge piles of granite thrown into wild disorder. The cliffs and adjacent sea are alive with sea birds, every ledge and jutting rock being dotted with them, or whirling round in clouds, filling the air with their discordant screams."

The island contains about 2,000 acres, or, as it is stated in the *Cave and Lundy Review*,* 2,500 acres, and that the highest part of it rises to the height of 800 feet.

"In 1787," says the narrator of a visit to Lundy Island, July 4th, "I sailed from Appledore in the *Viper*, sloop-of-war, commanded by Lieut. Crymes, with Messrs. Cleveland, Capt. Barton, Robert and Thomas Cutcliffe, and the Rev. Mr. Smith, of Westleigh. At eight o'clock in the morning we weighed anchor for the island of Lundy, where we arrived safe, after a pleasant voyage, at three o'clock the same day. We went to the house which Sir John Warren built for his own residence. After dinner we walked to view the rocks on the western part of the island, and saw vast quantities of wild fowl (it being the breeding season), and the method of taking them in nets, which the inhabitants use for the advantage of their feathers. The nets are made in the form of those commonly used for taking 'rabbits on warrens.' They are fixed on the rocks, and sometimes on the ground, on sticks, in the breeding-places. Every morning and evening the natives watch their nets, and take out the birds that are entangled. They catch in a good season 1,700 or 1,800 dozen, and make one shilling per pound of their feathers. People from the neigh-

* Mr. Heaven informs me that this is much too high an estimate; even 2,000 is an extreme outside measure. He says, "I think 1,600 is far nearer the truth."

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bouring coast are hired to pluck them at twopence per dozen, and pluck about four dozen per day. The birds usually taken are muirrs, of which there are two sorts, *parrots*, and a small kind of *gull*. The parrots are about the size of a *teal*, with crooked bills, large heads, and beautiful plumage: the same sort of bird as frequents the Isle of Wight in the summer.

"These birds, it appears, annually forsake the island when the young birds can fly, and are not seen again till the time for depositing their eggs. The natives collect these eggs, and send them to the Bristol sugar refineries. The muirrs are the most profitable, twelve of them producing one pound of feathers. After being plucked they are skinned. These skins are boiled in a furnace for the oil they yield, which is used instead of candles; and the flesh is given to the hogs, who feed on it voraciously.

"Springs abound in many parts of the island, and are the favourite resort of woodcocks in the beginning of their flight, but do not stay long, and," says our author, "were growing scarce for want of cover.

"Sir John Warren stocked the island with all sorts of game, and planted a great deal; but the birds of prey destroyed the game, and the violent wind the trees. When farmer Budd left the island, in 1791, there were about forty brace of partridges left."

Of the birds seen on the island at different times, the author subjoins the following variegated list:—"Kites, hawks, ravens, crows, choughs, rock and wood-pigeons, larks, furze-chatterers, yellow-hammers, the water-wagtail, hedge sparrow, redbreast, whrey, blackbird, thrush, whitebird, goldfinch, linnet, starling, lapwing, rail, quail, turtle-dove, cuckoo, wheatear, woodcock, snipe, curlew, field-fare, swifty swallow, plover, golden do., ring-ouzle, swan, wren, horned owl. No venomous animal or mole is found on the island."

Such then was the state of things ornithologically on the island, so far as can be ascertained, nearly a century ago.

Drayton has described in the following lines the various contests of the early peoples of Cornwall, Wales, and Devon, for their claims of the Island of Lundy:

"This while in Sabrin's court strong factions strangely grew,
Since Cornwal for her own, and as a proper due,
Claimed Lundy, which was said to Cambria to belong,
Who oft had sought redress for that her ancient wrong;
But her inveterate foe, borne out by England's might,
Persways her weaker power; that (now in either's right)
As Severn finds no flood so great, nor poorly mean,
But that the natural spring (her force which doth maintain)

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From this or that she takes; so from this faction free
(Begun about this isle) not one was like to be.
This Lundy is a nymph to idle toys inclined,
And, all on pleasure set, doth wholly give her mind
To see upon her shores her fowl and conies fed,
And wantonly to hatch the birds of Ganymede.
Of traffic or return she never taketh care;
Not provident of pelf, as many islands are;
A lusty black-brow'd girl, with forehead broad and high,
That often had bewitched the sea-gods with her eye."*

Since this poem was written, Lundy has made some returns in the way of trade, as she has had her bosom burrowed and furrowed for almost the only thing she could give; namely, granite. That she has bewitched the sea-gods, and caused many a good ship to go to pieces at her feet, and smiled to see the brave mariners battling with the waves, on which rode her birds in safety.

"My gannets-mead of rolling hills of green water."

The nymph of Lundy is represented in the first edition of the *Polyolbion* standing between Neptune and Amphitrite, a gannette on her head, and two rabbits at her feet. The "supporters," as it were, of the arms of the island, and at the same time representing the then principal products.

Birds form the most prominent as well as the most remarkable feature on the island, species which are considered great rarities, or are very scarce in the British lists, appear on Lundy with some regularity, and occasionally in considerable numbers.

The quail, landrail, and woodcock generally arrive here several days before they are seen on the mainland.

Woodcocks and other semi-aquatic birds seek the comparatively genial climate of the island, where it is said that the springs of fresh water never freeze in the hardest winters.

Mr. P. H. Gosse, who visited the island a few years ago, thus describes what he saw. He says, "We turn the corner of a pile of rock, and stand in the midst of myriads of birds; we are on an inclined plane composed of numberless hillocks of red earth, with great boulders of granite rock. On these, on the hillocks, and in the hollows between, sit the birds, indifferent to our presence until within two or three yards of them. The air, too, is filled with them like a cloud; thousands and tens of thousands are flying round in a vast circle or orbit, the breadth of which reaches from where we stand to half a mile seaward. But the earth and air are not

* Drayton, *Polyolbion*. Song the fourth.

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the only spheres occupied by these birds. Look down on the sea; its shining face is strewn, as far as you can discern anything, with minute black specks associated in flocks or groups, some comprising few, others countless individuals."

There is a tradition that the Great Auk, *Alca impennis*, formerly inhabited and bred on this island, and that specimens have been seen alive, and bred there, within the last forty years, and that one was found dead in 1829, and an egg at a later period. The traditional name of the bird on the island is "the King Murr."

This, viewing it as a whole, would seem strong evidence enough to establish the claims of this bird as a native of Lundy Island; but unfortunately, when the subject comes to be carefully examined seriatim, the claims are something like the tree described by the old authors as bearing the barnacle-geese, and which was regarded as a miracle. The tree was said to grow in Scotland. "Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II. (1458–64), when on a visit to King James, inquired after the tree; and he complained that miracles will always flee farther and farther; for when he came to Scotland to see the tree, he was told that it grew further north in the Orcades."* This same investigation applies to the traditional auk's egg; for J. H. Gurney, Esq., jun., tells me that he investigated this subject, and the conclusion he arrived at was, that the supposed auk's egg was that of a double-yolked guillemot's that had been taken for the great auk's. "This has happened at Flamborough Head, where the double-yolked eggs have occurred four or five times." The rest of the tradition I must leave to take care of itself.

In conclusion, I beg to return my sincere thanks to J. H. Gurney, Esq., for the kind information contained in his letter, and to J. R. Chanter, Esq., for his courtesy in allowing me the full use of his excellent paper on Lundy Island. To H. G. Heaven, Esq., I am much indebted for his kindness in looking over this list, and making any corrections he might deem necessary, so as to make the "Ornithological Fauna of Lundy Island" complete up to the present time.

* Professor Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, second series, pp. 5–47.

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BIRDS.

The following abbreviations are used in this list; viz.:—

C.B., means constant breeders on the island.
F.B., frequent breeders.
O.B., occasional breeders.

RESIDENT ALL THE YEAR, AND BREED THERE.

Falco peregrinus	The Peregrine Falcon
— tinnunculus	The Kestrel
Corvus corax	The Raven
— corone	The Carrion Crow
Pyrrhocorax graculus	The Cornish Chough
Turdus musicus	The Song Thrush
— merula	The Blackbird
Sturnus vulgaris	The Starling
Sylvia rubecula	The Robin
Motacilla Yarrellii	The Pied Wagtail
Alauda arvensis	The Skylark
Anthus obscurus	The Rock Pipit
— pratensis	The Meadow Pipit
Accentor modularis	The Hedge Accentor
Troglodytes Europæus	The Wren
Saxicola rubetra	The Whinchat
Fringilla cannabina	The Linnet
— cœlebs	The Chaffinch
Emberiza citrinella	The Yellow Bunting
Rallus aquaticus	The Water Rail
Scolopax gallinago	The Snipe
Larus argentatus	The Herring Gull
— fuscus	The Lesser Black-backed Gull
— marinus	The Great Black-backed Gull
Hæmatopus ostralegus	The Oyster-catcher, or Sea-pie
Phalacrocorax graculus	The Green Cormorant
— carbo	The Great Cormorant

SUMMER VISITANTS.

Lanius collurio	The Reed-backed Shriko (O.B.)
Hirundo rustica	The Swallow (C.B.)
— urbica	The Martin (C.B.)
— riparia	The Sand Martin (C.B.)
Cypselus apus	The Common Swift (C.B.)
Musicapa griseola	The Spotted Fly-catcher (O.B.)
Sylvia cinerea	The White-throat (O.B.)
— trochilus	The Willow Wren, or Warbler (O.B.)
Ruticilla phœnicurus	The Redstart (O.B.)
Motacilla flava	Ray's Wagtail (O.B.)
— Yarrellii	The Pied Wagtail (O.B.)
— cinerea	The Grey Wagtail (O.B.)
Saxicola œnanthe	The Wheatear (C.B.)
Fringilla chloris	The Greenfinch
— carduelis	The Goldfinch (O.B.)
Turdus torquatus	The Ring Ouzel

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Caprimulgus Europæus	The Nightjar (C.B.)
Cuculus canorus	The Cuckoo (C.B.)
Columba turtur	The Turtle Dove (F.B.)
Vanellus cristatus	The Lapwing (F.B.)
Gallinula crex	The Land Rail (C.B.)
Perdix coturnix	The Quail (O.B.)
Charadrius hiaticula	The Ring Dotterel (O.B.)
Numenius phœopus	The Whimbrel (O.B.)
Thalassidroma pelagica	The Stormy Petrel (O.B.)
Uria troile	The Common Guillemot (C.B.)
Puffinus Anglorum	The Manx Shearwater (C.B.)
Alca torda	The Razor-billed Auk (C.B.
Sula bassana	The Gannet (C.B.)
Fratercula arctica	The Puffin (C.B.)
Larus tridactylus	The Kittiwake Gull (O.B.)

AUTUMN AND WINTER VISITANTS.

Strix brachyotus	The Short-eared Owl.
Corvus cornix	The Hooded Crow
Turdus pilaris	The Fieldfare
— iliacus	The Redwing
Plectrophanes nivalis	The Snow Bunting
Emberiza Schœniculus	The Black-headed Bunting
Fringilla montifringilla	The Brambling, or Mountain Finch
— flavirostris	The Mountain Linnet, or Twite
Scolopax rusticola	The Woodcock (O.B.) [?]
Scolopax major	The Solitary Snipe
— gallinula	The Jack Snipe
Numenius arquata	The Curlew
Charadrius pluvialis	The Golden Plover
Mareca Penelope	The Wigeon
Querquedula cricca	The Teal
Dafila acuta	The Pintail Duck
Anas boschus	The Wild Duck
Spatula clypeata	The Shoveler Duck
Clangula glancion	The Golden-eye Duck
Anser segetum	The Bean Goose
— albifrons	The White-fronted Goose
Colymbus glacialis	The Great Northern Diver
— septentrionalis	The Red-throated Diver.

[The note of interrogation affixed to the woodcock implies that the young have not been found, though the old birds have been seen as late as May, and also reported in August.—H. G. Heaven.]

OCCASIONAL VISITANTS.

Aquila chrysaëtos	The Golden Eagle
— nævia	The Spotted Eagle
Haliaetos albicilla	The White-tailed Eagle
Pandion haliætos (formerly bred on the island)	The Osprey
Falco Islandicus	The Gyr Falcon
— subbuteo	The Hobby
— æsalon	The Merlin

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Astur nisus	The Sparrow Hawk
Milvus regalis	The Kite
Buteo vulgaris	The Common Buzzard (O.B)
Circus æruginosus	The Moor Buzzard, or Marsh Harrier
— cyaneus	The Hen Harrier
— cineraceus	Montagu's Harrier
Strix flammea	The White Owl
Musicapa atricapilla	The Pied Fly-catcher (O.B.)
Upupa epops	The Hoopoe
Alcedo ispida	The Kingfisher
Regulus ignicapillus	The Fire-crested Wren
— cristatus	The Golden-crested Wren (O.B.)
Saxicola rubicola	The Stonechat (O.B.)
Bombycilla garrula	The Bohemian Waxwing
Corvus monedula	The Jackdaw
— frugilegus	The Rook
Pastor roseus	The Rose-coloured Pastor
Oriolus galbula	The Golden Oriole
Coccothraustes vulgaris	The Hawfinch, or Grosbeak
Passer domesticus	The House Sparrow
Pyrrhula rubicilla	The Bullfinch
Loxia curvirostra	The Common Cross-bill
Coccyzus Americanus	The American Yellow-billed Cuckoo
Columba palumbus	The Wood-pigeon
— livia	The Rock Dove
Vanellus squatawla	The Grey Plover
Cinclus interpres	The Turnstone
Ardea cinerea	The Common Heron
Botaurus stellaris	The Common Bittern
Limosa Lapponica	The Bar-tailed Godwit
— egocephala	The Black-tailed Godwit
Totannus calidris	The Red Shank
— glottis	The Green Shank
— ochropus	The Green Sandpiper
Tringa maritima	The Purple Sandpiper
— Canutus	The Knot
— subarcuata	The Curlew Sandpiper
— rufescens	The Buff-breasted Sandpiper
— Alpina	The Dunlin
— minuta	The Little Stint
Ortygometra porzana	The Spotted Rail
Gallinula chloropus	The Moor-hen
Phalaropus fulicarius	The Grey Phalarope
Podiceps auritus	The Eared Grebe
— minor	The Little Grebe
Cygnus musicus	The Hooper Swan
Oedemia nigra	The Common Scoter
Mergulus alle	The Little Auk
Larus canus	The Common Gull
— minutus	The Little Gull
Sterna Hirundo	The Common Tern
— Arctica	The Arctic Tern.

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Mr. H. G. Heaven very kindly writes me: "The following have been observed by myself, or reported to me by trustworthy persons, but not accurately identified, being principally young or birds in immature plumage; others only seen on the wing at close quarters."

Chenalopex Ægyptica	Egyptian Goose
Bernicula Canadensis	Canadian Goose
— brenta	Brent Goose
Oidemia fusca	Velvet Duck
Fuligula marila	Scaup Duck
Larus capistratus	Masked, or Bonaparte's Gull
— atricilla	Laughing Gull
Grus cinerea	Crane
Calamodyta strepera	Reed Warbler
Sylvia atricapilla	Black-cap Warbler
Octocoris alpestris	Shore Lark
Turdus Whitei	White's Thrush.

Several other species have been observed, but so casually and hastily, and at such infrequent intervals, as to preclude any attempt to fix their identity.

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THE ANCIENT STANNARY OF ASHBURTON.

BY R. N. WORTH, F.G.S.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

It is not the object of this paper to deal with the Stannaries of Devon as a whole, or indeed to be exhaustive, so far as the particular Stannary under review—that of Ashburton—is concerned. To write a complete history of the Stannaries would be a work of great labour and time, and I cannot now pretend to do more than illustrate the history of that which was named after the ancient town in which we are assembled.

In the present day it may be needful to commence by explaining what a Stannary was. Tin-mining in Cornwall and Devon dates from a period of very remote antiquity, before even the dawn of history; and the very earliest records present it to us in the light of an organized industry, carried on by men who formed a kind of corporation, bound to certain duties, and endowed with certain privileges. Originally the whole of the tin miners of Cornwall and Devon formed one body, and met for the regulation of their affairs on Hingston Down. Subsequently the two counties were separated in this matter: and the tin-bearing lands in both divided into four districts, each of which had its court; with a parliament in each county, composed of representatives from the districts or Stannaries—so called from *stannum*, the Latin for tin. These parliaments had power to make laws for the conduct of all matters connected with tin mining in their counties, and the courts were empowered to enforce them. The head of the Stannaries under the king was an officer called the Warden, whose deputy was the Vice-Warden. Prior to the organization of the Stannaries in this form, the miners were in charge for the Crown of an officer called the Custos, or Keeper, through whom the king collected duties on the metal raised, and exercised, if he so willed, his rights of pre-emption. From the Norman Conquest down to the present day (and probably from a much earlier period), the

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tin mines of Cornwall and Devon have thus been an appanage of the Crown, directly or indirectly, though the legal rights exercised over them have varied. When the dukedom of Cornwall was created they were attached thereto, and have continued in the duchy ever since, reverting to the Crown whenever the duchy was vacant. Tin, therefore, so far as England is concerned, is as much entitled to be regarded a royal metal as gold and silver, still ranked part of the regalia of the Crown.

Ashburton finds mention in the very earliest of our mining records—a letter in the Black Book of the Exchequer, concerning the proceedings of William de Wrotham, appointed Custos or Keeper of the Stannaries in the place of Geoffrey Fitz Peter, Justiciary of England, in 1197. Two months afterwards, on the 19th of January, 1198, Wrotham took the Stannaries of Devon in hand; and on that day, with the sheriff and various men of note, made enquiry, on the oaths of twenty-six wise and discreet jurors, concerning the weights by which the tin was accustomed to be weighed, and the custom to the king paid. One of these jurors was Osbert Prigge, of Ashburton. There was likewise a John Prigge, who may or may not have been related. Other jurors for the district were, Walter the Good [le Bon], of Totnes, and Alured, of Brent.

In this document* elaborate regulations for the management of the Stannaries were laid down, in which (themselves based upon more ancient customs still) we find the germ of the system of tin coinage, which continued in force for more than six centuries, until abolished in 1838.

Mention is made of tin of the first and of the second smelting. Tin of the first smelting was the metal as smelted on the spot by the rude furnace of the miner himself; tin of the second smelting was what we should now call refined tin. This smelting took place in the market towns, and the waste in the process was such that the proportion is stated at eight to nine. This second smelting, limited to certain towns, became in process of time what was known as the coinage; though as the art of smelting developed, a second smelting was no longer required, and the coinage consisted simply in striking off a corner or "coin" of each block of tin to ascertain its quality, and then stamping it with the duchy arms, in token that the quality was right and the dues paid.

* A translation is given in the Appendix to De la Beche's *Report on Cornwall and Devon.*

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De Wrotham found the dues 5s. per thousand weight in Cornwall, and 2s. 6d. in Devon. He added one mark (13s. 4d.) on the second smelting, which made the united duties 18s. 4d. in Cornwall, and 15s. 10d. in Devon. For centuries before the coinage dues were abolished, the duties were 40s. per 1,000 lbs. in Cornwall and 15s. 6d. in Devon.

In 1201 John granted the tinners a charter.

Richard, his second son, created by his brother Henry, Earl of Cornwall, is said to have derived immense wealth from the mines, which went with the earldom, and with a portion of that wealth to have purchased his proud dignity of King of the Romans. After his time the mines fell into decay. Carew* attributes this to the banishment of the Jews who had worked them. It is quite as likely that it arose from Richard, in his haste to get rich, laying upon the tinners burdens too grievous to be borne. In order to remedy the decay, certain Cornish gentlemen, who had plenty of tin on their lands, obtained a charter from Richard's son Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, "with sundrie Priuileges: amongst which, it was graunted them to keepe a Court, and hold plea of all actions, life, lymme, and land excepted: in consideration whereof the sayd Lords accorded to pay the Earle a halfpeny for euery pound of Tynne which should be wrought; and that for better answering this taxe, the sayd Tynne should bee brought to certayne places purposely appointed, and there peized, coyned, and kept vntill the Earles due were satisfied."†

Following this, a few years later, in the 33rd of his reign (1305), Edward I. granted charters to the tinners of Cornwall and Devon, which for the first time recognized them as distinct bodies. Lydford was appointed as the Stannary prison in Devon; and it was decreed that all tin, whether white or black (metal or ore), wheresoever found or worked in the county, should be weighed by the king's weights, and coined at "Tavystok, Asperton, vel Chaggeford." In Cornwall, Lostwithiel was named as the prison, and Lostwithiel, Bodmin, Liskeard, Truro, and Helston the Stannary towns.

It is abundantly evident that this charter merely confirmed in many respects that which was already practised, as the charter of John had rather reaffirmed old conditions than created new ones. One fact will make this clear. There is now in the Public Record Office a tin coinage roll of two years' earlier date than this charter, in which Chagford, Ashburton, and Tavistock are named as the coinage towns.

Plympton was made a Stannary town in 1328; not addi-

* *Survey of Cornwall*, p. 17. † Carew, *Survey*, p. 17.

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tional, but in lieu of Tavistock. The words of the record are very explicit: "Because the town of Tavistock is far distant from the sea, and the tin there weighed and coined cannot without great expense be brought to the sea, for which reason merchants and others rarely come to the aforesaid town of Tavistock to buy tin," to the loss of the Crown and the injury of the said Stannaries; therefore coinage was to take place at Ashburton, Chagford, and Plympton, "which are near the sea, and *not* at Tavistock."* However, it could not have been a very great length of time before Tavistock got its privileges back, since it is always mentioned as a Stannary in the records of the Crockerntor Parliament.

The earliest record with which I am acquainted of the produce of the tin mines of Devon is in a Pipe Roll of 19 Edward I. (1290–1). In that year 87,785 lbs. of tin were raised, and dues of various kinds paid to the amount of £77 2s. 8¼d. There were then 473 black tinners in the county, and 302 white tinners. The black tinners were, I should explain, those who got the ore; the white tinners those who smelted it. The number of white tinners greatly fell off in the next decade, there being in 1300–1 but 93 against 440 of their black brethren. The price of tin charged on the white tinners varied during this period from 8s. 6d. to 10s. per cwt. The black tinners originally paid a tax of 2d. yearly; and the white tinners one of 2 lbs. of tin.

In 1296 [24th Edward I.] one William de Wymundham was keeper of the king's mines in the county; and some of his accounts are extant. They make no allusion to Ashburton, though including payments for mines on Dartmoor. This brings us to the Coinage Roll of 1303, from which I extract the details of one of the Ashburton coinages. The roll is the earliest detailed statistical record of our mines in existence.

Asperton. Cunagium ibidem die Jovis proxime post festum Beate Marie Virginis. Anno, &c., xxxi.mo.†

Walterus Weallyng, CCC. i. qrter. xiiii. li.	v.*s.* iii.*d.* ob.
Ricardus de Lanscoreford, C. i. qrter. xiiii. li.	ii.*s.* ii.*d.*
Sarra uxor Gilberti, C. dimid.	ii.*s.* iv.*d.* q.
Hugo Matheu, DC. i. qrter.	ix.*s.* viii.*d.* ob.
Galfridus Cole, C. i. qrter.	xxiii.*d.* ob.
Walterus Weallyng, dimid. C.	ix.*d.* ob.

* Patent Roll, 2nd Edward III.

† *Queen's Remembrancer's Miscellanea.* "Mines" Tin Coinage Roll, 31st Edward I., $\frac{A}{1}\frac{qq}{v}$

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Walterus Attecombe, DCCCC. di. i. qrter.	xv.*s.* i.*d.* qr.
Rogerus Obelyn, C. i. qrter.	xxiii.*d.* ob.
Ricardus de Middelworthi, CCCC. i. qrter. xiiii. li.	vi.*s.* x.*d.* qr.
Johannes Bythebroke, CCCC. di. vi. li.	vii.*s.* i.*d.* ob.
Johannes Hervy, CCC. xiiii. li.	iiii.*s.* x.*d.* ob. q.
Stephanus Wymound, CC.	ii.*s.* i.*d.* ob.
Willielmus de Schirewill, C. xiiii. li.	xxi.*d.* q.
Hugo de Corndon, CCCC. i. qrter. vii. li.	vi.*s.* ix.*d.*
Michael Cole, DC. i. qrter.	ix.*s.* viii.*d.* ob.
Johannes Attatorre, DCC.	x.*s.* x.*d.* ob.
Ricardus Clericus, C. i. qrter. xix. li.	ii.*s.* ii.*d.* ob. q.
Galfridus Mogge, DCC. di. xxiiii. li.	xii.*s.* ii.*d.*
Stephanus Mugge, CCC. i. qrter. xxiii. li.	v.*s.* v.*d.*
Walterus Weallyng, DiC.	ix.*d.* ob.
Summa Stagni, vii. Mill. C. ix. li.	
Summa denariorum, CXI.*s.* ob. cum incremento.	

There were eight coinages during the year, the details of the whole of which are entered on this roll. There were also eight for Chagford, and five for Tavistock. The roll ends with the following total:

xx

"Summa tocius stagminis, iiii. x. mill. C. i. qrt. vii. li.
Summa denariorum, lxix. *li.* xvii. *s.* i. *den.*
Summa incrementi per quadrantes, vi. *s.* xi. *den.*
Et per medietates et minutas partes quadrantum."

The total quantity of tin raised in Devonshire for the year was therefore just 40 tons and a quarter; and an examination of the details of the coinages shows that of this quantity about 21½ tons were coined at Ashburton, 17½ at Chagford, and rather more than 1½ only at Tavistock.

The names of the Ashburton tinners who had tin coined at the other coinages of this year, in addition to those already given, are—

Bartholomew Attarmede, William Attafenne, John Benet, John Brende, Stephen Cole, Walter de Coomb, Richard Cole, John de Chitelford, Hugo de Fenton, John Faber de Blakedon, Adam de Blakedon, Richard Gwynne, John le Harpour, Thomas de Lylsyngton, Richard de Leustor, Robert le Myllour, Robert Pole, Bartholomew de Prato, Richard Stenylake, Robert Schire, Walter de Smalcomb, Walter Syward, Robert Uppahulle, Walter Withecomb. Richard the Clerk appears again as Ricardus Clericus Attafenne. Sarah, the wife of Gilbert, had by the next coinage become his widow, "Sarra relicta Gilberti," and subsequently appears as "Sarra de holne." The names of several of these tinners occur also as coining at Chagford, but more particularly at Tavistock.

An Ashburton man filled an important office under the

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Crown in connection with the mines of Devonshire in 1327. We find the following entry in a roll 20th Edward II.

Rex vicecom: Ballivis, &c., in Comit Devon and Cornub, &c. Sciatis quod assignavimus Will: de Somerhill de Asperton ad colligend: per se and per alios ad opus nrm totam minam auri que inveniri possint in mineris, and minis de Stanno apertis & aperiendis in com supradictis, &c.: Ita eciam quod idem Wills et deputando ab eo de auro predicto nobis respondeat ad Scaccarium nrm, &c.: quod sub gravi forisfaitura nostra non emant neque vendant minam auri nec lavent seu lavari faciant aliquam minam stanni nisi certis diebus ad quos prefat Willelms vel deput.

This, I think, evidently shows that the Stannary of Ashburton continued to hold its foremost place. We may infer as much also from an Act of Parliament passed in 1391 (14th Richard II.), which enacted that the passage of tin out of the realm should be at the port of Dartmouth, and nowhere else, although in the following year the restriction was removed.

There is an interesting entry in the accounts of Exeter Cathedral (1372–3) relating to the founding of two bells. The tin was bought from William Ryka, of Ashburton, at 2d. per lb., and the copper of John Brasyer, of Dartmouth, at 3½d. "In vj^{o} xvi libris stagni Willielmo Ryka de Ayschperton emptis ^{v}£ ij^{s} x^{d} precium libré ij^{d}"

Cornwall was now, however, speedily overtaking Devon in the production of tin; and when the tables were once turned went very rapidly ahead. Thus, while in 1471 the tin raised in Devon amounted to 242,624 lbs., Cornwall produced 851,116. The coinage rolls of this date show that Ashburton held its own fairly. We no longer, however, meet with the quaint surnames heretofore recorded. In 1464 (3rd Edward IV.) the chief tinners in the Ashburton district were Arthur Clye, John Clye, senior and junior, John and Robin Baker, Thomas Fallot, John Dairelle, John Gray, Thomas Fisherton, Thomas Halye, John Hawe, John Haneworthy, John Martyn, Thomas Miller, John Vytry, and Thomas Underhay.

There is other evidence than the coinage rolls afford, that the tin works in the neighbourhood were carried on with activity. All these early workings were stream works, not mines. The miners washed over the stanniferous gravels in the beds of the streams and on the low-lying moors, but did not dig shafts. Their workings were on the surface simply, and so long as the deposits continued rich, or there were

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virgin deposits to be worked, the tin produce of Devon kept up. Productive tin lodes in Devon are few and far between, and hence when the stream works were exhausted, the mines, though often tried, were unable to supply their places. The stream works in the 15th and 16th centuries were so extensive and so vigorously worked, that great quantities of gravel and sand therefrom washed down the rivers into the harbours, choking them to such a degree that several Acts of Parliament were passed to stop the practice. As the Dart is one of the rivers said to be specially injured, it is clear that there could not have been much falling off in the activities of the tin works of the Ashburton Stannary, when these Acts were first passed in the reign of Henry VIII. But by the end of the century, when mining proper had commenced, the returns tell quite another tale.

Those for the Michaelmas coinage of 1595, preserved in the State Paper Office, are as follows:

Chagford,	12th and 13th June,	169 pieces,	33,348 lbs.
Ashborton	14th and 15th „	30 „	5,037 „
Plympton	16th „	32 „	5,096 „
Tavistock	17th and 18th „	195 „	31,610 „
	Total of Devon . .	426 „	75,091 „
Liskeard	21st and 22nd June,	79 pieces	19,230 „
Listidiell	23rd, 24th, & 25th „	73 „	24,030 „
Truro	4th, 5th, & 6th July	388 „	136,038 „
Helston		302 „	110,962 „
	Total of Cornwall .	842 „	290,260 „

The detailed account for Ashburton runs :—

	pieces			
Richard foster	2	2	3	14
Thomas Michel	3	4	3	7
W[ll]m Beard	4	5	1	14
Willm Cristofore	2	2	1	14
Bartholomew Pomrey	5	9	3	9
Thomas Philips	3	4	1	15
Willm Barne	6	11	0	8
Gregory Trend	5	9	2	6

William Barne and Gregory Trend also coined at Chagford; the former 70 pieces, and the latter 40.

During the next few years the falling off in the produce of Devon was so rapid, that in 1602, while the tin coinage of Cornwall amounted to £2,623 9s. 8d., Devon produced only £102 17s. 9¾d.

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As years passed on matters grew still worse, and the tin produce of Devon dwindled into utter insignificance. Thus at the Devonshire Christmas coinage of 1706 there were 83 pieces of tin coined, weighing 21,348 lbs. Only one of these pieces was coined at Ashburton, by Nathaniel Symons, the weight being 206 lbs. At Tavistock there were ten tinners. These figures were trifles in comparison with the produce of Cornwall; for in the same return it is stated that the surplus tin coined in that county at Midsummer in the same year, with the Michaelmas coinage, amounted to 2,958 pieces, weighing 799,964 lbs. Of these 1827 were coined at Truro, weighing 505,228 lbs.

The records of the Ashburton Stannary Courts show that tin mining still lingered within its ancient centre, and that the old forms were still observed down to within the past hundred years. At length there came a time when there was no tin to coin, no tinners to hold a court, and when the Stannary of Ashburton ceased to exist, save in name. Nor in that respect was it worse off than its neighbours. The Stannaries of Chagford, Tavistock, and Plympton had fallen into decay likewise; and tin coinage in Devonshire came for the time to an end.

At the end of the last century there were very few mines working in the vicinity of Ashburton. Some of these were of copper; and most of them were discontinued before Lysons' *Devon* appeared, in 1822. According to that work, the average quantity of tin raised in Devon annually in the six years ending March, 1820, was but 1,171 blocks (*sic* query 171), weighing 586 cwt. 9 lbs; and this was taken into Cornwall to be coined. Subsequently the Devonshire tin was coined at Morwellham; and this was the last place in the county where the coinages took place prior to their abolition in 1838. From Midsummer, 1837, to Midsummer, 1838, the number of blocks coined at Morwellham was 756, which would give a total produce of 120 tons.

According to the official report of Mr. Hunt, keeper of the Mining Records, the total produce of the mines in the Ashburton district in 1874 was as follows: Brookwood, copper, Buckfastleigh, 1,755 tons, value £8,544 2s. 6d.; Bulkamore, iron, Buckfastleigh, 1,000 tons, £750; Devon and Cornwall, umber, Ilsington, 504 tons, £479 4s.; Gobbet, tin, Exworthy, 1 ton 10 cwt. 1 qr. 20 lbs, £85; Haytor, magnetic iron, 1669 tons, £1,500; Roborough, umber, Ashburton, 850 tons, £637; Smallacombe, iron, Ilsington, 2,069 tons, £1,626 10s.; Smallacombe, umber, 37 tons, £19; South Devon, iron, 255 tons,

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£191 5s. No figures are given for the Chase mine, whence a gossan is raised for the manufacture of silicate paint.

The only mines that were worked in the district in 1875 were: East Ashburton, Ilsington, tin; Brookwood, Buckfastleigh, copper; Bulkamore, Buckfastleigh, iron; Dean, Buckfastleigh, copper and iron; Devon and Cornwall, Ashburton, umber; Wheal Emma, Buckfastleigh, copper; Haytor Vale, Ilsington, iron; Riley, Ilsington, manganese; Chase, Holne, gossan.

The minerals found in the district include the following: Amphibole (Haytor), agate (Haytor), axinite (Brent), arragonite (Buckfastleigh), calcedony (Haytor—the pseudomorphous form after calcite and datholite is called Haytorite), calcite (Ashburton, &c.), cassiterite (Buckland, Ilsington, Widdecombe, &c.), chalcocite (Buckfastleigh), chalcopyrite (Ashburton, Buckfastleigh, &c.), native copper (Ashburton), felspar (abundant on Dartmoor), fluor spar (Buckfastleigh), garnet (Haytor), gold (? in the streams on Dartmoor), hematite (Buckfastleigh, Ilsington, &c.), kaolin (Dartmoor), lithomarge (Haytor), limonite (Buckfastleigh, Ashburton, Ilsington), magnetite (Buckland, Ilsington, Haytor), malachite (Buckfastleigh), mica (abundant on Dartmoor), manganese (Ashburton, Buckfastleigh), opal (Haytor), pyrites (Buckfastleigh, &c.), pyrophyllite (Buckfastleigh — this mineral has been discovered here for the first time in this country by Dr. C. Le Neve Foster), quartz (abundant on Dartmoor), tourmaline (Ashburton, Buckfastleigh, Haytor), umber (Ashburton, Ilsington).

And now for a few words concerning the ancient Tinners' Parliament, which was wont to be held in the open air on Crockerntor, where seats had been formed and hewn in the granite. Crockerntor may or may not have been the seat of an ancient British court of judicature, to which opinion Polwhele fancifully inclines. I am content to believe it was selected by the tinners as their place of meeting, because it was as nearly as possible equidistant between the Stannary towns of Chagford, Ashburton, Plympton, and Tavistock and the Stannary prison of Lydford. Hither, when summoned by the Lord Warden, would twenty-four tinners for each Stannary, elected in the court of that Stannary, assemble to enact laws for the good governance of the whole, and for the punishment of anybody who meddled with what they conceived to be their rights, which at one time were held to extend so far as digging for tin in any man's ground, without tribute or

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satisfaction, whereas their Cornish brethren only made such claims in support of waste or wastrell.

The first parliament of which I have been able to ascertain the date was held September 11th, 1494.

I find the following lists of jurats—the official title of these ancient Parliament-folk—for the Stannary of Ashburton in an old black letter treatise on the laws and customs of the Stannaries published in 1574:

"The great court of our Sovereign Lord the King in his Duchy of Cornwall," held at Crockentorre, before Thomas Deneys, for Henry Merney, warden of the Stannaries, 2nd Henry VIII. (1510), was attended by the following jurats of Ashburton:

Richarde Hamlyn, John Vele, John Bonycombe, John Maddocke, Willyam Myller, John Baron, Willyam King of Hole, John Eyre, Richarde Langworthy, Thomas Mathewe, John Exte of Brenston, Richarde Forforde, Richarde Baker, John Wydecombe, Richarde Hart, Willyam Widecombe, John Clyffe, Willyam Edwarde, John Saunder, Thomas Ganerocke, Michell Sperkewill, John Baker, Robert Tomlyn, Willyam Berde.

Parliament held before Sir Philip Champernown, for the warden, Henry, Marquis of Exeter, October 28th, 24th Henry VIII. (1533): John Vele, Willyam Smith, Robert Hamlyn, John Ferres, Willyam Myller, John Horsehame, John Lāgworthie, of Bokelande, Thomas Philip, Richarde Coyshe, Richarde King, Walterus Rowe, Nicholas Brende, John Pethybrygge, John Wydecombe, Willyam Baron, Willyam Elys, Thomas Predyaux, John Voyse, Richard Tayler, John Forforde, John Maddock of Huishe, Thomas Jamlyn, Elias Hert, Willyam Snowdon.

Parliament held before the same, 25th September, 25th Henry VIII. (1534): Thomas Predyaux, Willyam Cowarde, John Bery, senior, John Veal, John Voyse, Robart Hamlym, Richarde Taylor, John Maddock of Blakeal, Thomas Hamlym, John Dolbeare, Ri. Lāgworthy of Lesewel, John Horsham, Jo. Langworthy of Bucklād, Willyam Smith, Jo. Widecombe of Bukelād, Willyam Bonicombe, John Stiddeston, Thomas Wodde, Thomas Philip, Richard Quoyshe, William Leer, J. Dybell, Henry Paty, Robert Hanworthie.

Parliament held before Sir John Charles, for John Count of Bedford, 26th March, 6th Edward VI. (1553): William Burgin, Christofer Warrin, Thomas Hamlin, Richarde Tayler, John Forforde, John Stydson, John Hoseham, John Widecombe, John Debyll, John Seyger, Laurence Withecombe, Wylliam Hole, Richarde Langworthy, Thomas Bickeforde,

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James Maddicke, Edwarde Hanworthy, Walter Stephen, Peter Kyng, Thomas Pers, Richarde Hamlyn, William Wottō, *alias* Bill, Quirinus Rowge, William Yollande, Richard Maye.

The next list is from Pearse's *Laws and Customs of the Stannaries*, 1725. The name given by him Foxforde, is the Forforde of the preceding lists.

"The great court or Parliament of our Soueraigne Lady Elizabeth," held at "Crockerentoore," before the Earl of Bedford, 6th August, 16th Elizabeth (1576): John Rowe, younger gent; John Furselande, gent; Olyuer Franklyn, gent; Christofer Warring, Williā Wotton, alia Gale, John Heale, William Ussher, Aungell Maddocke, Adrian Foxeforde, Richarde Foster, William Meacombe, Augustine Herte, Richard Chafe, William Lammeshed, Phillip Peterffielde, Thomas Abraham, William Ellis, John Caunter, Edwarde Hannaforde, William Foster, Richarde Meacombe, Richard Wydecombe, Frauncis Dodde, John Mayger.

I cannot say when the last Parliament was held at Crockern. There were no set times for the holding of these assemblies, which were convened when the Lord Warden of the Stannaries saw fit. Prince, writing in 1697, mentions Crockern as the place where the Stannary parliament was wont to be held. Polwhele, just a century later, says that the "legislators of the last generations" had been accustomed merely to open commission and swear the jurors on Crockern, and then to adjourn to one of the Stannary towns. I question whether when Polwhele wrote any one was living who had taken part in one of these parliaments. The latest that I have heard of was held in 1703, when Lord Granville was Warden, and the Hon. Samuel Rolle Vice-Warden. This "Parliament of Tinners" was summoned to meet at eight o'clock in the morning of 23rd September. The writs for the return of the jurats were addressed to the bailiffs of the Stannaries, directing them to proclaim the said parliament publicly at the accustomed and usual place. Each Stannary Court was also to be proclaimed at the accustomed place for Tuesday, the 9th September, and the bailiffs were to "summon all tinners, bounders [owners of tin rights obtained by bounding] and owners of tin and works and adventurers in the same, and all spalyers [labourers] and other persons within your said Stannaries concerned in tin or tin works to be personally present," and to choose "twenty-four of the most sufficient, able, good, and lawful men of the stannatory."* It is clear,

* I am indebted to Mr. J. S. Amery for the sight of the interesting writ of summons quoted.

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therefore, that the tinners of Devon were a most democratic constituency. In Cornwall the stannators (six in number only for each Stannary) were chosen by the mayors of the Stannary towns.

The last convocation (or Parliament) of tinners in Cornwall was held in 1752–3. There is every reason to believe, as I have said, that the Parliaments of Devon had been discontinued long before. The courts of the Stannaries, however, remained, and indeed in modified form continue still, in the Court of the Vice-Warden of the Stannaries held at Truro, though no longer concerned with tin mining only. Stannary courts were held at Ashburton in 1757, when John Hill, of Ashburton, proclaimed "one pair of tin bounds," called Broomshill, in the presence of William Pascoe and Joseph Andrew, tinners; and continued for many years subsequently, when it would have been impossible to find a dozen tinners in the Stannary, much less twenty-four, to make into jurats.

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SKETCH OF ASHBURTON AND THE WOOLLEN TRADE.

BY P. F. S. AMERY.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

THE origin of communities, the causes which drew people together, and the process which gradually welded them into townships, giving birth to our numerous boroughs, is a subject, at least as far as I am aware, still left unwritten.

In the case of Ashburton, there are no records or traditions at hand to account for its origin; but the existence of numerous tin lodes, crossing the course of the little stream called the Yeo, formerly the Ashburn, very probably tempted the first settlers into this valley; whilst the frequent finds of Roman coins in old cob walls, and in sinking foundations and wells, seem to point to a very early occupation of its present site, perhaps as a place of exchange between the tinners and merchants.

In the time of Edward the Confessor, according to the Exchequer *Domesday*, AISBERTONE was held by Brictric, and paid geld for three hides. As a Saxon burg, it had its "portegerefa," or portreeve, whose duty it was, according to Turner, to witness all purchases without the gate, unless other unimpeachable persons were present. It is likely that a guild or fraternity of burgesses for mutual assistance, with the portreeve at their head, was formed here at a very early period, as we find it existed in the time of Bishop Stapledon, 1314.

At the Conquest it passed, with Brictric's other manors, to Queen Matilda, and so became a royal manor, containing ten carucates of land; and in demesne were two carucates and four serfs, and seven villeins, and eight bordars with three carucates. Also two fisheries and one salt-pit, and three acres of meadow and forty acres of pasture.

The wood was one league in length, and half a league in

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breadth; it rendered £4.* After the Conquest, Judhel de Totonais received the manor from the queen, and held it until driven into banishment by William Rufus, who bestowed it on the bishops of Exeter, and they continued to hold it as part of their barony from the king-in-chief, by finding two soldiers for service in the royal army, until the reign of James I., when it was again resumed by the Crown.

It was under the fostering care of the bishops of Exeter that we find the borough first rising into importance. It was a stannary town, and mentioned as such, together with Tavistock and Chagford, in a charter of Edward I. to the tinners, and it sent two representatives to parliament in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of that monarch.

When the woollen trade was first introduced into our valley as an industry it is impossible to say; but an exchange place for metal would soon become a mart also for raw produce, such as wool and skins.

The *farmer* monks of the Cistercian Monastery at Buckfast, founded in 1137, doubtless set an example of industry, and perhaps introduced the process of manufacturing cloth among the many other useful occupations in which they employed their time. At all events, here the trade is very early to be found, and here it has been developed through those phases which the change of time has brought about, and which I shall endeavour to trace in this paper.

The liberal policy of Edward I., the greatest of the Plantagenets, relieved wool of all taxes (25th Ed. I. c. 7), and in order to obtain artisans skilled in making cloth, granted charters to foreign merchants and manufacturers to settle in this kingdom, must have had its effect on Ashburton; for there is every reason to believe the trade increased rapidly about that time; and Bishop Stapledon, the friend and counsellor of Edward II., and treasurer of the royal household, was a great benefactor to the borough. Here he had a house, in which he frequently resided, and farmed his lands; and in 1310 procured a weekly market on Saturdays, and a fair for three days, on the festivals of St. Lawrence and St. Martin, which are still kept up.

In 1314 he handed to the guild or fraternity of St. Lawrence, which consisted of the portreeve and free-tenants of the borough, his newly-built chapel, dedicated to St. Lawrence, situated within the boundary of his court, as their guildhall and chantry, the guild agreeing to find a priest to pray for the souls of the donors of lands and other benefactors, and

* See Exchequer *Domesday*, "Devenescire, Terra Regis."

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also to keep a free school for children, at a salary of £8 13s. 4d. per annum. This ancient building* is now the grammar-school of our town, as well as the town-hall, where the lords of the borough annually hold their court-leet by ancient right. The seal of the guild became the arms of the borough. They are azure, on a mount vert a chapel with a spire masonry, in dexter chief the sun in splendour, in sinister a crescent moon, in dexter base a teasel, in sinister a saltire. The chapel is in the shape of a gridiron, as those dedicated to St. Lawrence usually were; the teasel and the sun and moon emblematically represent the chief staples of the place; viz., the woollen trade and mining interests. The quaint motto, "Fides probata coronat," was most probably taken at the same time.

By the teasel, which is a badge of the fullers, being introduced into the arms of the borough, I am inclined to think that a manor fulling-mill was then erected, where the coarse cloths manufactured in the neighbourhood could be properly finished for sale, the russets for home use not requiring such finish. The mill at Gages, pronounced *Gays*, now used as paint-works, and part of the manor, is spoken of in ancient deeds as a fulling-mill, as well as a small mill at the north of the town, also belonging to the manor, which has been a fulling-mill to within a few years, and is always called the "Tucking-mill."

Our county historian, Risdon, says "that Edward III., to arrest the exportation of wool from the realm in a raw state, obtained, by his liberal policy towards foreigners, the settlement of several cloth weavers, as well as dyers and fullers, who, establishing their various arts in several counties, in a great measure laid the foundation of our national superiority in these respects. This took place about 1350, some being established at Bristol and Taunton; and it is probable that the woollen trade extended from these places into Devon, for we know that a wool staple was fixed at Exeter in 1354."

The hundred years' war with France seems to have retarded trade in every branch, and the various statutes intending to encourage manufactures only had the effect of cramping enterprise and stagnating progress. That all trade was not stamped out of Ashburton at this time is shown by a petition from the inhabitants praying Richard II. to grant them their rights of freedom from toll in all markets, as they were a royal manor. Henry IV. seized the throne before any charter

* The tower and east wall are the only portions remaining of Stapledon's original building.

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was granted; but we find among the records of the Court of Chancery the patent roll 3 Henry IV. as follows:

"The King to all and singular the Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables, Ministers, and other his lieges as well within liberties as without to whom, &c. greeting.

"Know ye, that whereas, according to the custom hitherto obtained and approved in our realm of England, the men of our ancient demesne of the Crown of England are, and ought to be, quit of the payment of toll throughout the realm of England, We command you that you permit the men of the MANOR OF AISBERTONE, which is of the ancient demesne of the Crown of England, as by a certain Certification by the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Lord Richard, late king of England, the second after the Conquest, sent into his chancery by order of the same late king, and remaining in the filazes of the same Chancery of the same late king, fully appeareth to be quit of the like payment of Toll to be paid to you, according to the custom above said. In testimony whereof, &c., Witness the King at Westminster on the twenty-sixth day of April.

THE EXEMPLIFICATION.

"The King to all whom, &c. We have inspected a certain certification by the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Lord Richard, late king of England, the second after the Conquest, sent into his Chancery by order of the same late king, and remaining in the filazes of the same Chancery of the same late king in these words:

"In the book of *Domesday*, in the county of Devonshire, in Tuetone hundred, it is thus contained. AISBERTONE, in the time of King Edward, gelded for three hides. The land is ten carucates. In demesne there are two carucates, and four serfs, and seven villeins, and eight borderers, with three carucates. There are there two fisheries, and one salt-pit, and three acres of meadow, and forty acres of pasture. The wood is one league in length and half a league in width. The rent £4.

"We moreover have thought fit to exemplify the certification aforesaid, at the request of the men and tenants of the manor of AISBERTONE, by the tenor of these presents. In testimony whereof, &c., Witness the king at Westminster, on the twenty-sixth day of April."

Westcote tells us that, prior to the time of Edward IV., only fryzes and plain coarse cloth were made in Devon, when one Anthony Bonvise, an Italian, taught us the knowledge of

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making kersies, and our women to spin with the distaff. This seems probable, as the Lancastrian kings showed great favour to Italian merchants, and allowed them (14 Henry VI. c. 2) to export wool from our western ports without attending the staple at Calais, as all others were obliged to do. The Yorkists, on the other hand, made stringent laws against the Italians, which Henry VII. removed. A glance at the table of statutes will illustrate this.

Edward IV. issued regulations in every branch of the trade, with a view to prevent deceit in woollen manufactures. Among these we find 4 Edward IV. c. 1, 1464, prohibits the mixing of lamb's-wool or flock with other wools in the same cloth. In 1467, the inhabitants of the hundreds of Lifton, Tavistock, and Rowborough petitioned to be allowed, on account of ancient custom, and by reason of the grossness and stubborness of the wools of their districts, to mix as much lamb's-wool and flock with their wool as might be required to work it, and then to expose it for sale. This the king granted. (7 Edward IV. c. 2.)

Henry VII. removed many restrictions, and Henry VIII. encouraged the manufacture of white-straits in Devon, which afterwards developed into the famous serge.

About this time it is probable the woollen trade in these parts received an impetus by a son of Robert Fabyan, the chronicler, a clothier, coming westward, who, tradition says, settled in Ashburton. At all events, it is a fact that the Fabyans appear here about the middle of the sixteenth century, and have carried on the trade of serge-making almost to the present day, the last of the family dying in 1815.

With the Reformation the business seems to have gained strength, perhaps by the settling among us of foreign Protestant manufacturers.

The spinning up to this time had been very simple, and no difference was made in the yarn used for the warp and weft. The *Domestic Calendar*, 1596, p. 379, says: "The spinning of wool was of three sorts—either on the great wheel, which is called woollen yarn; or upon the small wheel, which is called Guernsey or Jersey yarn, because that manner of spinning was first practised in those isles; or upon the rock, which is called worsted yarn by 1 Edward VI., because that manner of spinning was first practised in Worsted, county Norfolk."

The weekly market for wool, yarn, and woollen stuffs, established at Exeter in 1538, rapidly grew; and in 1540,

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according to evidence given before the Lords of the Privy Council by the traders of that city, it was shown that their sales amounted to £10,000 per week. These goods were drawn from the smaller towns of the county, and the ancient clothier of these towns acted as a middle man between the merchant and the poorer operatives.

The stringent laws which were passed from time to time against the exportation of white or any unfinished cloth was effected by the influence of the privileged guilds of fullers, weavers, and shearmen of Exeter, intended to oblige all fabrics made for exportation to pass through their hands, had a very bad influence on the manufacturing trade of the county, and was one of the causes which ultimately, according to Sir John Bowring's paper on "Ancient Exeter and its Trade," in vol. v. of our *Transactions*, p. 97, drove that trade to freer parts in the north of England. Queen Elizabeth seems to have seen this tendency, for it was enacted, 8th Eliz. c. 6, 1565, That in case any license should be granted to export clothes in an unfinished state, for every nine pieces so exported one similar in every respect, but in a perfectly finished state, should accompany them, but not be included in the license. Shortly afterwards Sir Walter Raleigh obtained from the Queen licenses to export unfinished white clothes on the payment of a duty to the sovereign, also to export cloths of over-lengths. These grants were objected to by the court officials as inordinately profitable, and they recommended that the duty should be increased. The illustrious Devonshire knight traded largely, and profited mightily by these monopolies. Ashburton, as a manufacturing district, must have felt the influence of this great increase of trade as well as other towns throughout the county; for Westcote, writing in 1630, says: "The Devonshire kersies, which are well known in most countries, were made first only from the wool grown in our own county. But they now work Cornish and Dorset wools, and are also supplied out of divers other parts of the land, and Ireland, all of which is worked into some sort of cloth or stuff, wherein most towns have appropriated to themselves a several or peculiar kind. The late-made stuff of serges, or perpetuanos, is now in great use and request with us, wherewith the market at Exeter is abundantly furnished of all sorts and prices; the number will hardly be credited. Tiverton hath also such a store in kersies as will not be believed. Crediton yields many of the finest sorts of kersies, for which and for fine spinning it hath the pre-eminence. Totnes and some places near it hath had besides

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these a sort of coarse cloth, which they call *narrow-pin-whites*, not elsewhere made.* Barnstaple and Torrington furnish us with bays, single and double frizados, and such like. At Tavistock there is also a good market. Ottery St. Mary, with divers other places, hath mixed kersies. Cullompton, kersey stockings. This might be enlarged with other petty commodities belonging to other towns, besides the generality of knitting worsted and yarning stockings, spinning of worsted thread for women's working in every town."

In reference to the Irish wool brought into Devonshire, 1 WILLIAM AND MARY, c. 32, 1688, enacts that Irish wool shall only be imported at certain western ports, among which are Barnstaple, Bideford, and Exeter. This is continued by 4 AND 5 WILLIAM AND MARY, c. 24 s. 10, but Exeter is there omitted. Then sprung up a pack-horse traffic from Barnstaple and Bideford, through Chagford to Ashburton, and on to Brixham. The Irish wool was brought from the north, and French goods returned to different parts of the route. The quantity of French goods imported in 1663 is said to have been valued at £2,600,000, against £1,000,000, principally woollen goods, sent by us to that country, making a clear loss to us of £1,600,000. The old Barnstaple Inn, in North Street, Ashburton, was the resting-place here, and when the Irish wool trade failed, rough pottery, made in the north, was brought instead. This regular traffic from sea to sea through the centre of our county became the means of extensive smuggling from the northern and southern ports to the inland districts, and continued until the present generation.

Lysons tells us that a Tuesday's yarn market was established in Ashburton, by the influence of Mr. John Ford, in 1672, which existed until within the memory of the present generation, and died a natural death from want of sustenance. Connected with this market the following account, which appeared in a local paper some few years ago, has been sent me by a friend:

"An important trial, which as a precedent has governed the common law of England from that time to this, occurred in 1670, in the 22nd Chas. II. A Mr. Ford, of Ashburton (believed to have been a Cromwellian), set up a market there on Tuesdays, weekly, without having obtained a charter or letters patent from the Crown, or parliamentary sanction; and Mr. Yard, the owner of the Newton Abbot market, brought what was called an action on the case. It was decided, on the hear-

* In the lives of the Linsays mention is made of a charity in Scotland for giving a certain quantity of Totnes cloth.

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ing at Westminster before the whole court, that such new market could not be maintained at Ashburton, although distant nearly seven miles, and held on a different day from that of the Newton Abbot ancient market, the said new market being proved to be the injury of the ancient market, particularly with reference to the tolls on wool and yarn, which commodities, being brought from the Dartmoor districts and sold at Ashburton on Tuesdays, were not brought into Newton Abbot and sold on the Wednesdays as heretofore; and Ford was fined £60, and had to pay the costs of an expensive trial and appeal. Afterwards Mr. Ford sought for a grant to hold a market at Ashburton on Tuesdays, although he had just had his market stopped, and been heavily fined. A copy of Mr. Yard's petition in opposition is extant. It is believed a charter was afterwards granted to the lord of the manor of Ashburton, empowering him to hold a market there on Saturdays."

This latter clause is an error, as the Saturday market was obtained by Bishop Stapeldon in 1310, and has existed ever since. It must therefore be the Tuesday's yarn market mentioned by Lysons.

The process of manufacture given by Westcote is almost identical with that practised about a century ago. "First the gentleman farmer or husbandman sends his wool to the market, which is bought either by the comber or spinster, and they the next week bring it hither again in yarn, which the weaver buys, and the market following brings that hither again in cloth, when it is sold either to the clothier, who sends it to London, or to the merchant, who, after it hath passed the fuller's mill, and sometimes the dyer's vat, transports it. The large quantities whereof cannot be well guessed, but best known to the custom-book, whereunto it yields no small commodity; and this is continued all the year throughout."

The clothier therefore of a century ago carried on his business in a very different manner from the woollen manufacturer of the present day. He was usually a man of some means, generally residing in his own house, which made him a freeman of the borough, and therefore a parliamentary elector; for until the Reform Act of 1832, none but freeholders in the actual borough, a very limited area about the town, had any part in the franchise. He bought his yarn, or "abb," in the Tuesday's market, from Cornish and Tavistock spinners, who seemed to have kept that branch of the trade pretty much to themselves, owing most probably to the Act of 7 Edward IV. c. 2, which gave them the privilege of using lamb's wool and flock in their yarn. The worsted was spun

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from "tops," as the combed long wool was called, by poor cottagers in the towns and villages of the district, and made by them into chains to form the warp or framework of the fabric. These seem to have been supplied regularly, most likely through the market also. To give some idea of the extensive area which supplied Ashburton, I find, from an old ledger in my possession, that, between 1783 and 1801, Mr. W. Fabyan, a clothier here, was supplied with chains from the following places: Bigbury, Blackauton, Bridgetown, Brixham, Buckfastleigh, Chagford, Charlton (near Kingsbridge), Cudleigh, Cornworthy, Cullumpton, Culmstock, Dean Prior, Diptford, Dittisham, Drewsteignton, East Allington, Exeter, Holne, Kingsbride, Little Hempston, Loddiswell, Modbury, Moreton, Ottery, Paignton, Plymouth, Rattery, South Brent, South Bovey, South Zeal, South Tawton, Staverton, Stoke Flemming, Stokeignham, Tiverton, Torbryan, West Allington, and Widecombe.

One day a week the serge-maker put on his long apron and met his weavers, the poor people of the neighbourhood, who frequently hired their looms from him, paying a quarterly rent, generally of one shilling, and were by that means bound to him. He served out to them the proper proportions of *abb* and *worsted*, with a certain quantity of glue to size the chain before tying into the loom. The quantities for the standard Long-ell as supplied to the East India Company were, 9½lbs. of abb, 4½lbs. of worsted, with half a pound of glue; this rendered a twenty-four yards serge 14lbs. in its dirty state, which was reduced to 12lbs., the standard weight, by washing. This they took to their own homes and wove at their leisure, returning it on the following week, and receiving the price of their work.

These serges were fulled at the borough tucking-mill, and sent off as required; if for the East India Company, to London to be dyed; for so jealous are the Chinese that the least difference in shade or colour would be a sufficient cause to return the bale. All other cloths seemed to have been sent to Exeter to be finished.

It is evident that only a small capital could be employed in this mode of doing business, as a clothier was limited by the number of weavers the town or immediate neighbourhood supplied, to say nothing of the competition for their services by his fellow-tradesmen. The effect was that he was contented to go on in the same small way; and as all his work was being done in the houses of the poor, he had no operatives to superintend, and only a small portion of his

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time was occupied by his business; the day set apart to supply, or as he called it "tend," his weavers, and an hour in the yarn-market on Tuesdays, being about all that was regularly required of him. How then did he dispose of his increasing capital and vacant time? With his capital he purchased fields and gardens as opportunity offered, which were duly improved under his careful eye; small farms near the town, on which money had been lent to needy owners, were also invested in. Then the commons surrounding those farms were enclosed, drained, or planted, as the case might require; for he had money at his disposal, and plenty of men were to be hired to do his work, whilst the yeomen of the neighbourhood, living on their own farms, were hardly able to maintain the few in their employ, and never dreamed of expending money in improvements. Thus it is that we can trace nearly all the improvements connected with reclaiming the waste lands in our parish, to their once belonging to some serge-maker; and by this investment of time and capital near home, the cultivated land was extended from the circumscribed limits of the ancient borough bounds until it embraced nearly the whole of the large parish.

Others, not caring to become farmers beyond keeping a few cows, which gave occupation to the women, and supplied the family with milk and butter, carried on at times the malting or tanning trade, it being found necessary to provide for the employment of servants and capital when the serge trade was bad; for business fluctuated so much from year to year, owing to the changing events among the nations of Europe, and the effect of protection laws which never could be foreseen, and generally had to be patched every year or two, that a prudent manufacturer never looked on his profits as income, but as a floating capital to be re-invested as opportunity offered, and in no case altered his simple style of living, although a succession of good government or East India Company's contracts had increased his balance in the hands of his London agent to a handsome sum. The principal clothiers of the town acted as their own bankers—discounting one another's bills, and supplying cash to pay the spinners and weavers, for which in earlier times the trade tokens were used to make up odd sums. Of these tokens one seems to have been issued by the guild of St. Lawrence, and bore the arms of the borough, dated 1670; others were by private persons.*

* For full information on tokens see *Transactions Devonshire Association*, vol. v. p. 216.

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The clothier often attended the Friday serge-market at Exeter, so graphically described by the late Sir John Bowring in his article on "Exeter Sixty Years Ago," published in *All the Year Round*, October, 1865. There the Exeter merchants, most of them travelled men, mixed with the traders from Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, Germany, and Holland, and transacted their business in the different languages of which they were masters.

"Moll's coffee-house," a curious gabled-faced old building still standing in the cathedral-yard, seems to have been the meeting-place after the business of the day; there they exchanged ideas over their refreshment, to the benefit of the country visitors, who doubtless took much that was new back with them to their quiet town.

Once a quarter the principal contractors for the East India Company met at Exeter, and arranged the prices to be tendered and the quantity of goods to be supplied by each; for with the parliamentary influence at hand, our Devonshire boroughs executed nearly all the orders for China, for which their serge was well suited.

Now and then a visit to London was undertaken, a very memorable event in those days. The intended visit was kept secret, lest the traveller should be overwhelmed with commissions from his neighbours; or a newly-married serge-maker would spend his honeymoon there, provided with introductions to the borough members, and under the special patronage of his or his father's agent, who did all in his power to impress the young couple with his own wealth and influence by unlimited hospitality and introductions to sights not easily obtained by ordinary visitors; so that on their return an increasing confidence in his integrity and friendship might extend his business to other manufacturers in the country.

Being mostly Nonconformists,* the opportunity of a visit to London was seized to hear some eminent divines, the strong meat of whose discourses supplied matter on which to "chew the cud of reflection" in after years, and were often quoted in favourable comparison with the "meals of herbs" so frequently received at the hands of country ministers.

During these visits furniture was bought, and novelties not heard of in the provinces, the agent being always ready to advance any sums of money required. These were sent by water to Totnes or Teignmouth, and in the course of time, if

* The Test Acts excluded them from professions; they therefore turned to trade.

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spared by the French privateers, which was not always the case, reached Ashburton, to the wonder and envy of neighbours; and we still find Indian cabinets and all sorts of nick-nacks remaining in old families which testify to these London visits.

The invention of the spinning jenny for the manufacture of yarns enabled the serge-maker, by the aid of the small streams which abound in our neighbourhood, to arrest the weekly drain of money to Cornwall, and amply repay him for the capital required to erect the new machinery. The first yarn spinning-mills here were started just before the commencement of the present century; one in the town by Mr. Caunter, and a small mill, now in ruins, at the north of the town by Mr. Widger, who were not only able to supply themselves with yarn, but to spin for their neighbours at 4d. per pound. Soon others followed their example, and the whole trade was changed. The Tuesday's market, being no longer required, died a natural death. Experienced foremen were engaged from the north, who brought new manners and energy into the neighbourhood, and a large number of children were employed. The clothier was now obliged to buy his wool from the farmer, and erect buildings in which to store and sort it; combers were hired and comb-shops built to work up the long wools into tops for the spinners, who received it to spin from the manufacturer.

All the wool after sorting had to be washed in a stream, the short wools in baskets, the water drained through the baskets, leaving the wool behind, which was dried in lofts or in the sun. Long wool for combing was washed with two poles having crooks at one end, which were twisted reverse ways, squeezing the water out like wringing a towel; it was a slow process, and employed many hands and much space. The water below these washing-shops became very rich, and the owners of the land soon found it to their advantage to make subsidence-pits, which collected the heavier matter; and extensive systems for irrigating the meadows were also laid out, rendering the two miles and a half of valley between Ashburton and the Dart very fertile. The same water systems and subsidence-pits are still in use, and not only is the water sent into the river perfectly pure, anticipating the now stringent river pollution acts, but hundreds of pounds yearly is also added to the value of our valley.

To make the mills remunerative, they had to be kept in constant work, and the number of weavers increased to meet the growing trade. The supply failing in the immediate

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neighbourhood, the serge-makers looked further; and the poor of every hamlet and village for miles round were employed, and came weekly to Ashburton, with their serges on the backs of donkeys, or, in the case of the more distant places, were met weekly at some central point by the master himself, or one of his agents, who supplied the necessary materials, and brought back the serges. This radical change in the manner of conducting business had the effect of driving from it many who were unwilling or unable to make the necessary outlay, and rendered it important that a serge-maker should be a man of business habits, and devote his whole time and capital to his trade rather than to his lands as heretofore. Of course there were some who would never change their mode of business, who, after a hard fight with the times, came to nothing, or left the trade in disgust. But the demand for labour so exceeded the supply, that Mr. Berry, the grandfather of one of the earliest members of the Devonshire Association, removed to Chagford, where he carried on a very extensive business, at one time keeping 1,200 weavers, and finishing 700 serges weekly; and Mr. Widger went to Buckfastleigh, where labourers were more abundant.

The introduction of worsted spinning-frames in the north of England early in the present century, soon rendered it advisable to discontinue the clumsy hand-spun chains, as the serge made from them was always irregular, and unable to hold its place in the market. To meet this difficulty the tops were sent to Yorkshire and sold, as much of the wool produced in this neighbourhood was of superior quality, and suited for fine cloths. These realizing high prices, such as 3s. 6d. per pound, enabled the serge-maker to supply himself with worsted or chains suitable for his Long-ells or standard serge, from Darlington or other northern markets. The goods were carried by coasters from Totnes or Teignmouth to Hull, taking three weeks, and the risk proportionably large.

This state of things could not be expected to last long, now that water-power was used in our valley; and in 1817 Mr. Caunter started his first worsted spinning-frames, in his factory in the middle of the town, charging 10d. per pound for spinning. For some time he held the monopoly, and was able to spin for all his neighbours. But soon other machines were set up and all available water-power made use of, our little stream turning ten mills in its short course.

The Dart was also called into requisition, and the mill erected at Buckfast, on the site and with the materials of the

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old Abbey, is now worked by Messrs. Berry, of Ashburton, with operatives from that town.

The next great change in the trade was brought about by the fact, that all the weaving was carried on in the houses of the poor. Perhaps in a social point of view it was a good thing, as the mother was always occupied at home, and had her eye on her family; but to the manufacturer it was bad, as the materials entrusted by him to the weaver were open to great peculations; for weavers could always supply themselves with yarn or "abb" sufficient to provide their families with stockings, and joiners could purchase the best glue at half-price in the little shops, where it had been bartered for small goods. So great was the loss of yarn, worsted, and glue, and so various were the means taken to make up the short weight by the use of oil, water, &c., that a remedy was sought and found in the expedient of erecting large factories, fitted with the newest "*spring looms*;" here the weavers came and worked, and nothing was allowed to be carried off the premises.

The trade seems now to have been at its height, and upwards of £100,000 worth of serges were annually exported to China. This mode of work drew the poor into the town, and in 1831 the population reached its maximum, being 4,165, whilst in 1801 it had been 3,080; whilst from the parish registers of burials it must have been about 2,000 during the two centuries previous. This change required a re-adjustment of premises, and again reduced the number of serge-makers, which the bad times following the Reform Act quickly thinned to a still smaller number.

The causes of this decline were complicated; but the immediate cause was the removal of the monopoly of trading in the East from the East India Company, which opened all the northern markets to the China serge trade; for by the parliamentary influence of our boroughs, Devon had supplied that company with all that class of goods. The quantity required by China being limited, the north of England with its energy and coal swamped us.

Thousands of serges made for China lay on hands. The old restrictive policy of our western manufacturers tied their hands from entering into new branches of the trade. Mr. H. Caunter alone endeavoured to turn them to account here, by a process of printing, rendering them useful for various home purposes; but they did not take. Mill after mill was given up, and now only one firm, that of Messrs. Berry, represent the once numerous body of clothiers, who numbered in their

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ranks the names of Bennett, Berry, Cater, Caunter, Cranch, Dolbeare, Fabyan, Furnace, Honywill, Jefry, Smerdon, Soper, Sparke, Sunter, Tozer, Widger, Windsor, and many others.

That the trade exists at all in the valley of the Dart is due to the perseverance of Messrs. Berry here and Messrs. Hamlyn at Buckfastleigh, who by taking advantage of every opening in the trade, and by the aid of the newest and best machinery, have arrested the tide, and brought a steady trade among us again.

More wool is now worked up by the aid of power-looms and combing-machines than in the prosperous times of the old East India Company, the fabrics consisting of—

STANDARD LONG-ELLS, 24 yards long, 31 inches wide, weighing 12 lbs., for China, dyed in London, scarlet, orange, light blue, violet, green, and magenta.

SCARLET ARMY SERGE, principally for India.

FINE SERGE for ladies' dresses, &c.

NAVY SERGE,* of the same width as the Long-ell, but heavier, made in lengths of 40 yards, dyed indigo.

LIGHT SERGE for cartridge cases.

BLANKETS of good quality, made from short wools unfit for serges.

ARMY BLANKETS, supplied to the Germans in the late Franco-German war.

BLANKETING made in one long length, about a yard wide; used for cheap blankets, and for miners' underground clothes.

HORSE-CLOTHS and collar-cloths for saddlers, made of the coarsest refuse-wool of all sorts; and

TOPS, or best combed wool, which is sent to Bradford in great quantities, for the manufacture of fine cloth, the serges not requiring the highest quality long wools for worsted; of these, four qualities are made here, being Nos. 6, 4, 3, 2 of the Bradford notation, No. 3 being retained for serges.

Having thus briefly glanced at the different phases of the woollen trade here, I cannot do better than conclude in the words of our ancient toast, "Success to the Borough of Ashburton, and the trade thereof."

* An order is now being executed in Ashburton for 200,000 yards of navy serge, and a similar order at Buckfastleigh.

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STATUTES FROM MAGNA CHARTA TO END OF REIGN OF GEORGE II. BEARING ON THE WOOLLEN TRADE.

THE MAGNA CHARTA, 9TH HENRY III., c. 30.

Encourages and welcomes all merchant strangers, promising safe conduct to come and go, to buy and sell without any manner of evil tolls, by the old and rightful customs, except in time of war.

25TH EDWARD I., c. 7, 1299.

On a petition from the people, a release of toll taken by the king on wool is granted, and a grant that neither he nor his heirs will take the like without common consent and good will.

34TH EDWARD I., c. 3, 1306.

Nothing from henceforth shall be taken of sacks of wool by colour or occasion of male-tent.

9TH EDWARD III., c. 1, 1335.

Enacts that all merchant strangers may buy and sell within the realm without disturbance, and a punishment inflicted on those who molest them.

11TH EDWARD III. (*war with France*), 1335.

C. 1. Made it felony to carry any wool out of the realm until it be otherwise ordained.

C. 3. Enacts that no cloth made beyond the seas shall be brought into the realm.

C. 5. That foreign cloth-workers may come into the realm from any country and have the king's protection.

14TH EDWARD III., 1340.

C. 20. Parliament granted the king a subsidy of the ninth lamb and the ninth fleece for two years, to enable him to carry on the war with France.

C. 21. Also a subsidy of forty shillings on every sack of wool exported.

17TH EDWARD III., 1341.

In seven chapters, re-arranges the lamb and wool subsidy, returning the fleeces and allowing for the lambs already taken

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in the second year, and arranged for the collecting of any future subsidy.

This may have been the effect of the naval victory over the French off Sluys in 1340.

18TH EDWARD III., C. 3, 1342.

Enacts that ordinances made before this time upon the price of wools be wholly annulled, and that every man from henceforth buy as he may agree with the seller, and that the sea be open to all manner of merchants to pass with their merchandize as it may please them.

25TH EDWARD III., C. 2, 1350.

Confirms Act of 9th Edward III., which allows all strangers, except the king's enemies, to trade freely in gross or at retail at will in our markets, repealing any charter or proclamation made to the contrary.

27TH EDWARD III., 1353.

S. 1. C. 4. As many merchants had withdrawn themselves to come with cloth to England because the king's aulneger (collector) had arrested cloths which did not come up to standard dimensions, the great men and commons pray the king to release such forfeitures for a convenient recompense to be paid him. In answer, the king released all such forfeitures and grants for him and his heirs, that there shall be no cloths forfeit, but the king's aulneger shall measure all cloth, and mark the same, by which may be known the quantity; for which the parliament granted the king a subsidy on each cloth.

S. 2. C. 1. Fixes ten cities in England, among which are Bristol and Exeter, as the only staples from which wool, hides, and lead may be sold for exportation, but only to be exported by foreigners.

C. 3. Allows merchants to buy wool, hides, and lead, so they bring them to the staple; but makes it felony for an Englishman to transport them. There shall be no exchange of merchandize of the staple, but payment in silver. Every man may carry his own wool to the staple.

28TH EDWARD III., C. 13, 1354.

Confirms previous acts of 27th Edward III., and makes regulations concerning warranty of packing of wools, orders in case of dispute an inquest "de medietate linguæ," one-half foreigners, if possible, when a foreigner is party to any trial.

C. 14, 15. Enacts that all wool staples shall be open every

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day except Sundays and solemn feasts, and that no wool be exposed for sale within three miles of the staple, except wool of a man's own growing in his own house or where he pleases. The staple shall extend to the whole city or town, whether enclosed by walls or not.

31ST EDWARD III., 1357.

S. 1, C. 2. No wool shall be bought by fraud to abate the price thereof.

S. 1, C. 8. Allows wool, and hides, and leather to be exported to places which be of the king's amity by paying fifty shillings for each sack of wool, &c.

47TH EDWARD III., C. 1, 1373.

Fixes the dimensions of certain cloths if offered for sale, but not to apply to those made for private use.

50TH EDWARD III., C. 7, 1376.

Enacts that no woollen cloth shall be exported before that it is fulled.

2ND RICHARD II., C. 3, 1378.

That all merchants from Genoa, Venice, Catalonia, Arragon, and other lands toward the west, that come with merchandize to our western ports, may sell freely, and re-charge their vessels with wool, skins, and tin, or other goods, and freely take them toward the west, but paying at the port of departure all dues as they would pay at the staple at Calais, and give security that they go no place eastward except to Calais.

5TH RICHARD II., S. 2, C. 2, 1382.

Enacts that wool and skins may be exported by any merchant, foreign or denizen, to any country except to France for the next year, provided the custom or subsidies are paid before hand, for which the king will allow a discount.

11TH RICHARD II., C. 7, 1387.

Confirms statutes of Edward III. relating to freedom for foreign merchants to trade, fixes penalties for those who disturb them, and allows all merchants to sell either by gross or by retail.

14TH RICHARD II., C. 4, 1390.

Enacts that no wool shall be bought except of owners of sheep or of the tithes, except in the staple, and that no person buy wool but for his own use, or to make cloth of. This remained in force until 21st James I.

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17TH RICHARD II., C. 2, 1393.

Cloth may be made of any dimensions, but must be measured and sealed by the aulneger, and be made without deceit.

C. 3. Allows certain worsteds to be exported.

5TH HENRY IV., C. 9, 1403.

Merchant strangers to employ their money on commodities of this realm, and shall sell their goods within a quarter of a year on their coming. One alien shall not sell to another alien.

7TH HENRY IV., C. 10, 1405.

Orders forfeiture to the king of all cloths of ray and coloured cloths if found deficient in dimensions.

9TH HENRY IV., C. 2, 1407.

Relieves Kendal cloth from duty.

11TH HENRY IV., C. 6, 1409.

That cloths shall be in whole pieces, and not tacked together, before sealing by the aulneger.

13TH HENRY IV., C. 4, 1411.

Confirms statutes of 7th and 11th Henry IV. touching dimensions of ray and coloured cloths.

2ND HENRY V., S. 2, C. 6, 1414.

Merchandise of the staple not to be exported without the king's license, until they have first been brought to the staple; but does not repeal 2 Richard II. s. i., c. 3.

4TH HENRY V., C. 5, 1416.

Confirms statute of 5th Henry IV. concerning the treatment of merchant strangers.

2ND HENRY VI., C. 4, 5, 1422.

All merchandise of the staple exported shall be carried to Calais as long as the staple shall be in Calais.

8TH HENRY VI., C. 17, 1429.

Orders forfeiture of wools, fells, &c., shipped out of England for any place but Calais, except by merchants of Genoa, Venice, Tuscany, Lombardy, Florence, and Catalonia, to be taken to their own country toward the west.

C. 18. Regulates the prices and mode of payment for wools and woolfels in the staple at Calais.

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C. 20. Calais merchants not to buy abroad merchandise of the staple, such as wool, woolfels, &c.

C. 23. Neither thrums nor woollen yarn shall be exported.

C. 24. English merchants to receive ready money of aliens.

9TH HENRY VI., C. 2, 1430.

Enacts that for the king's pleasure, English merchants may, notwithstanding 8 Henry VI., c. 24, which shall still stand in force, sell their cloths to aliens, to be paid in merchandise, or upon loan of payment, to be made in six months.

10TH HENRY VI., C. 7, 1432.

A more stringent statute, enforcing that wools, woolfels, &c. shall be exported only to Calais.

11TH HENRY VI., C. 9, 1433.

Defines and regulates the dimensions of cloths.

14TH HENRY VI., C. 2, 1435.

Makes special exceptions in favour of the king and his council, and Italian merchants for the export of wools and woolfels other than to Calais.

15TH HENRY VI., C. 8, 1436.

Declares that wools and woolfels shall only be shipped at certain quays and warfs to ensure their being carried to Calais.

18TH HENRY VI., C. 15, 1439.

Makes it felony for any person to export wools or woolfels, save to Calais, without the king's license.

C. 16. That cloth shall be measured by the yard and inch only throughout the realm, and not by the yard and handful, according to the London merchants.

20TH HENRY VI., C. 4, 1442.

That English merchants shipping wools to any other place than the king's staples shall pay same customs as foreigners; but not to interfere with those holding the king's letters patent to export wools, woolfels, and tin to other places than Calais.

23RD HENRY VI., C. 3. 1444.

Any person who shall pack or ship thrums or woollen thread for export for the next three years shall forfeit the same, and be imprisoned for one year.

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27TH HENRY VI., C. 2, 1448.

No license shall be available to carry wools, woolfels, or tin to any place out of the realm but Calais.

31ST HENRY VI., C. 8, 1452.

An arrangement with the king for a subsidy on exported wool, woolfels, and cloth for his life.

3RD EDWARD IV., C. 1, 1463.

No alien shall export wool, and certain rules to be observed by denizens exporting thereof.

4TH EDWARD IV., C. 1, 1464.

To prevent deceit in the woollen trade, this statute sets forth a series of minute rules to be observed in every branch of the trade, fixing the dimensions of the various fabrics. It prohibits the mixing of lamb's-wool, flock, or cork with other wools in the same cloth, but allows cloth to be made of lamb's-wool only. Orders that all labourers shall be paid in money, provides for the viewing and sealing of all finished fabrics, renews the statute of Edward III. prohibiting foreign cloths to be sold in England.

C. 2. To ensure the going to Calais of all wools and woolfels exported, nine ports are appointed, of which Pool is the most westerly, from which places alone wools of any kind can be shipped.

C. 4. That in seventeen counties (in which Devon is not included) for three years no wool is to be contracted for before it is shorn, except by makers of cloth or yarn.

7TH EDWARD IV., C. 2, 1467.

Upon the prayer of the inhabitants of the hundreds of LIFTON, TAVISTOCK, and ROWBURGH, in Devonshire, allows them, on account of ancient custom, and by reason of the grossness and stubbornness of the wools of their districts, to mix as much lamb's-wool and flock with their wool as may be required to work it, and to expose the cloth thus made to sale notwithstanding the ordinance of 4 Edward IV. c. 1.

C. 3. Re-enacts 50 EDWARD III. c. 7, which prohibits the exportation of woollen yarns and unfinished cloths.

12TH EDWARD IV., C. 5, 1472.

Allows for five years the wool grown in certain northern counties to be shipped from Newcastle to Calais, or to New Middleborough in Flanders, and there to be sold.

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14TH EDWARD IV., C. 3, 1474.

The town of Berwick, in Brabant, was substituted for New Middleborough, in Flanders, to receive north-country wools.

1ST RICHARD III., C. 8, 1483.

Gives detailed dimensions for various cloths; enters into the process of dying; and orders that no inferior cloth or refuse wool be exported.

C. 9. That Italian merchants shall sell in gross only, and employ their money on commodities of this realm. All strangers shall sell their wares within eight months after their arrival; they may carry away what they cannot sell in that time. Aliens shall not buy or sell woollen cloth, or make woollen cloth in this realm, or deliver wool to be made into cloth.

1ST HENRY VII., C. 8, 1485.

Revokes the penalties of Richard III. against Italian merchants.

3RD HENRY VII., C. 11, 1486.

It having been shown that former acts did not mention that cloths should be rowed or shorn as well as fulled, before exportation, whereby outlandish nations set at work on them, to their enriching and injury of his Majesty's subjects; enacts that all woollen cloths above forty shillings shall be barbed, rowed, and shorn before exported.

4TH HENRY VII., C. 11, 1487.

None but those who make yarn, or cloth thereof, shall for ten years buy or bargain for any wool grown in eighteen named counties before the Assumption of our Lady (*15th August*); nor any strangers before the Purification (*2nd February*).

12TH HENRY VII., C. 6, 1496.

It having been shown that the exactions of the fraternity of Londoners were so great, that all merchants not of the confederacy withdrew themselves from foreign markets, whereby the woollen cloths of this realm were not sold, save to Londoners, for under the price that they were worth, and sometimes they were not paid for a long time, or not at all, enacts that every Englishman from henceforth may resort to foreign countries without exactions of the fraternity of Londoners, to trade there, and make his exchanges freely, at his pleasure.

5TH HENRY VIII., C. 2, 1513.

Entitled an act for the true making of cloths in Devon called white-straits. Owing to cloths being badly made and

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under measure, enacts that after the feast of Pentecost all white-straits shall be of certain dimensions; that every maker shall set his special mark on each.

C. 3. Repeals part of act 3 HENRY VII. c. 9, forbidding exportation of unfinished cloths under forty shillings in value, by allowing any white cloth of five marks and under to be exported.

C. 4. That for next seven years no worsteds shall be dry calandered; and that only persons properly apprenticed shall calander by the old or wet process.

6TH HENRY VIII., C. 9, 1514.

Enacts that a certain allowance shall be made for waste in the weight of wool delivered to break, comb, card, or spin.

That the same wool—waste alone excepted—shall be returned to the clothier without fraud.

That every weaver shall weave into the cloth all the same yarn delivered to him, or restore the remainder to the clothier with the cloth without any oil, moisture, dust, or sand.

That coloured wool, or woollen yarn, be bought in open market only.

That the walker or fuller shall do his work without any deceit.

That the clothier shall not offer for sale any cloth which when wet shall shrink more than one yard in length and one quarter in breadth; cloths called narrows or straits after the same rate.

That purchasers of cloths should not stretch them in length or breadth, except when wet.

That no flocks or deceivable thing should be worked into woollen cloths.

That all cloths be sold by their true contents; one inch to be added for every yard.

That cloths called *tostocks* made in Devon, and all woollen cloths made in Cornwall, were to be exempt from the above statute.

22ND HENRY VIII., C. 1, 1530.

Renews acts of Edward IV. and Henry VII. relating to the purchase of wool in certain counties by other than makers of yarn or cloth.

23RD HENRY VIII., C. 17, 1531.

Orders that all wool shall be washed before winding into fleeces, except in such counties where it is not customary, or when fleeces are sold by tale.

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24TH HENRY VIII., c. 2, 1532.

An act concerning dying of woollen goods.

25TH HENRY VIII., c. 13, 1533.

The price of wool having been forced up by sheep-holders, limits the number of sheep to be kept by one man to two thousand, counting one hundred and twenty to each hundred; lambs under one year old not to count.

27TH HENRY VIII., c. 12, 1535.

Regulates the dimensions of certain cloths; but exempts cloths called tavestocks, western dozens, frizes, kendals, and all manner of coarse cloths.

33RD HENRY VIII., c. 19, 1541.

Regulates the value of white cloths and unfinished cloths to be exported.

37TH HENRY VIII., c. 15, 1545.

On the sale of wool in open markets.

C. 23. Continues act of 23 Henry VIII., c. 17, concerning the washing of wool.

3RD AND 4TH EDWARD VI., c. 2, 1549.

Orders appointment of overseers to prevent fraud in the woollen trade, and carry out former acts; and reproducing with many additions the act of 6 Henry VIII., also orders all cloths to be marked before exposing for sale with the letter E, crowned.

5TH AND 6TH EDWARD VI., c. 6, 1552.

An act for the true making of woollen cloths, enters minutely into the whole trade.

Fixes dimensions of Devonshire kersies called dozens.

Orders that no flock, hair, or yarn of lamb's-wool shall be put into any cloth, kersey, or frize.

All cloths offered for sale to be sealed with a seal of lead, having the arms of such city, town, or borough where offered for sale.

Names the colours which cloths shall be dyed.

Exempts all cloths made at Tavistock, in Devon, or elsewhere in Devon, cloths called tavistocks, from this act.

C. 8. Orders that only those who had served an apprenticeship of seven years should weave cloth, or put cloth out to weave.

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C. 22. Enacts that gig mills shall not be used in the workmanship of woollen cloth.

7TH EDWARD VI., C. 9, 1553.

Fixes size and weight of pieces of cloth called white-pinned straits, and allows hair, flocks, and lamb's-wool to be put into any of them made in Devon or Cornwall.

1ST MARY, C. 7, 1553.

On a petition from divers cities, boroughs, and towns, showing how trade was injured by 5 and 6 EDWARD VI. c. 8, enacts that any residents in cities, boroughs, &c. where cloth has been made, may continue to do so without hindrance.

2ND AND 3RD MARY, C. 11, 1555.

On a petition from the weavers, certain restrictions were ordered, as to number of apprentices, looms, &c., kept by persons not residing in cities, boroughs, corporate towns, or market towns, and that no new loom should be put up except in such towns.

4TH AND 5TH MARY, C. 7, 1557.

On a petition, allows certain latitude to the restrictions under acts of Edward VI., allowing variation in dimensions of certain cloths, so as weight be retained.

That Devonshire kersies or dozens, instead of being obliged when finished to weigh 14lbs., shall weigh after the rate of one pound per yard.

Allows other colours than those ordered by Edward VI. to be used for cloths.

Prohibits cloth being made to sell except in cities, boroughs, or market towns where it used to be made; except in certain northern counties, in Wales, Suffolk, Kent, and Cornwall, where cloth has been made for the last twenty years. Repealed by 21 JAMES I. c. 28.

5TH ELIZABETH, C. 4, 1562.

That only sons of weavers, and those whose parents possess land to value of sixty shillings per annum, shall be taken as apprentices to woollen weavers, except in cities, boroughs, corporate towns, and market towns.

Repealed by 5th and 6th WILLIAM AND MARY, c. 9.

8TH ELIZABETH, C. 6, 1565.

Enacts, that in case any license should be granted to export cloths in an unfinished state, for every nine pieces so

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exported, one similar in every respect, but perfectly finished, should accompany them, but not be included in the license. That no license should extend to unfinished Suffolk or Kentish cloth.

14TH ELIZABETH, C. 10, 1572.

Fixes the dimensions of kersies.

23RD ELIZABETH, C. 9, 1581.

Regulates the dying of cloths.

27TH ELIZABETH, C. 18, 1585.

Regulates the making of coarse cloths in Devonshire and Cornwall, repealing 7th EDWARD VI., c. 9, and allowing all inhabitants of those counties, whether dwelling in towns or elsewhere, to weave and make plain white-straits and pinned white-straits; and to use in their making flocks, hair, and lamb's-wool yarn; and to keep and use three looms; and to make them of such dimensions as the merchant shall like, and shall be most acceptable to the people where the same shall be transported.

39TH ELIZABETH, C. 11, 1597.

Strengthening former statutes concerning deceit in dying wools or yarn.

43RD ELIZABETH, C. 10, 1601.

Enters minutely into each branch of the woollen trade, and fixes dimensions and weight of various fabrics made in different parts of the realm.

3RD JAMES I., C. 14, 1605.

Repeals statute 14 Elizabeth, c. 10, and again regulates the dimensions of kersies.

4TH JAMES I., C. 2, 1606.

An act for true making of woollen cloths. Clause 8 relates to dimensions and weight of Devonshire kersies called dozens.

12TH CHARLES II., C. 32, 1660.

An act prohibiting the exportation of wool, wool-fels, yarn, woolstocks, fuller's earth, &c.

13TH AND 14TH CHARLES II., C. 18, 1662.

Prohibition to export sheep, wool, yarns, &c., made more stringent.

C. 19. Renews acts 3 EDWARD IV., 39 ELIZABETH, c. 14, prohibiting the importation of foreign wool cards.

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15TH CHARLES II., C. 4, 1666.

To encourage the woollen manufacturer, orders none to be buried but in woollen. Amended by 30 Charles II., c. 3, and again 32 CHARLES II., c. 1.

1ST WILLIAM AND MARY, C. 32, 1688.

Appoints a commission to execute and enforce act of 12 CHARLES II., c. 32, to prevent the exportation of wool, and to encourage the woollen trade of the realm.

Allows Irish wool to be imported at certain western ports, among which are Barnstaple, Bideford, and Exeter.

Continued by 4th and 5th WILLIAM AND MARY, c. 24, for three years, but provides that no wool shall be imported from Ireland into port of Exeter. Further continued by 7th and 8th WILLIAM III., c. 28.

9TH AND 10TH WILLIAM III., C. 40, 1698.

An act for the better execution of former laws against the export of wool, &c.

10TH WILLIAM III., C. 2, 1698.

Prohibits the making or selling cloth or serge buttons, because they interfered with the trade of making silk and mohair buttons; and as the silk and mohair comes from Turkey in exchange for our woollen goods, that trade is also injured.

10TH AND 11TH WILLIAM III., C. 10, 1699.

A very stringent act to prevent the exportation of wool or woollen goods from Ireland save as provided for in 4th and 5th WILLIAM AND MARY, c. 24.

11TH AND 12TH WILLIAM III., C. 11, 1700.

To repeal the laws against the importation of Flemish lace three months after the prohibition of English woollen goods into Flanders shall be taken off.

11TH AND 12TH WILLIAM III., C. 20, 1700.

Relieves woollen goods from export duty.

1ST ANN, S. 2, C. 18, 1701.

An act to prevent frauds by persons employed in the working of wool made perpetual by 9 ANN.

6TH ANN, C. 9, 1707.

The privilege of exporting white cloths, finished or unfinished, granted by patents from Queen Elizabeth and

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Charles II. The latter having expired, it was enacted that all woollen cloth whatever made in Great Britain may be exported.

9TH ANN, C. 30, 1710.

Revives act of 1 ANN to prevent frauds in the woollen trade.

10TH ANN, C. 16, 1710.

Orders all payment of wages by clothiers to be in money, and not in kind, under penalty of twenty shillings.

5TH GEORGE I., C. 11, 1718.

That provisions, 1st WILLIAM AND MARY, c. 32, preventing the exportation of wool, to extend to woolfels, mortlings, shortlings, woollen yarns, and wool flocks.

12TH GEORGE I., C. 34, 1725.

Combinations of workmen in the woollen trade, either for advance of wages, or for shorter hours, or for quitting service before the time for which hired, or spoiling work, made punishable.

13TH GEORGE I., C. 23, 1726.

Enjoins that masters serve out all materials by 16 ounces to the pound; and to pay the weaver by the length of the chains; not to work up ends and use again.

5TH GEORGE II., C. 21, 1731.

That three war-ships and eight armed sloops cruise on the coast of Great Britain and Ireland, to prevent exportation of wool.

12TH GEORGE II., C. 21, 1738.

That woollen goods so slightly made as to be reduced and used as wool again, incur the same forfeiture as exporting wool.

22ND GEORGE II., C. 27, 1748.

Persons receiving woollen material from workmen to forfeit £20.

25TH GEORGE II., C. 14, 1751.

The port of Lancaster opened to import wool from Ireland.

26TH GEORGE II., C. 8, 1752.

The port of Exeter opened to import wool from Ireland.

30TH GEORGE II., C. 12, 1756.

Clothiers to pay their weavers within two days of delivery of goods.

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COPLESTONE CROSS; AND A CHARTER OF EADGAR, A.D. 974.

BY R. J. KING, M.A.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

A CHARTER of the tenth century, relating to the estate of Coplestone, now included partly in the extensive parish of Crediton, partly in that of Down St. Mary, and partly in that of Colebrook, has lately been photo-zincographed under the direction of Sir Henry James. The charter, of which the existence was unknown to all historians of the county, including Dr. Oliver (who makes no mention of it in the *Monasticon*), was presented, in 1870, by Henry Garling, Esq., of Southborough Hall, Kent, to the Public Record Office in London, where it is now preserved.

The previous history of the charter cannot be traced; but there is no apparent reason for hesitating to accept it as genuine. The evidence of the signatures which attest it, and the character of the charter itself, are perfectly consistent with its date. The photo-zincograph is accompanied by an English translation of the Latin charter, and by some observations as to its contents and object, which an acquaintance with the country itself, and with the boundaries added to the charter, enable me to correct in some particulars which are important, at least to all local antiquaries.

The charter, which is in Latin, contains a grant of three hydes or "mansas" of land, at a place called Nymed, by Eadgar the king to his thegn Ælfhere, in the year 974. It is endorsed in old English, "This is thara threora hida boc æt nymed the Eadgar cing gebocude Ælfhere his thegne onece yrfe." "This the book (or charter) of those three hides at Nymed that Eadgar, king, booked to Ælfhere his thegne, in perpetual inheritance." At the side of this endorsement, but in a separate compartment, are the words "Copulastanesboc," "the charter of Copulastane," written perhaps in a somewhat later hand. Below again, and in another com-

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partment, is the following endorsement, considerably later than the charter itself, but earlier than the Norman Conquest. "Hæc est carta terre que dicitur copulastan. quã dedit venerabilis prb̃r brihtricus p̄. remedio anime sue parentumq̄: suor. ad monasteriũ sce marie qd. e. in crydiatun. ad uictũ canonicor. inibi. dõ servientium. siquis autẽ illam a p̃fato loco abstulerit ut (*sic*) in aliq̄ minuerit p̃petuo anathemate p̃cussus sine fine cũ diabolo p̄eat. nisi digna satisfactione eĩndare studeat." "This is the charter of the land which is called Copulastan, which the venerable priest Brihtric gave for the relief of his soul and the souls of his parents to the Minster of St. Mary which is in Crediton, for the maintenance of the Canons serving God therein. If any one therefore shall take it away from the aforesaid place, or in anywise diminish it, may he, stricken with a perpetual curse, perish everlastingly with the Devil; unless he strive by due reparation to make atonement."

In the body of the charter there is no mention of Copulastan; but the boundaries of the "three hydes at Nymed" are given in the usual manner, and it becomes at once evident, from a comparison of this "landsmere" with existing names and places, that the three hydes embraced what is now the vill or estate of Coplestone. A considerable extent of country here seems to have been known, at the time when the charter was granted, as the "Nymed" or "Nymet." It must have covered what are now the parishes of Nymet Tracy, or Bow, Broad Nymet, Nymet Rowland, Clannaborough, and Down St. Mary; and before the grant of Eadgar, Coplestone must have formed a part of it. The word "Nymet" is equivalent, as I have said elsewhere,* to "intake," or "newtake," and signifies land enclosed from the open country—heath, forest, or pasture; but at what time the land here was so enclosed or "intaken," how and when the common rights of the first settlers (if indeed there were such common rights) became so lost or changed that the land could be granted or "booked" by the king and his witan,—these are questions to which we can give no answer. The charter certainly marks the first erection into a separate estate of the present land of Coplestone. Of the thegn Ælfhere, to whom the grant was made, we know nothing; but he is certainly not the same as the Ælfhere "Dux" who signs the grant. The former is called in the charter "minister," or "thegn;" the latter signs as "Dux" (Ealdorman); and the usual distinction is made between those

* See the "President's Address," delivered at the meeting of the Association at Torrington in 1875.

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who sign thus and those who sign as "ministri." The land must have passed at some time before the Conquest into the hands of the priest Brihtric, who may have been a descendant of Ælfhere the thegn. Brihtric gave it to the canons of Crediton; but although part of Coplestone has ever since been included in that wide parish, another portion at some early period became attached to the parish of Down Saint Mary.

The charter runs as follows:*

✠ Regnante in perpetuum Domino nostro Jhesu Christo. Omne quidem donationis decretum sub testimonio carraxaturæ commendanda est; ne successura posteritatis prosapia in rapacitatis voraginem et ignorantiæ nebulam demergatur. Qua de re ego Eadgar divina favente gratia totius Britanniæ primatum regulis regiminis optinens, quandam ruris partem juris mei dicione subactum pro devoto famulatu libens perpetuali libertate tribuendo, condono Ælfhere fideli meo ministro III. mansas in loco qui vulgari appellatione nuncupatur Nymed ut habeat ceu supradiximus in æternam hereditatem cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus, campis, pascuis, pratis. Sit vero predictum rus ab omni mundiali censu et regali servitute expers nisi tantum expeditione, pontis, arcisve constructione. Qusiquis autem benevola ac fideli mente augendo hanc prælativam donationem amplificare satagerit, augeat, amplificetque cuncti parens in hoc presenti seculo vitam illius, et cum suis omnibus prospera feliciter longiturnæ vitæ gaudia inveniat. Minuentibus vero atque injuste frangentibus quod opto absit a fidelium mentibus fiat pars cum illis de quibus e contra fatur "discedite a me maligni in ignem æternum' nisi prius legali satisfactione emendaverint. Istis terminibus predicta terra circumgyrata esse videtur.

+ This is thæra threora hida landgemære æt nymed. Ærest on Copelanstan of thæm stane west on herpoth on eisandune thon thanon west on herpoth on readan flodan thonon on Secgbroces heafod thonon adune on Secgbroe oth seo lacu scyt west thanon ut on Hæthfeld on seohteres heafod of tham seohtere adune on hane thanon adune andlang streames oth riscbroc scyt on nymed thanon east on riscbroc on scipbroc thon up on scipbroc thæteft (?) on copelan stan.

Acta est autem hæc præfata donatio dccccIxxiiii dominicæ incarnationis anno. Indictione ii.

Hujus doni testes existerunt quorum hic nomina carraxantur.

+ Ego Eadgar rex perpetuam donationem confirmavi.

* The contractions of the original are here given at length.

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Ego Ælfthrythe regina consensi.
+ Ego Dunstan Dorobernensis archiepiscopus corroboravi.
+ Ego Oswold Eboracensis archiepiscopus consolidavi.
+ Ego Athelwold epš coñs. (Bishop of Winchester.)
+ Ego Ælfstan epš coñs. (London.)
+ Ego Alfwold epš coñs. (Sherborne.)
+ Ego Ælfstan epš coñs. (Ramsbury.)
+ Ego Cynewerd epš coñs. (Wells.)
+ Ego Ælfstan epš coñs. (Rochester.)
+ Ego Eadelm epš coñs. (Selsey.)
+ Ego epš coñs. (Name not inserted.)
+ Ego Sideman epš coñs. (Crediton.)
+ Ego Adulf epš coñs. (Hereford.)
+ Ego Theodred epš coñs. (Elmham.)
+ Ego Wulfsige epš coñs. (Cornwall.)
+ Ego Ælfric abb.
+ Ego Æscwig (?) abb.
+ Ego Osgan abb.
+ Ego Æthelgan abb.
+ Ego Ælfnoth abb.
+ Ego Sigan abb.
+ Ego Ælfheh abb.
+ Ego Byrhteh abb.
+ Ego Godwine abb.
+ Ego Leofric abb.
+ Ego Æthelsige abb.
+ Ego Oswerd abb.
+ Ego Ælfhere dux.
+ Ego Æthelwine dux.
+ Ego Byrhtnoth dux.
+ Ego Oslac dux.
+ Ego Ælfwerd mins.
+ Ego Æthelwerd mins.
+ Ego Eanulf mins.
+ Ego Ælfsige mins.
+ Ego Æthelmær mins.
+ Ego Leofwine mins.
+ Ego Æthelwerd mins.
+ Ego Wulfstan mins.
+ Ego Byrhtmær mins.
+ Ego Æthelsige mins.

The following translation of the charter, made by W. B. Sanders, Esq., Assistant Keeper of Her Majesty's Records, accompanies the photo-zincograph:

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"Our Lord Jesus Christ reigneth for ever. It is advisable that every deed of gift should be made under the testimony of writing, lest the succession of posterity be swallowed in the whirlpool of rapine and the clouds of ignorance. Therefore I, Edgar, having by divine grace obtained the pre-eminence of royal rule over all Britain, being willing to endow with perpetual freedom a certain part of the country under my jurisdiction, do, in reward of his devoted service, grant unto Ælfhere, my faithful minister, three plots of ground [mansas] in the place which is called in common parlance Nymed, that he may hold it, as we have above said, in perpetual inheritance, with all fields, woods, and meadows thereunto of right appertaining. Moreover, the aforesaid land is to be free of all secular tribute and royal service, excepting only going to the wars, and the building of bridges or castles. Whosoever therefore, moved by a benevolent and sincere disposition, shall trouble himself in amplifying this aforesaid grant, may the Parent of all increase and amplify his life in this present world, and may he and all his family happily experience the unclouded joys of that everlasting one to come. But may they who shall diminish or unjustly violate the same, which God forbid should enter into the minds of the faithful, make part with those of whom, on the other hand, it is pronounced, 'Depart from me, ye wicked, into everlasting fire,' unless they shall have made lawful satisfaction beforehand. This said land appears to be enclosed about by these bounds."

"This is the landmere of the three hydes at Nymed—First, to Copelanstan; from that stone westwards on to the high road at Eisandune; then therefrom westward to the high road at Red Flood; therefrom to Sedgbrook's head; therefrom down Sedgbrook to where the stream [*lacu*] strikes west; therefrom out on Heathfield to the gutter-head; from the gutter down on Hane; therefrom adown along stream to where Rushbrook strikes on Nymed; therefrom eastward on Rushbrook to Shipbrook; then up Shipbrook, and so back to Copelanstan."

"Moreover, this aforesaid grant was made in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord, DCCCCLXXIIII. In the second Indiction. These are the witnesses of this grant, whose names are here written."

These names need not here be repeated. Among them occur those of Edgar and his queen; of Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury; and of Oswald, Archbishop of York; of twelve other bishops, including Sideman, Bishop of Crediton; of twelve abbots, and of many lay personages.

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The estate of Coplestone, which gives name to a very ancient Devonshire family, is itself named from the very remarkable cross which is mentioned as the starting and returning-point in the boundaries of the land granted by Edgar. This is the "Copelanstan"—the "Coplestone cross" of more modern days.* The true signification of this name is by no means certain. It may mean the "headland stone," or the "chief stone," since the old English word "cop" signifies "head," "summit," "chief;" or it may perhaps contain a personal name, and mean the stone of the man Copela. I do not know, however, that "Copela" occurs in any other instance as a personal name, although it is by no means impossible that it is so found here. This must remain undecided. At any rate, the cross is of very high interest, not only from its great antiquity, which possibly exceeds that of any other monument of its class in Devonshire, but because it is the only stone cross on this side of the Tamar which displays anything of that well-known interlaced work which is comparatively common in the north of England—the ancient Northumbria—but which is not very often met with even in Cornwall, where however it does occur. And whoever raised it—whether he were some unknown Copela, or one whose name has altogether perished—we shall no doubt be right in regarding it as the "head-stone of the land"—the "chief stone" of the district. It stands on the extreme border of the great parish of Crediton, which, long before any date we can fairly assign to the cross, had become the principal possession of the bishops of Devonshire. It was the custom in the earlier period of Saxon Christianity—and the custom was continued long afterwards—for the lord of the land, in places where no church had been built, to erect a cross of wood or of stone, to which outlying ceorls and serfs might repair to offer their prayers. Coplestone is still far from any church; and the cross may well have been raised, either by the care of the bishop, or by that of one of his thegns, to serve at once as a bound-stone, and as a central and religious gathering-place. Whatever its age may be, it is certainly older than the charter which has just been read. The Crediton bishopric was established early in the tenth century, about the year 909; and the Copelanstan may fairly be assigned to a period not long after that date. There is no reason to believe—and, indeed, with the evidence of the charter before us, we may

* In the boundaries added to the charter the name is so spelt, "Copelanstan." In the later endorsements it is given as "Copulastane" and "Copulastan."—*See above.*

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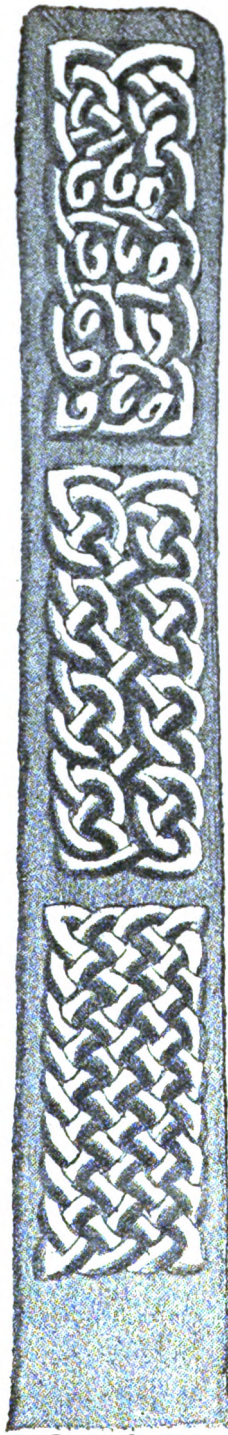

N.E. Side. *N.W. Side.*

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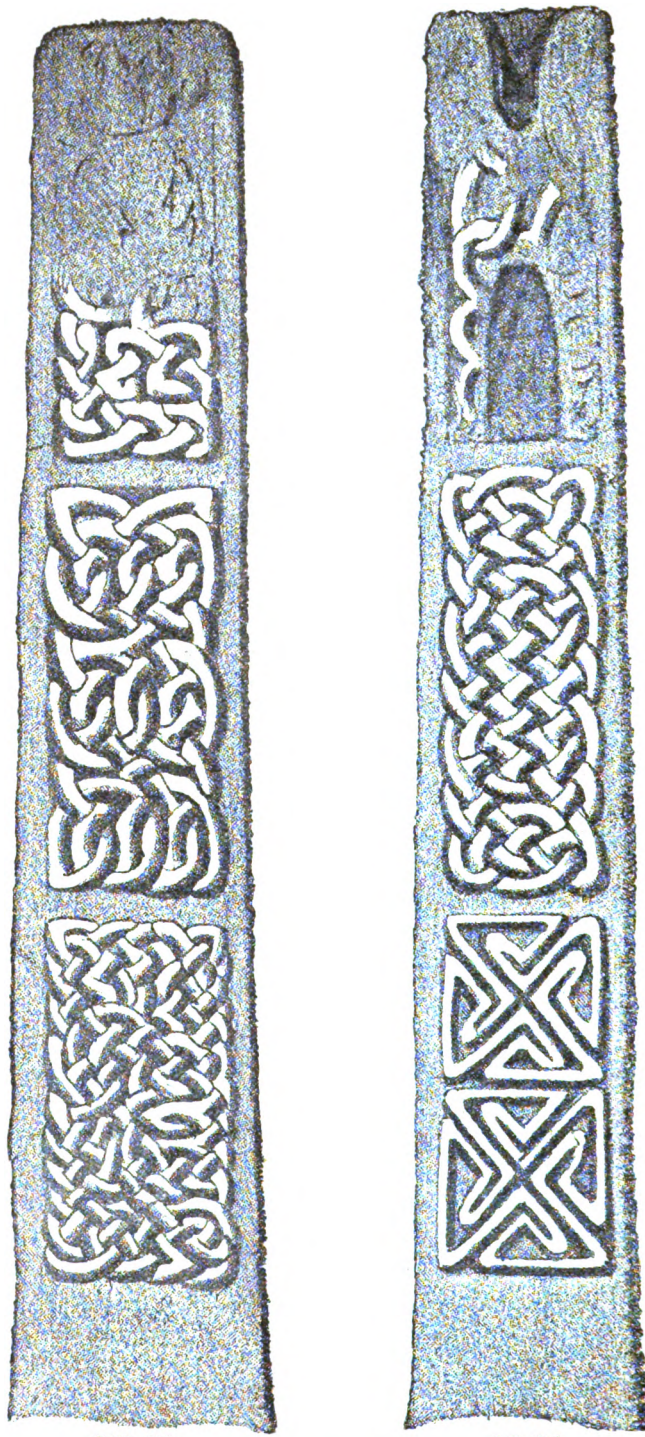
COPLESTONE CROSS.

Reduced from a lithograph after a drawing by SIR HENRY DRYDEN.



S.W. Side. *S.E. Side.*

COPLESTONE CROSS.

Reduced from a lithograph after a drawing by SIR HENRY DRYDEN.

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speak positively on the matter—that the cross at any time occupied a different position from that which it now does. The only change that has been made (and this was done for the sake of preserving the stone, about thirty years since) is the raising of the cross on a sloping base of modern masonry four or five feet high. The stone itself is of granite, much weather-beaten, and tinted with yellow lichen. The height from the base is ten feet six inches, and the stone tapers slightly toward the top, where the width is one foot six and a half inches. All four sides have been covered with ornament, some of which is now very difficult to decipher. By the kindness of Sir Henry Dryden, however, I am enabled to lay before the Association a hitherto unpublished lithograph representing the four sides of the cross, and drawn by him with the utmost care and labour. This lithograph has been reproduced in the accompanying illustration. The sculpture in at least one of the divisions had become so indistinct, that in order to draw it with any accuracy it was necessary to take plaster casts from the stone; and, as an additional reason for this precaution, it may be added that ornament of this sort on granite is never easy to decipher, owing to the glittering particles which catch and distract the sight. We have here therefore the most perfect representation of the cross which it is possible to obtain, and one of which every year increases the value, since with every winter the stone becomes more and more weather-worn. The ornaments, it will be seen, are nearly all of that interlaced, twisted character which is generally held to be of Celtic origin, but which, supposing that to be the case, was certainly adopted by Teutonic and Scandinavian races who came in contact with the Celts. It has been suggested that it is a reminiscence of the early use of twisted willow wands for the formation of crosses, and for other ecclesiastical purposes. The plaited, twisted appearance of this willow-work was reproduced in stone. The patterns and the appearance of the rib of the twisting vary much in different districts. Here it will be seen that each panel of the cross is different. No two are exactly alike. The lowest panel on the south-east side has a design which is twisted, but not plaited. This is one which I do not remember to have seen elsewhere. On the north-east side are two Siamese-like figures, under a sort of canopy, which may represent Adam and Eve; but doubtfully.* There are much-defaced ornaments above their heads, which I cannot explain; nor is it

* It has been suggested that the visit of St. Elizabeth to the Blessed Virgin may be intended. The figures seem to be embracing.

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at all clear what is meant to be represented by the figure on horseback in the uppermost panel. In what manner the "Copelanstan" was finished at the top is not certain. A socket shown on the south-east side may have received a circular heading, marked with a Greek cross, such as occurs on one or two of the Dartmoor crosses figured by Mr. Ormerod, and which is frequently found in Cornwall. But no fragment of such a heading remains; and I know no instance in which the roundel is detached from the main stone, as it must have been here, if it ever existed. The small recess which appears on the same side of the stone, a little below the socket, is of later date, and was cut through the ornament of the panel in which it is placed. It may have been formed after the loss or destruction of the top of the cross, and was designed perhaps to contain a small crucifix or image of metal.

The three hydes or mansas (the words are equivalent) granted in the charter have been considered to be at present represented by "the three villages" (parishes) "now called Nymet Rowland, Nymet Tracey, and Broad Nymet." But this is impossible. The Copelanstan stands, as it always has stood, at the meeting-place of three parishes—Crediton, Colebrook, and Down St. Mary—and not one of the Nymets is near it. But the charter says expressly that the three hydes were "æt Nymed;" and we can only conclude, as has before been said, that the "Nymet," or "newtake," at that early period included a much greater part of the district than what is covered by the three parishes which retain the name. The extent of the hyde or mansa is a vexed question. It probably varied at different times and in different localities, but it has never been held to represent more than forty or fifty of our present acres; and the estate thus granted by Eadgar was not a large one,—nothing like what it would have been if the three Nymet parishes had been intended. The estate of Coplestone extends to about 160 acres; and after a due consideration of the boundaries as appended to the charter, there can remain no reasonable doubt that this is the place intended. Some of the small streams by which we are guided have indeed disappeared under ages of cultivation. They were little more than runnels at any time; but the "Ship-brook" and the "Rush-brook," or at least their old courses, may still be traced, and the "Copelanstan" remains as the starting and returning-point. The stone was there long before Eadgar's grant of the land, and it at once gave name to the new estate. The charter, as we have seen,

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is endorsed "Copulastansboc"—the book or charter of Coplestone.

There is no evidence to show at what time this estate passed from the canons of Crediton, to whom it had been given by the priest Brihtric. At a very early period—remembering the deprecations of the charter, we can only hope that they acquired it fairly, and made "due reparation" to the canons—it was in the hands of the old Devonshire family, which took name from it—the Coplestones, who were held, and who held themselves, to be descended from an English ancestor who retained his lands in the west after the re-distribution under the Conqueror. There is an old local rhyme, which runs—

> "Crocker, Cruwys, and Coplestone,
> When the Conqueror came, were found at home."

It need hardly be said that, whoever the ancestors of "Crocker, Cruwys, and Coplestone" may have been at the time of the Domesday survey, we have no means of identifying them; and of the few English thegns who retained their lands in Devonshire after the Conquest, not one is recorded as holding any of those estates, which at a much later period appear as the property of these "mythical" families.

The Coplestones however—although their estate at the birthplace of their name was small—had much land elsewhere in the county, and were regarded with no small reverence. They were known as the "great Coplestones," and "Coplestones of the white spur," indicating an especial privilege—the grant, says Westcote, "of a silver collar, or chain of SS., and silver spurs, and are so distinguished from knights which wear gilt spurs." Of their manor-house at Coplestone there are but scanty remains, worked into a comparatively modern house.

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THE DISMISSAL OF SIR EDWARD SEYMOUR FROM THE RECORDERSHIP OF TOTNES BY JAMES II. 1687.

BY EDWARD WINDEATT.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

WHILST exploring among the old books and papers of the Corporation of Totnes, with a view to glean some particulars of the history of my native town, I have found many entries which, whilst they are of a local character, at the same time throw light on the history of the times to which they relate; and this is specially true of the entries relating to the removal of Sir Edward Seymour, Bart., from the recordership of Totnes by James II. in 1687, which I found in the old dilapidated court-book stored in the council chamber of the ancient guildhall of Totnes; and I have thought them of sufficient general interest to be gathered together in this paper.

Macaulay, in his *History of England*, referring to the meeting of parliament in May, 1685, gives a sketch of Edward Seymour, of Berry Pomeroy Castle, member for the city of Exeter, and shows that in him James had an adversary of no common prowess, and one who would be sure to be remembered by the king when an opportunity offered.

Seymour was recorder of Totnes; and the extracts which follow show how James removed him from that office, and endeavoured to persuade the freemen of this ancient borough to elect Sir John Southcote, a Catholic, in the room of Seymour, without administering to him the usual oaths, except the usual oath of recorder, and shows that the burghers of Totnes were men of courage and determination, and not to be dictated to even by a king, nor afraid of the consequences of their firmness.

Totnes during the civil war seems to have been more favourable to the parliament than the king, as appears by the entries in the accounts during the time it was succes-

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sively occupied by the troops of the king under Lord Goring, and those of the parliament under Fairfax. Hence perhaps the resolute spirit manifested by those who could remember that in 1645 their mayor had to pay £115 12s., evidently to prevent the troops of the king from being quartered in the town, and perhaps pillaging it; an agreement being made with Lord Goring, says the mayor's account, "for the preservation and more saffetye of oure towne, which we were constrayned to consent unto," and on which the above sum was paid.

The first entry relating to the removal of Seymour is as follows:

Att the Court at Whitehall,
the 27th November, 1687.
Present,
The King's most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas by the Charter granted to the Towne of Totnes, in Devonshire, a power is reserved to his Majesty by his Order in Council to remove from their imployments any officers in the said Towne,

His Majesty in Council is pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered, that Sir Edward Seymour, Recorder, be and he is hereby removed and displaced from his said office of Recorder in the said towne of Totnes.*

WM. BRIDGMAN.

Which warrant was on Monday, the Fifth day of December, 1687, delivered to the Right Worshipfull Robert Symons, Mayor, and that day read in the Publique Common Hall in presence of several of the Freemen of the said Towne, in presence of Sir John Southcote, who also in the said Hall delivered to the said Mayor the letter following:

To our trusty and welbeloved, the Mayor, Burgesses, and Corporation of our Burrough of Totnes, in our County of Devon.

James R.

Trusty and welbeloved, we greet you well.

Whereas we have by our Order in Council thought fit to remove Sir Edward Seymour, Baronett, from being Recorder of that our Towne, and being well satisfied of the fitnesse of our trusty and welbeloved Sir John Southcote, Knt. to supply that place, Wee have thought fit hereby to will and

* Old *Court Book*, p. 225.

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require you forthwith to elect and admitt the said Sir John Southcote Recorder of our said Towne, without administering any oath or oaths to him, but the usuall oath of Recorder, with which we are pleased to dispense in this behalfe; and for soe doinge this shall be your warrant.

And soe we bid you farewell.

Given att our Court att Whitehall, the 28th day of November, 1687, in the third yeare of our reigne, by his Majestie's Command. SUNDERLAND. P.

On receipt of which letter, the Mayor considering the directions thereof, and it being in a time when most of the Freemen were att the faire att Exon, and there were absent (Thirteen then only appearing), a List of all the Freemen was made, and they summoned to appeare at the Guildhall, on Monday, the Twelfth day of December instant, who proceeded as follows:

Totnes. Att the publique Meetinge att the Guildhall there on Monday, the Twelfth day of December, 1687, by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Freemen of the said Town (being then present Thirty-nyne Freemen), who having beene called over in order by name, the order for dismissing of Sir Edward Seymour, Barrt. from being Recorder having been read, and he dismissed accordingly. The King's Majesty's letter afore-mentioned was also read; and then, according to the custom of the Burrough, we proceeded, that each freeman might give his vote whether Sir John Southcote should be elected Recorder or not, in which, in order, Thirty-three of the said Freemen (whose names are here subscribed) denyed to elect Sir John Southcote Recorder, and fower of the said Freemen declared they were for electing him Recorder; the other two refused to give their votes.

Then follows the signatures of the Freemen voting as follows:

Robert Symons, Mayr	James Cockey
John Cross	Thomas Willing
Jo. Harlowin	Edw. Rounsevall
William Shapleigh	George Brockwell
Tho. Blackhall	Luke Corbin
Walter Gould	Alexander Trounson
Jo. Waymouth	Andrew Cheeke
John Willing	Samuel Hyre
Christo Locke	John Col
John Amyatt	Richard Vavasor
Richard Cockey	George Rooke, jun.*
John Willing	John Hewett*
Wm. Searle	Richard Adams*

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William Byrch
Edw. Trewman
Peter Torr
Richard Tucker*
John Kellond*
Jonas Hernaman
The syne of
Wm. × Pridham.

The fower that are for the election—

Frederick Wauchope
× The syne of
Richard Bullock
James Cole } but they departed
Edw. Holwell } without syninge.

Among the persons voting against the election of Sir John Southcote, and thus defying the king, were all the leading men in the borough, many of whom had filled the office of mayor; and with reference to one of them (Samuel Hyre), there is a very curious entry in the same court-book, under date 19th January, 1685-6, as follows:

Samuel Hyre, of Totnes, Brasier, was bound in recognizance for reporting that he had received a letter from his father (a Lieutenant in the King's Army against Lyme Regis), wherein it was said that the Duke of Monmouth had 12,000 men.

The conduct of the burgesses of Totnes in thus defying the king's command was not long allowed to go unpunished, as appears by the next extract.

Att the Court att Whitehall,
the 23rd of December, 1687.
Present,
The King's most excellent Maty
in Councill.

Whereas by the Charter granted to the Towne of Totnes, in Devonshire, a power is reserved to his Maty by his Order in Councill to remove from their employments any officers in the said Town, His Majesty in Council is pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered that John Harlowin and John Crosse, Aldermen and Justices of the Peace; Richard Tucker, Alderman; John Waymouth, Alderman and Town Clerk; Richard Cockey, John Hewett, William Birch, John Willing, Sen., John Willing, jun., William Searle, Edward Truman, James Cockey, Thomas Willing, Edward Rounsevall, Luke Corbin, Alexander Trounson, and George Brockwell, Assistants, be,

* Where these signatures would be the book has been mutilated, and I guess them from the fact that they were among those turned out.

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and they are hereby removed and displaced from their aforesaid offices in the sayd Town of Totnes.

Which order was, on the day of *delivered unto Mr. Robert Symons, Maior of the sayd Borough of Totnes. And being read in a Publique Hall, the same was allowed, and the persons above named discharged accordingly. And there-upon the letter, or mandate, hereunder written, was delivered to the said Mayor by Sir John Southcote, which was also read in the Publique Hall. †

To our trusty and welbeloved the Mayor, Burgesses, and Corporation of our Towne of Totnes, in our County of Devon,

James R.

Trusty and welbeloved, we greet you well.

Whereas we have by our Order in Councill thought fitt to remove (repeating the seventeen persons named above), wee have thought fitt thereby to will and require you forthwith to elect and admitt our trusty and welbeloved Richard Burthogge and John Brooking, Esq^rs, Aldermen and Justices of the Peace; Anthony Guthridge, Alderman; Robert Berry, Alderman and Town Clerk; John Tothill, Joseph Langworthy, Ralph Wakeham, John Harris, Edward Perrott, Anthony Boone, Mordecai Cockey, Richard Clarke, Edward Holwell, James Cole, William Jarvis, Richard Short, and Samuel Venning, to be Assistants in the room of the persons above mentioned, without administering unto them any other oaths but the usual oath for the execution of their respective places, with which we are pleased to dispense in this behalf, and for soe doing this shall be your warrant.

The parties displaced were no doubt the ringleaders in opposing the king's command, and were the first to suffer for their courage and independence.

Several of the persons put in to supply their places were dissenters, their names frequently appearing in the same old court-book, as being reported for non-attendance at church, and attendance at conventicles. Of these, Richard Barthogge, M.D., of Bowdon House, near Totnes, was one of the most prominent. Several times had he and his family been presented by the jury of the court-leet for non-attendance at church. For two years he had entertained at his house Mr. James Burdwood, the ejected minister of St. Petrock's Church, Dartmouth, together with his wife and children. But now the times were changed, and he was an alderman and justice

* No date is inserted. † Page 227.

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of the peace. He was the author of several theological works, and is said to have been a man of great learning.

It was not long before the mayor, and some more of his brethren, were ousted from office, as appears by the next entry; and among them is Frederick Wauchope, one of the four who voted for Sir John Southcote, but only, as appears by the next entry, that he might be rewarded by being made an alderman: Edward Holwell, who voted for Southcote, is made an assistant.

Att the Courte at Whitehall,
the 22nd of January, 1687.

By the King's most excellent Majty and the Lords of his Maties most honoble privy Council. Reciting the power to the King in the Charter to remove any Officer, his Majesty in Council is pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered, that Robert Symons, Mayor and Alderman, John Kelland, standing Justice of ye peace and Alderman, William Shapleigh, Thomas Blackhall, Walter Gould, Richard Adams, and George Rooke, Jun., Aldermen, John Brooking, Senr Christopher Lock, Frederick Wauchope, John Amyatt, Peter Torre, and Edward Pridham, Assistants, be, and they are hereby, removed from their aforesaid Offices and places in the said Bourrough of Totnes. WILLIAM BRIDGEMAN.

Mr. Robert Symons and the rest of the persons above named were served with the said order on the Eleventh day of February, 1687.

Next follows an entry of the grant of a new charter by James II., in which Sir John Southcote is named recorder, and Christopher Farwell mayor.

BUR DE TOTNES.

Memorand that our Sovereign Lord King James the second over England, having beene graciously pleased, by a New Charter bearing date the day of *in the fourth yeare of his Raigne to Re-incorporate the said Bourrough of Totnes, the said Charter was brought into the Guildhall of the said Bourough, upon Monday, the three-and-twentieth day of April in the year aforesaid, Anno D.M. 1688; when and where, pursuant to the said Charter, Christopher Farwell, Esq., was sworne Mayor of the said Burrough, untill the one-and-twentieth day of September next, according to the forme and direction of the said Charter, before John

* No date is inserted.

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Beare, Esq., one of his Maties Justices of the Peace for the County of Devon.

And afterwards, viz., the same day and at the same place, Sir John Southcote, Knt., was sworne Recorder of the Bourough aforesaid; and John Beare, Esq., Richard Burthogge, Esq., John Brooking, Esq., Anthony Guthridge, William Lavers, Samuel Deeble, Frederick Wauchope, and Luke Shorte, gentlemen, were sworne Aldermen of the said Bourough; and the said Sir John Southcote, John Beare, Richard Burthogge, and John Brooking, were sworne Justices of the peace of the Bourough and parish aforesaid, before the said Mayor, according to the tenor and direction of the said Charter.

And also Giles Inglett, gent., was then and there sworne Town clark of the said Borough.

And John Tothill, James Rowe, Sen., Joseph Langworthy, James Rowe, Jun., Mordecai Cockey, Richard Clarke, William Jarvis, Richard Shorte, Isaac Punchard, John Oliver, John Harris, Christopher Furneaux, James Cole, Edward Holwell, Thomas Bowden, William Bowden, and Richard Lux, were sworne assistants of the said Burrough, before the said Mayor, according to the tenor and direction of the said Charter.

Att which time and place Francis Risdon, Esq., Thomas Gifford, Esq., Rowland Watson, Esq., Edmund Parker, and James Polexfen, Gents, entered into the Guild Merchant of Totnes aforesaid, and were sworne.

On 2nd May, 1688, John Tothill, apothecary, was elected and sworne Receiver of the Borough aforesaid.

The following curious entry respecting Mr. Tothill appears under date 19th April, 1687, in the court book:

"Forasmuch as John Tothill, of this Towne, Apothecary, hath affronted this Court in the tyme of Public Sessions, for which he was required to finde sureties for his good behaviour, and refusing to give the same, he was remitted by this Court to be kept safe in the custody of the Constables of the Borough till he should find sufficient sureties for his good behaviour. And 'tis further ordered that a special warrant be given the Constables for their discharge."

Then follows a recognizance by John Tothill, with two sureties, and made the same day, 19th April, 1687.

The wheel of fortune had however now turned in his favour; and his enemies being out of office, he is made receiver.

And a lot more were the same day admitted to the Guild

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Merchant, among whom were Roger Babbidge and Richard Babbidge, ancestors of Charles Babbage (the inventor of the calculating machine). As the members of the Guild Merchant voted in the election of members of parliament, many persons were added to ensure the election of persons favourable to James's policy.

One of the newly-appointed aldermen appears to have soon got into disgrace; for there is an entry that—

At a Court at Whitehall, 7th June, 1688, Anthony Goodridge was removed from being an alderman. This was signyfied to Mr. Goodridge the 29th June, 1688. The next three pages are blank; and from the next entry it appears that Mr. John Brooking was elected mayor on Mr. Farwell going out of office, 21st September, 1688. Next appears a copy of a proclamation for restoring corporations to their ancient charters. Liberties, rights, and franchises given at Court at Whitehall, 17th October, 1688. James coming to his senses on the report of the expedition of the "Prince of Orange," but too late to save his crown.

And there is a memorandum that the Charters were surrendered, 28th August, 1684, to King Charles II., and the same surrender cancelled by the Attorney-General, Sir Thomas Powys, and sent back in November, 1688.*

The Freedome of the Towne att the tyme of the surrender stood as follows.

Here follows the List, Sir John Maynard, K^t^, Serg^t^ att Lawe, being Recorder, and Mr. Richard Tucker, Mayor.

Among the list of persons are the following, being members of some of the leading families in the county:

Sir Wm. Courtney, Bart.
Sir Thos. Berry, Kt,
John Kelland, Esq.
Edward Seymour, Esq.
Arthur Champernowne, Esq.
Rawlyn Mallock, Esq.
Sir Symon Leath, Knight of the Bath
Sir John Fowell, Bart.
Roger Pomeroy, Esq.
John Pole, Esq.
John Rolle, Esq.
Elias Pomeroy, Gent.
Richard Strode, Esq.
Denys Rolle, Esq.
Henry Seymour, Esq.†

On the old charter being surrendered, Charles II. granted a new one; and there is an entry in the town accounts as follows: "November 13th, 1684, paid for ringing when the charter was brought home, £1."

Sir John Maynard, serjeant-at-law, one of the most learned lawyers of his time, was member for Totnes in the long parliament (and on subsequent occasions). His family

* Page 246. † Page 247.

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was connected with the borough, and so high did he stand, that the government tried to secure his services as one of the counsel for the prosecution on the trial of the seven bishops; but he declared he could not in conscience do what was asked of him.

When the charter was surrendered, in 1684, by order of Charles II., Sir John must have held the office of recorder, Sir E. Seymour's being perhaps a subsequent appointment; and on the surrender being cancelled, Sir John came into office again.

On the election of representatives to the convention, convened by the Prince of Orange after the flight of James II., Totnes returned Sir John Fowell, Bart. and Rawlyn Mallock, Esq.; and an entry appears in the old court-book of the proclamation of William and Mary as King and Queen of England, which was proclaimed at Totnes, 21st February, 1688–9.

The gentlemen placed in office in the corporation by James had to retire into private life; to emerge from it once more, however, and claim the freedom of the borough by virtue of James's charter. For I find that, at the election of members for Totnes, in November, 1695, there were four candidates; viz,

Right Honble. Sir E. Seymour, Bart.,
Edward Yarde, the younger, of Churston Court, Esq.,
Sir Richard Gipps, Knight, and
James Bateman, Esq.

And on a poll of the freemen, the mayor declared the poll to be, for

Sir E. Seymour	34	votes
Mr. Yarde	35	„
Sir R. Gipps	10	„
Mr. Bateman	4	„

Whereupon Sir R. Gipps demanded of the court to poll those persons that were free by virtue of the late king James II.'s charter; and being asked by the Court who those persons were, he then called Dr. Richard Burthogge, who appeared and answered; but the court would not admit his vote, declaring that no other but the said king James's charter gave him the freedom, and as to that charter the court was advised it was void.

Sir R. Gipps then withdrew from the guildhall, and polled Dr. Burthogge and several others in the churchyard; and the mayor having returned Seymour and Yarde, he petitioned against their return. But the committee of the House of

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Commons found that persons made free by James's charter had no right to vote in elections of members of parliament for the borough, and Sir R. Gipps having preferred a frivolous and vexatious petition, he was ordered to be taken in custody by the serjeant-at-arms, and pay the costs.

And thus ended this curious episode in the history of the corporation of the ancient borough of Totnes; and while it is with no little pride as a native of Totnes I bring it before your notice, I do not doubt but that, were the muniments of other boroughs in our county carefully searched, similar facts of general as well as local interest might be found, which would throw light on the history of the country at large.

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DARTMOOR.

BY W. F. COLLIER.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

DARTMOOR is a theme which to every Devonian is a romance. Dartmoor is wild, rugged, mountainous, and grand. The hills are high, and are crowned with granite tors, which impart to them a power to excite feelings of reverence. Like crowned monarchs, when there is a cloud upon their brow we fear the storm that follows the frown, and when their aspect is clear and bright we bask in the sunshine of their royal favour.

Beneath them is the deep valley and the stream in its rocky bed, roaring or murmuring in response to the frown or the smile of the ruling power above; the roar sounding like the threat of a destroyer; the murmur, soothing, gentle, and persuasive.

From the heights of the tors to the depths of the valleys ever-varying contrasts present themselves. The green turf, the purple heather, the graceful fern, the golden furze, the black bog, the granite boulders relieved with gay moss and lichen, lie before us, stretched in irregular expanse as far as the eye can reach. The whole effect rouses the feelings, stirs our emotions, and awakens in us the sense of the sublime grandeur which nature in a wild state impresses upon those who indulge themselves by contemplating her in her simple purity.

To admire nature apart from civilization is not to be uncivilized. It is so much the contrary, that it may be questioned whether uncivilized men admire nature at all To them nature is a severe task-mistress, imposing upon them unceasing labour and numberless hardships in whatever climate they may live. To civilized men she is a delight, a relief, and a rest; a pure unalloyed enjoyment, drawing their thoughts away from the toil of civilized life, putting the sense of beauty into the mind of the jaded worker in dry, ugly detail, and restoring tone to the nerves of the exhausted student of hard facts.

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Nature still remains dominant on Dartmoor; but how much longer she will so remain in her glory and her power—a healing, restoring, softening influence—is a serious and alarming question which I am exceedingly desirous to bring before the Devonshire Association.

There is a conflict on Dartmoor between two opposing forces, and the stronger of them is fast gaining ground on the weaker, shortly to occupy the camp of the beaten power. There has been a slow, persistent, determined advance by the invader on the territories of the native possessor, and the aggressor is fast becoming, as usual, the conqueror. In other words, and in homely common phrase, Dartmoor is in danger of being civilized off the face of the earth. I want to raise the cry of "Devonshire to the rescue!"

The two opposing forces are, not civilization ranged against uncivilization, but one phase of civilization ranged against another phase; the hard, grinding, unsympathetic, worldly-wise, wealth-seeking, dull side of the shield of the knight-errant of civilization, in opposition to the bright, glistening, glorious, and lovely side. It is the lower civilization seizing nature by force and making a slave of her, putting her in chains and confining her in prisons, against the higher civilization, making a friend, a mother of her, placing her at the head of our affairs, choosing her for our queen.

To put this question in a more practical shape: Are supposed economical laws to supersede all other laws, and are the beauties of Dartmoor to fall before the spade and the plough, for the sake of the miserable pittance that can be wrung from her granite and bog?

When the invasion of the native soil takes place, the first step in the advance of the aggressive force is a fortress in the shape of an enclosure; no spade, no plough, no abomination can make progress without an enclosure.

As a Devonshire man, a member of this Association, a lover of nature and her beauties, I lift up my voice and cry, "What right has any man to enclose any part of Dartmoor?" I will not, like Brutus, pause for a reply, because I well know that I shall get none. I well know also that no such right exists, and I equally well know that the enclosure of Dartmoor will go on in spite of all rights to the contrary, unless indeed I move you to take the field in support of the native defending forces, in whom, as oppressed, virtuous, noble, and beautiful indigenous occupants of the country, I have a great wish to enlist your sympathies.

It is Dartmoor in the state of nature that I admire; the

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rivers, streams, and brooks, as clear as the clearest crystal; the far and wide space, as if fresh from Nature's workshop, with no straight lines, no geometrical angles, and not a square suggested. Nature in her glory, free from science, free from art, free from economy and utility, free from geology, archæology, and every human device for making her other than what she is.

"Where all, save the spirit of man, is divine."

It is this Dartmoor that I wish to bring before you, that I want you to admire and love, to adopt as something requiring your protection and care, something for the sake of which you have associated yourselves, and to be regarded by you as a special subject demanding at your hands deep and permanent consideration.

In this aspect of Dartmoor, which may be called the emotional and poetical aspect, many who have taken an interest in Dartmoor hitherto may find themselves thrown into the shade. From this glorious Dartmoor, in a pure state of nature, who would care to turn for the purpose of searching for celts, flint instruments, and other relics of a departed race of savages that lived in this country a few years ago, a very few years in comparison with the ages of the tors? Who would care to speculate on the works of a Druid, when he can contemplate the granite towers (tor is Saxon for tower) of Vixen Tor or Hay-tor? Who would care to grovel in a barrow in search of a vase, or a ring, or a spear, which everybody knows that everybody used a very few thousand years ago, when he can seat himself on Mist-tor, and, looking moorward, see nothing but the sublimity of nature uncontaminated by the hand of man? How pitiable it is to be scratching the surface of the delicate turf, disturbing its look of quiet and repose, merely to search for that which every one knows may be there, but which would surprise no one whether it were there or not there! How frivolous it is to gloat on the circular rows of stones, which some people delight in calling villages! Whether they are three hundred or three thousand years old signifies nothing. Grant that they are the work of man, what then? in comparison to the work of nature all interest in them vanishes. What do they tell us of the history of man? Absolutely nothing. There is as good reason to suppose them to be three hundred years old as three thousand. The only tale they tell is that man defaced the features of nature when they were made as he does now, but not nearly so much, and that is all. The

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pyramids of Egypt, St. Peter's at Rome, the Cathedral at Exeter, are far more creditable to man, as an artist, than these circles of stones; and we may thank our good fortune that he has so far left Vixen Tor alone. Kent's Cavern tells us a history of man that Dartmoor can never tell; and a history of nature too which is sublime in its significance. Dartmoor does not tell us anything like this; but it can sing us an epic poem descriptive of nature as she is, and as she would be if untouched by the hand of man. It is a superfluous work to ask Dartmoor to tell us what is well known, and what Kent's Cavern and other evidences of the past can tell us very much better. It is well to look at what relics Dartmoor may have; but it is destructive to disturb them, to dig at them, or to carry them away in order to put them in glass cases and museums. Any amount of nonsense can be said or written about them without doing much harm, as long as a morbid curiosity be not excited that ends in digging.

Those with whom I have just been remonstrating, archæologists let them be called, are lovers of Dartmoor, and are by no means enemies of the native powers. They are only indiscreet and too enthusiastic friends, who admire Dartmoor in a mistaken spirit; more, perhaps, for the qualities that it has not than for those it has—not an uncommon symptom of being in love. They have fallen in love with Dartmoor, and are like a lover, who would in taking locks of hair from his sweetheart leave bald places on her beautiful head, and doting on the hair, become forgetful of the sweetheart.

There are others who seem to be altogether insensible to the charms of Dartmoor, who are at the present moment, and have been for some time past, gradually destroying its beauty utterly and for ever. It is these whom I wish, not to oppose, for opposition in such a case is misplaced, but to convert to a more reverential state of mind, to inspire with some feeling for the glories that surround them, to elevate above the common level of life, as the tors themselves have been elevated, and to lead to the enjoyment of a far greater and more intense pleasure than can be obtained from any work that involves the destruction of wild and grand beauty.

I mean those who cut the granite out of Dartmoor to metamorphose it into such things as the Thames embankment or Dover pier. Why should London be enriched by the spoils of Dartmoor? Has it not spoils enough from all countries and people that it must take from us even our tors?

I mean also those who pollute the rivers of Dartmoor, cut artificial channels for their waters, deface the appearance of the

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country, and efface all expression of wild and artless grandeur by their straight-cut water-courses, turning the bright stream into a dirty opaque white, brown, or yellow liquid, unworthy of the name of water, stolen from the rocky torrent, revolting alike to the senses as ugly, and to the sentiments as a theft.

I mean those also who vainly dig for gold on Dartmoor. They may as well dig for gold directly as indirectly in the form of a profit on any other metal. There is as much profit as gold to be got from mining on Dartmoor, and no more; a very consoling thought—consoling only because it may eventually lead to a happier and more ennobling state of things. The treasures of Dartmoor are on its untouched surface. Why cause unhappy shareholders to curse Dartmoor, when, as beings free from the cares of shareholding, they might bless it as "a thing of beauty, and a joy for ever"? Though all other corners of the earth be given up to the worship of mammon, let us have Dartmoor free from the woeful rites of that great religion. Leave us our altars on the high places of Dartmoor, built by Nature herself, and let us worship nature there if nowhere else. We will not quarrel over our ritual; it will be too simple to provoke casuistry; we only ask that our altars may be spared to us undefiled.

I mean those also who flatter themselves (and gross flattery it is) that they can farm on Dartmoor. It is this unhappy delusion that leads to the destruction of vast and really serious portions of Dartmoor by means of that most abominable of all abominations, the enclosures. As in the case of mining, there is no consolation in knowing that enclosing Dartmoor is a losing concern, that the land enclosed is not worth the cost of the enclosures. It is, on the contrary, an addition to the vexation that an act of spoliation causes to know that there is no compensating advantage to be set off against the loss, no comfort at all to be got out of the evil thing. That one man's gain should be another man's loss is bad enough; but when one man's gain is imaginary only, and the loss is in reality on all sides, not only another man's, but everybody's, a pitiful state of things is brought about. In contemplating the glories of Dartmoor, we not only look from a higher point of view than the ordinary level of the earth, but we feel higher and nobler impulses. The sublimity of nature would be as nothing if it did not excite sublimity of feeling. And as high as the tors are above the plains that groan under the plough ought the lovers of wild Dartmoor to be above the miserable feelings that would induce them to rejoice at the

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losses of those who abandon themselves to the spoliation of Dartmoor. It is not in anger, but in sorrow, that the lovers of Dartmoor will address their remonstrances to those who under the too seductive name of improvement are extinguishing some of the works of the finger of Time that no art can by any possible ingenuity improve at all.

The rights of landowners may be left entirely untouched, and may remain as they have been from time immemorial, a phrase which I believe is strictly conservative of everything. But an enclosure is an innovation, a radical change, a revolution, and ought to be from that point of view a very alarming thing. My object is not to discuss the mysteries of land tenure, nor to alarm the worshippers of vested interests, but rather to suggest that it is a glorious inheritance to possess any portion of wild and beautiful Dartmoor, and a desecration (accompanied by a dead loss of money) to enclose an acre of it.

Property in land is a well-recognized fact, is respected by all, and has played, does, and will play a very important part in the destinies of the human race. Rights of common and rights of way are also properties, invaluable properties in land, distinctly protected by the law. There are other rights of free foot on the face of the earth, rights of visiting the high places and worshipping the powers of nature, rights of disporting oneself (I do not allude to sporting), not distinctly recognized by the law, which are, however, nevertheless legal. It will not be well for landowners to drive these questions rashly to an issue, and prompt a strict inquiry into the rights of the public that may rouse the whole nation to claim the wild, uncultivated tracts of land to which they have for ages resorted for the air and the exercise that can alone restore the health and vigour sacrificed to modern forms of industry.

Enclosures are made in the name of economy, and we are told that they afford employment both to the labourers who enclose and to the cultivators afterwards. The whole nation is ousted from a wild piece of land, enjoyable only as a place of exercise, where the climate is wretched, and the soil valueless; and one man alone is transformed by the magic of an enclosure into the sole and exclusive possessor of a piece of this planet, on the pretence of benevolence, and of a false, mistaken economy.

Economy is a fearful thing, an idol to which millions of human lives have been sacrificed, and for which incalculable agony and misery has been suffered by men, women, and by helpless little children. If the ulterior object of its

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votaries has been happiness, what a false God it has been! But, as usual, it is not the spirit, but the votaries who have been false. It is false economy, not true economy, that has demanded its victims and its sacrifices. I have not altogether neglected the study of economy, recognizing it as I do as a powerful factor in the solution of all social problems; and I venture to say that enclosures on Dartmoor, if made in the name of economy, are monstrous economical errors, and if in the name of benevolence, are, instead of a blessing to a few, a curse to thousands. It is not only economically true that the same labour which has been bestowed in enclosing and cultivating Dartmoor would have returned twice or thrice the produce if it had been directed to the further improvement of better land already enclosed; but it is not over-stating the case to say that no enclosures have been made on Dartmoor, except at a loss to the rash innovator, who so recklessly and disastrously expended his energies in erecting them. It is not too much to state that, taking into account all the enclosures now existing on what is popularly known as Dartmoor, the cost of their erection would far exceed the value of the land which they enclose. The enclosures have rarely, I believe never, been made by those who claim to be the owners of the soil—by those who by virtue of the enclosures (I am sorry to use the word virtue in such a connection) are converted into absolute owners, where before they held the land subject to rights and usages enjoyed by many. They have let others do that which it would seem they have been too wise to do themselves, and in many instances, by granting leases, they have acquired the enclosures and the land which the ill-advised speculator has been glad to abandon, leaving behind him the ugly monuments of his folly to block the path of the wanderer, and to transform the innocent admirer of nature into a trespasser and breaker of the law.

The most serious innovations recently made in the shape of enclosures have been the work of the wretched convicts in the prisons at Prince Town.

> "The law condemns both man and woman,
> Who steals the goose from off the common;
> But lets the greater felon loose,
> Who steals the common from the goose."—*Hudibras.*

Therefore it would appear that the felons in Dartmoor prisons are set to work, by way of improving their morals and thoroughly reforming their characters, to steal the common from the goose.

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For whose advantage, and at what cost, is this done?

As to the cost, the labour is said to be cheap; but cheap is a relative term, and if it could be more profitably employed, it is dear. How can labour be cheap that has to be watched by a cordon of pickets with loaded rifles? The cost of artificial manures and other farming expenses, together with superintendence and watching, must be enormous. These costs are paid by the public taxpayer, and vast portions of his recreation-grounds are, at his own expense, shut in from him by enormous unsightly fences, and common-land is converted into private property on terms, concerning the particulars of which he knows nothing.

Ask the commoners of Dartmoor what they think of this misappropriation of funds and prison labour! They will tell you that they have spent years of their lives in forming what they call a lair for their cattle. They select the best available grazing-ground on their right of common on the forest, and accustom their cattle to frequent it. This habit of the cattle to graze on particular spots is only acquired by care and attention during some considerable time, and is very valuable to the farmer. He calls it his lair. (I cannot find the term in the glossary published by this Association.) He has spent his time and his pains upon it, and it is his right. Then comes the convict, and encloses the best of it, making that which has for ever before been common-land for ever after private property. A convicted felon is a fit tool for such a purpose indeed. There are few more industrious men in the world than the holders of little farms on the borders of Dartmoor, with rights of common on the moor. They have a rough life of it. If they were paid by the hour the wages of an artizan, they would be well off. They pay high rents for their rights of common to their landlords, they establish their lairs, and the common is stolen from the goose, from the cattle, and from them. The landlords care but little; they like enclosing and enclosures on principle.

I have one more impending example of the desecration of Dartmoor to mention before I close the subject, which, I trust, is nothing more than a maniacal threat.

It is quite natural that Dartmoor should be an exciting subject. I have dwelt on its beauties and on its powers to attract admiration and elevate the feelings; but when the emotions are brought into full play, they are apt to disport themselves in the channels and in the directions to which they have been accustomed.

Thus an archæologist, excited by Dartmoor, wants to find

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celts, arrow-points, and spears; an etymologist wants the names of the tors and the rivers to correspond with his ideas of by-gone languages, and to confirm his speculations concerning the races of men who saw and talked about Dartmoor long before he did, with very different ideas concerning it. A naturalist wants to shoot every living thing he can find there, put the remains of the poor brutes in a museum, and say they "occurred" on Dartmoor at a certain date.

It is even thus also with the railway enthusiast. He has caught sight of Dartmoor, his emotions have received an impulse, his steam is up, and he wants to make a railway to Prince Town, reckless of the beauties that he will destroy, and of the money he must inevitably throw away.

There are many places far more populous than Prince Town, surrounded by rich and prosperous country districts, instead of by wastes and bogs, much more accessible, offering no such difficulties in the way of the construction of a line to which no railway has yet been projected or suggested. But Dartmoor excites enthusiasm, and enthusiasm, like other properties of the nerves, rushes along the customary lines, which by habit have become the lines of least resistance.

A railway to Dartmoor can only carry artificial manure—destined to be washed into the rivers or neutralised by the peat soil—a few convicts, and some pleasure-seekers, who with infinite lack of taste go there to stare at the convicts and make merry, forgetful of the dire distress to himself, to his family, and to his country, involved in the destiny of every convicted felon; flaunting their liberty, often libertinism, and their gay clothing in his face, demoralising themselves and him by both imparting and receiving a specious amusement in the unholy contact of pleasure with misery and humiliation.

Such a railway, serving such a purpose, can be but of little use, and will do incalculable harm. It will only be yet another of the numerous channels through which the hard-earned wealth of the country is drawn to the coffers of London capitalists, never to find its way back in any shape or form whatever. It can by no possibility be anything but destruction to the charms of Dartmoor.

Those who would wish to see Dartmoor by means of a railway, cannot wish to see Dartmoor in reality at all. A railway on Dartmoor is an incongruity which, let us hope, may never be attempted by the folly of man, great as it is.

If Dartmoor, or that which is left of it, still wild, still grand, still beautiful, still untouched by the hands of the

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spoiler, is dear to us Devonians; if amidst the din of one form of civilization—scrambling, bustling, elbowing in the haunts of men under the sacred name of competition—we wish to seek another and a better form in the solitude, the quiet, and the grandeur of the works of primæval nature, let us resolve to do our utmost to preserve Dartmoor from the inroads of what I have called the lower civilization, and devote it to the service of the higher.

It would be ridiculous and irrational to attempt to ignore utility; but we can elevate utility to the highest rank, to rank with the grand, the beautiful, and the true. Our reason without our emotions would make us miserable beings. Dartmoor is an emotional power, where the calculator of profits and losses will find a cold, ungenial, forbidding climate.

Let us consecrate Dartmoor to its true utility, and prevent its sacrifice to a vain greed for land.

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THE JURISDICTION OF THE LORD WARDEN OF THE STANNARIES IN THE TIME OF SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

From Original Records.

BY A. H. A. HAMILTON.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

IN the reign of Queen Elizabeth a conflict of jurisdiction arose between the deputy-lieutenants and justices of Devon on one side, and the officers of the Stannaries on the other. Among the county records is a copy of a letter from the Queen, "Given under our signet at Nonesuch, the 27th day of June, in the 31st year of our reign," mentioning that the "privileges, liberties, and immunities" of the tinners and duchy tenants of Devon and Cornwall had been of late infringed "by some that had intermeddled with the government of the tinners," and had "by foreign authority charged and rated them for divers payments without consent of their warden." The letter proceeds to confirm in the fullest manner the ancient customs and privileges of the Stannaries, and commands "that no sheriff, commissioner, or other officer whatsoever, do from henceforth muster, rate, or charge any of our tinners or duchy tenants, or otherwise offer any grief, molestation, or disturbance to the jurisdiction of the Duchy or Stannaries; neither do convent, precept, or compel any bailiff or officer of the Stannaries, or any of the tinners or duchy tenants, to answer for any abuses arising or growing within the said Stannaries, determinable there."

I should quote this letter at length, but I find that it has been already printed in Westcote's *View of Devonshire*, p. 87.

I have found among the county records some other matters bearing upon this conflict of jurisdiction, which I propose to bring before the Association. The first is a letter from Sir Walter Raleigh, who then held the office of Lord Warden of the Stannaries:

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"*To my very loving friends the Justices of Peace of the County of Devon.*

"After my very hearty commendations. Complaint hath been made unto me by Peter Burges, Richard Lanxford, William Stockman, and Anthony Sleeman, tinners within the County of Devon and Constables of Hundreds and several parishes there, that they have been summoned to appear before Mr. Serjeant Glanvyle, and refusing to contribute towards the reparation of a private bridge (induced thereunto for the maintenance of the charter and customs of the *Stannaries*), were compelled to enter into recognizance for their appearance at the last Sessions holden in Devon, and do yet stand bound for answering their refusal therein at your next Sessions, contrary to their said Charter and Her Majesty's late letters. Forasmuch as the said bridge was in former time accustomed to be repaired by the borough of *Okehampton* at the charges of the inhabitants, and for that tinners are not usually constrained to yield to any taxations and impositions for repairing of bridges out of their own Hundreds and Parishes, being continually charged with expense bestowed upon the ruins of their own, and not holpen with any contribution from other Hundreds, I have thought good to signify unto you that in mine opinion they ought to be forborne in any of these courses, and do therefore pray you to discharge them of their recognizances for further answering this cause, and to desist from demanding any rate or tax, which is over-burdensome to poor men in regard of their daily travel and disbursements employed about the mines. If you do persist in the contrary, I shall be urged to have the cause heard before the Lords of Her Majesty's Privy Council, and then, if it shall appear that they ought to contribute, I will by my authority cause them to yield to any reasonable charge that shall be thought indifferent. And so I commit you to God. From Durham House. The 15th of February, 1592. Your loving friend, W. RALEIGH.

"I will myself give order that the tinners shall contribute unto the bridge if upon examination I find cause to urge them thereunto, but not by any foreign authority."

The postscript seems to me rather characteristic of some of the less admirable qualities ascribed to the great Sir Walter by his biographer, Mr. St. John, "insatiable in the pursuit of power, and not over-scrupulous in the use of it." I suspect there was a sharp correspondence between him and the justices of Devon, which might be of considerable interest, if we could recover the whole of it.

In the records of 1595, three years afterwards, I find the following epistle:

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A Letter written by the Justices unto Sir Walter Raleigh.

"Sir,—We have received your letter, by the which we perceive that you are informed that some of us have gone about to intermeddle in your jurisdiction of the Stannaries. We find by due examination that you are misinformed by some unadvised and undiscreet persons, who, we think, rather desire to set some discord between you and us than to uphold your liberties, which we noway go about to infringe. We have bound Robert Lake and George Martyn to their good behaviour till the next sessions, for divers misdemeanours committed by them, noway concerning you or your office. And where you write that Voysy and Wright have delivered slanderous and scoffing speeches touching your late occasion at sea, we have examined the said parties, and as many others as could best inform us, and find no such matter; for if we had, you should assure yourself we would have dealt in it according to the quality of the offence. These with our very hearty commendations."

We may be quite sure that the privileges and immunities of the Stannaries led to many frauds and abuses, as such things usually do. The last order of Sessions, entered during the reign of Elizabeth, relates to this subject. I may mention that I have modernized the spelling in this and the preceding documents. The term foreigners was habitually employed to signify all who were not "tynners."

Order for contribution to the Queen's service by foreigners and tinners.

"Upon a general complaint made unto this Court that divers of the principal inhabitants of sundry parishes within this county have of late time very fraudulently interested themselves in some tinwork, under colour thereof to be protected and discharged against the general and necessary charges for the service of her Majesty, wherewith they have in former times been indifferently rated and taxed, together with the rest of the inhabitants of the said parishes. It is therefore thought fit by this Court, and so ordered, that such as are newly crept in to be tinners, at any time within six years last past, of purpose to exempt themselves from any charge of her Majesty's service, or have at any time contributed with the foreigners within six years last past, and which have not been ancient tinners, or to whom any tinwork is not descended or acquired by marriage, shall from henceforth pay to all services of her Majesty with foreigners, as

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before their so making themselves tinners they have and were accustomed to do and pay, so as the foreigners of the said parishes, or the greater number of them, shall or have not wilfully refused to contribute in equal charge with such as are accounted tinners within the said parishes; and also that as well the parishioners of Lamerton, as others now in this Court in question for the same, shall pay all such charges as formerly have been imposed upon them. And this order is conceived to agree with the pleasure of the Lord Warden in this behalf formerly signified unto this court, and not with any intent to make wilful breach of the privileges rightfully belonging to the court of Stannary, or to the authority of the Lord Warden in that behalf."

The last sentence shows the fear that the justices entertained of the illustrious Sir Walter. His power, I need not say, soon came to an end under the new sovereign. In 1604 he was superseded by the Earl of Pembroke in the office of Lord Warden of the Stannaries.

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THE CHOIR-SCREEN OF EXETER CATHEDRAL: ITS RELATION TO CHRISTIAN ART, AND THE PROBABLE USE TO WHICH IT WAS FIRST PUT.

BY REV. J. ERSKINE RISK, M.A.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

THIS beautiful screen, which now supports the organ, is of an elegant design.* Three different opinions have been entertained as to the time of its construction. It has been attributed, first, to the reign of Edward III., and if so, to the episcopate of Grandisson (1328–69); second, to the episcopate of Brantynghame (1370–94); but, thirdly, recent examinations of the Fabrics Roll seem clearly to assign the construction to Bishop Stapeldon (1308–26). The work however must have been tampered with in successive episcopates. The lower part, forming an arcade, consists of three ogee arches in front, and at the end are two other arches springing from clustered shafts of Purbeck marble. The spandrils, or lateral spaces on upper and outer sides of the arch, are beautifully carved in rich foliage; but the general effect of the centre compartments has been much impaired by the introduction in James I.'s time of a rose and thistle. There are thirteen small arches above the spandrils filled with paintings on stone, representing Old and New Testament subjects; but there seems to be some difference of opinion as to their date. One authority pronounces them to be of the same date and questionable taste as the rose and thistle, and I should not be surprised to find this opinion correct; while another authority (Britton) declares them to be curious from their antiquity, as dating from the fourteenth century, and so coeval with the screen itself, and "also as ranking among the

* See MURRAY'S *Cathedrals*—Exeter—p. 164 (Bishop Brantynghame), and Murray's "Exeter Guide" in his *Devon and Cornwall*, p. 20, where he says the work is Stapeldon's, "though no doubt much tampered with at different times."

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very earliest examples of *oil painting* to be found in this country." The choir-screen is now used to support the organ, which was built by Loosemore in 1665, and rebuilt by Lincoln in 1819. This organ is still one of the finest in England, with a reputation which must have been recently very much enhanced by the labour expended, and additions made to it, during the recent restoration of the choir (1876), having in fact been entirely rebuilt by Speechley, of London; and at one time, about the first quarter of this century, it was referred to (by Britton, 1826) as, "with the exception of Haerlam, being the largest and most powerful instrument of the kind in Europe; and its tones, though not so loud, were said to possess greater sweetness than those of the Haerlam organ." I have alluded to the organ on account of the use to which the screen has for several hundred years been put; but now that the screen has been pierced, and so has had more attention drawn to it, it must prove an interesting subject of enquiry to investigate the original uses to which these choir-screens, ambons, or jubés (for all these names have been applied to these structures), must first of all have been applied, dividing as they do the choir from the nave.

In ancient times the two extremities of the chancel were occupied by ambons—one on the right, the other on the left of the sanctuary. They were intended for preaching; and after the gospel, the bishop or presiding clergyman explained the meaning of the gospel from the ambon. The ambon in its primitive form lasted till the twelfth or thirteenth century. Then, instead of the chancel, or railing, which separated the nave from the choir, the jubés took their place. The jubés were formed by the joining together of the epistle and gospel ambons, and by means of this union a continuous tribune was constructed, which almost hid the altar from view. The very name of jubé indicated the purpose of this tribune, or rostrum. You may remember that the readers before reading the Lessons used to ask the celebrant for his blessing with the stereotyped formula of "Jube, Domne, bene dicere," or in Greek, "Κύριε, εὐλόγησον." * The practice therefore was to chant the epistle and gospel from the jubé, and that for the obvious reason that the jubés took the place of the ambons. For much the same reason the jubé became the sacred rostrum, separating the choir from the nave, from which the Word was preached as from a coigne of vantage to the faithful assembled in the nave below. It is only fair to speak of the objections which archæologists have raised to this

* Neale's Greek *Liturgies*, Lit. S. James, p. 49.

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destination of the jubé, because of the position which the preacher or reader must have occupied with regard to the altar. Either must in speaking to the people in the nave have turned his back on the altar. There would indeed be an apparent disrespect; but how, even according to the views of these times, could there be real irreverence, when the preaching would not take place on such occasions as were devoted to the solemn celebration of the holy Eucharist for the edification of the faithful, but only when the host was shut up in its tabernacle? An eminent French authority* on this subject declares that if the posture under such circumstances is disrespectful, the rubric must be held responsible for it; and therefore he adds "the objection is not deserving of serious refutation."

But how, it may be asked, came the two ambons to be transformed into one jubé, or continuous rostrum? The reason is said to be this. About the eleventh century, and for several centuries after, the pious foundations multiplied, and the offices for prayer increased accordingly. Hence arose a difference between the customs of the north and south of Europe. In the north, long offices in the sanctuary necessitated precautions against the cold, and hence the railings and balustrades which surrounded the choir, gave place to solid enclosures of wood or stone. In Spain or Italy these precautions were not necessary, and therefore the choirs are not so enclosed, and have no need of jubés.

But now there took place what must be full of instruction to us, considering the controversy which has raged in Exeter (1871–6) concerning the retention or removal of the choir-screen, or "pulpytte" as it was called, in singular confirmation of our argument.†

There arose at length, and particularly in the eighteenth century, a revolution in sentiment, which, far from making art progress, threw it back not a little. Public taste became pagan, rather than Christian or religious. The sanctuary must needs become more lightsome, and so the jubés disappeared; choir and sanctuary must be thrown open, and the

* M. l'Abbe J. B. E. Pascal, *Institutions de l'Art Chrétien*, vol. ii. p. 197.

† MURRAY'S *Handbook*—Devon and Cornwall—*re* Exeter, says: "The removal of this screen, with the organ above it, is a question which has been discussed with great animation. The substitution of a metal screen of open work, such as those at Hereford or at Lichfield, or the piercing of the closed side arches so that the choir might be seen through them, have both been proposed. The final arrangements had not in 1871 been decided."

The *Western Morning News*, 27th June, 1876, says: "The ancient screen has now been pierced, so that the choir is visible from the nave."

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gospel, instead of being chanted from the high place of which the prophet speaks, is brought down to the level of the lower steps of the apsidal recess. The only jubé which now exists in Paris is said to be that of the Church of Saint Etienne du Mont; and the most magnificent one in all France, where so few remain, and dating from early in the sixteenth century (*i.e.* the screen), is that of the Cathedral of S. Cecile, the chief church of the Metropolitan See of Albi, in the midst of the plain of Languedoc.*

It was about the sixteenth century that, owing to many obvious causes, preaching began to occupy a position of importance in the church which was not before assigned to it. When the audience in Cathedrals came to occupy the whole of the extent of the huge nave, it is plain they could no longer hear with comfort the proclamation of the Word from the ambon or jubé. Hence a new ambon had to be constructed on one of the sides of the great nave, such as you may see in the Madeleine, in Paris, or at St. Gudules, in Brussels.

I cannot forbear to say something as to the form of the new ambon, or what we now term the pulpit. In Italy the tribune is straight and long, and may be ascended from either of the two sides; something like the platform-pulpit in which a Spurgeon or Stowe pace up and down. In France, and may I not say in the British Isles too? the ambon is usually round, and often hexagonal, heptagonal, or even octagonal, and, where unsightly, square. It is of such structures that M. de Montalembert speaks when writing on *Vandalism and Catholicism in Art*: "Is it from this cage, hung between two pillars, or from this half-hollow cask in the wall, that the word of God is preached in the same language as that which was used by a S. Bernard and a Bossuet?"

The conclusions from the facts which I have thus gathered together are, I think, manifest. The choir-screen at Exeter Cathedral, before it was used as a support for an organ, however noble, was, I believe, devoted to a purpose even nobler; viz., preaching the gospel. Whether the cross was at the same time elevated on the screen in material presence or not, the spiritual cross was proclaimed from it; and thus it fulfilled, in a higher sense than has generally been supposed, the purposes of a true rood-loft. There, as Moses uplifted

* A similar screen to that at Exeter is to be seen at Arschot, in Belgium, where it has recently been inspected by the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe The arches above the spandrils of the Arschot screen are filled with carving.

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the serpent in the wilderness, so was the Son of man, the crucified One, lifted up.

The clergy and the singers would be within the screen, encompassed by the enclosure of the choir, which the inclement nights of a northern season rendered necessary to protect them during the recital of their lengthened and numerous offices of devotion. But the waiting multitude of the faithful required a word of exhortation from some such post of vantage, as the screen excluded both sight and sound to a certain degree. From whence, then, but from the rood-loft or double ambon should this important duty be performed? We have seen what the practice was upon the Continent; can we doubt that ecclesiastics coming from the Continent, and trained in Continental schools, both built and used this screen and jubé for the same purpose for which similar structures were used on the Continent?

Thus far have we proceeded, relying only on conclusions deducible from the history of Christian art on the Continent; but it is now proper to confirm this opinion by reference to Archdeacon Freeman's statement in his *Architectural History of Exeter Cathedral*, p. 43. He mentions the doubts of former historians (Britton, p. 90, and Oliver, p. 382) as to the meaning of numerous entries in the rolls which speak of the pulpit, or la pulpytte, as it is always written. They imagined some pulpit for out-door preaching was referred to, perhaps on the north side of the cathedral. Freeman, however, expressly lays it down as certain that the loft at the west end of the choir must be meant; and that it obtained the name of pulpit because the epistle and gospel and sermons on occasion were delivered from it. I have already alluded to the opinion held by some, that Bishop Brantynghame (1369–1394) probably added the west screen, with its porches and sculpture. But however this may be, Freeman gives us very good evidence to show that the "pulpytte" must have been erected by Bishop Stapeldon (1308–1326). Thus *e.g.* in 1317 there is an entry in the rolls of a payment for gear (hernesium) *for four columns for the pulpytte.* In 1318 there is an entry referring not only to the columns, but to bases, sub-bases, and capitals, all these details agreeing very well with the four marble shafts now supporting the screen, and particularly with the somewhat unusual features of "bases and sub-bases." Archdeacon Freeman also expresses a very decided opinion as to the use to which the screen as such was put. He thinks it was not, as has been supposed, a rood-screen at all; *i.e.* there was no rood attached to the screen

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itself. In his opinion the rood was a crucifix of large size, accompanied probably, in the fifteenth century, as Walcot thinks, by figures of the Blessed Virgin Mary and S. John, the crucifix being attached not to the screen, but to a separate beam, or bar of iron, and raised high above the screen. So we are told that in Lanfranc's *Church of Canterbury* "the pulpit (*pulpitum*; *i.e. the screen*), on the side of the nave had in the middle of it the altar of the cross. There was a beam above the pulpit which supported a great cross." (Gervase apud Decem. Scriptores, c. 1200.) So again we are told, that at S. Albans "the pulpit in the middle of the church was completed with its great cross." The same custom prevailed at Worcester, and on the Continent at Nüremberg. And in final support of the whole previous argument, I need only quote Mackenzie Walcot.

"In Belgium, at the close of the thirteenth century, and *in France in the fourteenth*, and generally in the fifteenth, the rood-screen was adopted to furnish the accommodation for the epistoler and gospeler hitherto given by the ambons." The reference here made to France is sufficient, in Freeman's opinion, to account for the peculiar name of "la Pulpytte," always given in the rolls to the screen. The designation la Pulpytte, and the use of the term "voutura," not "voltura," for the vaulting beneath, he believes sufficient to prove the idea to be French, and for the most part carried out by French workmen, such as William de Montacute. It would seem that besides the uses already attributed to this *pulpit*, it was also employed (according to Walcot) for reading from it letters of communion, bishops' pastorals, and for the pronouncing of the episcopal benediction. This screen was also supplied with an eagle desk, as appears from a charge in 1330 for certain ironwork about it. It has been often surmised that the organ was only introduced at a comparatively recent date; but again an entry in the rolls shows this to be a mistake, there being an item for mending (claudenda, *i.e.* closing) "the organs," for so it was first called as early as 1280. Of course, it cannot be meant that these organs were on the screen or pulpit, which could not have been then erected; but in 1429, and again in 1513, there are entries for making "new organs in the pulpit," which clearly implies that there had been other "organs" previously in existence. From all this it necessarily follows how gross the error is which has been made in supposing the screen was used as a support for the organ for the first time after the Reformation. Where then, we may ask, were "the organs" put

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before the erection of the choir-screen by Bishop Stapeldon? Up to that time, or at least when the choir extended across the transepts, Archdeacon Freeman thinks they may have been in the north transept, as at Winchester, or in the south, as at Canterbury, before 1174. At Canterbury they stood on a vaulted structure, and this was also the case at Burgos, Sherborne, and Armagh.

And now I think we may consider our case as proved; for the use of the screen, which we deemed probable, arguing analogically from the history of the architecture on the Continent, has been shown to be the use intended when we refer to the entries in the fabric rolls, which so clearly point to the wishes of the founders of Exeter Cathedral.

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THE ASHBURTON URN.

BY J. PHILLIPS.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

In a paper read at the Sidmouth meeting of this Association, Mr. J. S. Amery directed attention to this vase or urn, which had been found built up in the chancel wall of the parish church of Ashburton, having most probably been placed there when the church was built on the site of some pre-existing tumulus, from which it had been exhumed. Mr. Amery gave interesting particulars concerning the urn, quoting a letter from Lieut. Worthy, who speaks of it as being of common red clay, similar to ordinary flower-pots. This is entirely erroneous: flower-pots are *not* made of clays similar to what we have in this urn; and this is an important point in the view which I wish to propound of the story this vase may give us.

And is it not cause of humiliation, that we can accept only with misgivings and doubt the histories derived from human sources, while we accept as *absolute* the replies which these inanimate objects will make to us when inquiries are addressed to them in a suitable manner? This, the most pliable of all substances, is yet firm and undeviating in the information it imparts. Man's *interpretation* may falter, but not so the fact conveyed. Most yielding and easily to be guided into required forms, yet most perfect in its obedience, primarily to the great laws of nature, second to the will of man, rebelling against the second only when opposed to the first, the master potter can rely with perfect confidence on his *clay* performing precisely what he has designed: giving his order with discretion, he is confident of obedient compliance. Can he equally rely on the human element towards the completion of the work? The clay he *knows* is invariably and perfectly obedient; human nature at best variably and imperfectly so.

It will not, I think, be without interest to closely examine this piece of ware, with the view of arriving at some approxi-

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mate as to the period *when*, and the *locality* in which it was fabricated; and in this we are chiefly assisted by an observation of its FORM, the PROCESS adopted in its manufacture, and the BODY or PASTE of which it is made.

I. The FORM of this urn is less of the *very* early British than of the British after the Roman invasion, and after the introduction of the wheel. Of the pre-Roman vases, Birch says: "All these vases have large wide mouths; for the potter, not using a wheel, was obliged to fashion them by the hand, and could not make small necks or mouths by the fingers." *

"The urns of this early period are for the most part large and rudely formed. Those in the museum of Mr. Warne, of Ewell, in Surrey, and taken within a recent period from barrows within the wildest parts of the Dorsetshire moors, have almost a cyclopean rudeness. Formed by the hand from a light-coloured clay, slightly mixed with chalk, they have great thickness, with a broken uneven surface." †

Nor has this form been obtained by *moulding* in a prepared shape or mould; for we have no evidence of the *seam*, which is conspicuous even in fine ware of the present day, and which shows where the parts of the mould join, which is rarely completely effaced, and certainly could not have been in a body of such a composition as this. Taking into account the extreme thinness of the ware, and the finish given to it, we may but conclude that this particular piece was "thrown" on the wheel, and is the careful work of a *skilled* artizan. I say this, because only such a man could produce the piece before us, out of the very coarse body or paste of which it is made. It is exceedingly difficult for the thrower to "pull up" on the wheel any clay of so coarse and gritty a nature as we find here; but that it *can* be done I have demonstrated in the urn I have had made; and I was much surprised to find while it was being thrown, the comparative ease with which so coarse a body was "raised." Hence I conclude this form or shape *could* be obtained on the wheel, the coarseness of the clay notwithstanding.

II. When I first examined this vase I was of opinion that it was *not* made on the wheel, as it does not present, or very slightly, the evidences of the "wheelman's" work; viz., the marks on the interior of his fingers, which would be left in raising the clay, and externally by the impressions of the hand and the fingers against the side, when the piece is taken

* BIRCH'S *Antient Pottery*, vol. ii. p. 380.
† METEYARD'S *Wedgewood*, p. 5.

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off the wheel. To illustrate my meaning I have had a similar vase made, and have carefully retained these evidences of the "thrower's" work. But to allow of the workman "drawing up" this piece at all, the *clay* portion of the body, as distinguished from the grit or sand, must have been extremely tenacious or strong; and hence we find a superior finish is given to it than to most of its kind, or than would be practicable with ordinary clays. The smoothing-tool has been used inside and out, and, of its kind, a very perfect and finished piece of ware results. From the nature of the "body" of this vase, such could only be occasional productions of the workman: he could not be continuously employed in *throwing* on the wheel vessels of such coarse paste. He must then have been chiefly engaged on ware of other descriptions, and therefore it is fair to infer that wherever the maker of this vase practised his skill, *there* was established a workshop for the production of superior ware.

III. Now this urn demonstrates that the *body* of which it is made contains clay of unusual tenacity and richness; and it is in this very neighbourhood, beyond all others known, that these very plastic clays are found, and which have given fame to it, far extended. I can only conclude, and deem it most legitimate to do so, that the paste of this piece is of the immediately local clays; and that within a reach of certainly not exceeding ten or twelve miles of where we are now assembled, at the time of the manufacture of this vessel, a pottery, employing highly skilled labour, was in full operation, and producing, not urns alone, but other vessels of a superior make, which the needs and refinements of the day and neighbourhood demanded.

It may be objected that other means exist of producing symmetrical shapes and vessels with the uniformity which comes of revolution on a centre, besides the most usual one of the potter's wheel, such as that adopted in the formation of the ghorra, or Indian water-bottle, where a slight motion is given by the left hand, placed in the *midst* of the mass of clay, whilst the exterior is slapped with a slight flat board or spatula. I have had a vessel so formed. I am indebted to Sir Samuel Baker, the distinguished African explorer, for a description of a most curious, while most effective, process in use amongst the central Africans in the Unyoro country, under King Kabba Règa, where the potter's art is practised almost exclusively by women, and most successfully by those of the stoutest proportions, who, sitting, or rather squatting, upon the ground, place the "dump" of very finely-prepared

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clay between the fleshy part of the thighs, and, lubricating well with water, cause the mass to revolve rapidly with the left hand, while the right hand supplies the lubricating water, and, plunged into the centre of the clay, presses downwards and outwards against the left hand, until in this way the sides of a bowl are fairly developed. I have not succeeded hitherto in inducing anyone skilled in the manipulation of clays to imitate *this* process, and enable me to submit to your inspection a bowl so produced. I may just here add that Sir Samuel showed me some vessels, and notably a double bowled tobacco-pipe, which had been worked up somewhat after the manner of the Indian ghorra.

But to return from this digression, it will not be for one moment held that either of these processes was adopted in the construction of the Ashburton urn. And I think it is fairly established that it was produced by a *skilled* workman on the potter's wheel, and in all probability in this neighbourhood, and at some period during or subsequent to the Roman occupation of this country.

We may then fairly picture to the mind's eye the scene presented by the prosecution of this industry. There are scattered up and down the country even now, in very retired and secluded nooks where the two requisites, clay and wood for fuel, abound, small potteries, where common articles of domestic use, known as glazed brown-ware, are produced, the potter and his family carrying on the manufacture entirely themselves, and at stated times traversing the surrounding district with a pony or donkey-cart to sell the various articles of their craft. It is difficult to fancy anything much more primitive than these workshops of the present day; and it is easy to credit that they present much the same appearance that they might have done 1800 or more years ago, since we know they then had the wheel; and nothing can be more primitive than the wheel upon which these potters to whom I refer *now* work, and which does not run to their satisfaction unless of their own construction, and into which modern improvements never enter.

A graphic description of a Grecian potter's workshop, which is handed down to us, will show points of similarity with those of modern times to which I have alluded, and so may fairly be applied as approximately descriptive of the atellier whence issued this vase. The more so, as it is universally allowed that the Romans, after whose pattern this vase is formed, obtained their skill in the potter's art from Grecian instructors. A celebrated Grecian potter of Sicyon had a beau-

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tiful daughter named Dibutades, whose lover, a young sailor, was occasionally absent on long voyages; returning from one of which, he at once repaired to the dwelling and workshop of his fair one's father, and was suffered to remain till far on in the night, recounting the adventures of his voyage; in the midst of which, however, overcome by fatigue and the warmth of the fire given forth from the brick stove set to dry off the ware, he, sitting on a workbench and reclining against the wall, fell into a sound slumber, Dibutades the while quietly contemplating the sleeping figure of her lover, till, observing the shadow of his profile cast on the wall by the light of the now low-burning lamp, seized a half-charred stick from the smouldering embers within the brick stove, and therewith traced on the wall the outline of the fondly-cherished features of her lover, which she might thereafter regard while he was absent on his long sea voyages. Her father, in the morning, observing the skilful work of his daughter, to her great delight filled in the outline with clay, giving expression and fulness to the portrait. Thus, according to Pliny, originated the art of sculpture. (Lib. xxxv. c. xii.)

I have not thought it illegitimate, upon the evidence deduced from an examination of this vase, to arrive at the conclusion that it is of local manufacture, made to the order of some local magnate, whose commands our potter would feel it his interest to execute with his utmost skill in the production of a suitable vessel for containing the ashes of some departed member of the great man's family; and my hope has been, in thus regarding the subject, that I may have done something to invest with additional interest a relic of the past which has already excited the careful attention and interest of some members of our Association connected with the town which receives us to-day.

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SOME ANGLO-SAXON BOUNDARIES, NOW DEPOSITED AT THE ALBERT MUSEUM, EXETER.

BY J. B. DAVIDSON.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

Of the charters purporting to be grants by some of our Anglo-Saxon kings, which were described in 1705 by H. Wanley as being then preserved in the archives of the cathedral church at Exeter, many, as we know, are now open to public inspection at the Albert Museum. Amongst these is a document not noticed by Wanley, or, I believe, by any other writer, upon which I propose to offer a few observations.

It is a strip of parchment, about 13 inches long by 3¾ inches wide, inscribed in clear and good Anglo-Saxon characters as follows:*

This is Peading tunes landscaro thær Æscburne utscyt.
On Dertan stream oð Wedeburne utscyt.
Up an Wedeburnan oth Wiðimor
Of Wiðimore on Cealfa dune middewearde
Of Cealfa dune on Sufon stanas.
Of Sufon stanum on Hyfan treow.
On Hyfan treowe on Hord burh.
Of Hordbyrg on Deorford.
Of Deorforda on Langastan.
Of Langa stane on Eofede tor.
Of Eofede torre on Hean dune forewearde.
Of Hean dune on thone blindan wille.
Of ðam wille on Writelan stan.
Of tham stane on Ruwa beorh
Of Ruwan beorge on Fyrspenn.

* The words have been copied, with their occasional errors, as they stand, and the abbreviations, of which there are two or three, have been extended. The original has no capitals, which have been inserted here, to distinguish proper names from others, and no paragraphs. The stops have been preserved in the copy.

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Of Fyrspenne on Wyrt cumes heafod.
Of Wyrtcumes heafde on Rammeshorn.
Of Rammeshorne on Lulca stile.
Of Lulca stile on Wice cumes heafod.
On Lymenstream oth Woggawill lacu utscyt.
On tha lace oð Wocgawilles hafod.
Of Wocggawilles heafde on thone weg oð tha greatan dic.
Of thære dic on thone wille on thæs mores heafod.
On tha lace to thære sweliende.
Of ðære speliende on Yederes beorh
Of Jederes beorge on Standune [nithe]wearde oth tha gretan linde.
Of thære linde on Dyra snæd midde wearne.
Of Dyra snæde on Hwita ford.
Of Fulan forda on Hildes ford.
Of Hildes forda on Hildeslege norðewearde oth Sole get.
Of Sole gete to Brynes cnolle suðe weardum on Puneces wurði.
Of Puneces wurthige on Hremnes cumes heafod.
Of Hremnes cumbe on tha riðe oð Æscburnan.
Thanone on stream to Dertan;

The MS. is not without slips of the pen, which in two instances have been corrected, seemingly by the writer himself; but the work is evidently that of one who was conversant with the language he was using.

The questions which arise are—What is this document? What are the lands which it describes? And why were the lands marked out in the manner thus indicated?

To the first inquiry the answer must be somewhat uncertain; but on the whole the better opinion seems to be that the document is complete in itself, though probably a copy only; and that it represents a set of boundaries, kept either for the purpose of being inserted into any deed in which they might be required, or as a memorandum for reference. Instances of such documents occur in the British Museum.

The writing has no date, but its character and style show it to be of the first half of the eleventh century; that is to say, about the reign of Edward the Confessor.

As to the localities, I trust that an attempt to trace the boundaries will not be wholly unsuccessful, and may lead to some points of topographical interest.

The MS., it will be observed, begins with a heading or title, "This is Peading tunes landscaro thær Æscburne utscyt;" literally, "This is Peadington's land boundary of

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(or at) the Ashburn outfall." Now "utscyt," or "outfall," can only apply to a river, in this instance the Ashburn. Consequently we here have proof that at the date of this instrument, the stream upon which Ashburton stands was called the Ashburn,* doubtless from the number of ash trees on its banks.† The inference is plain, that upon this stream, at some interval after the original settlement of the country, was founded a tún, or town, the name of which, at first Æscburntún, or Ashburntown, became softened by usage into Ashburton.‡

This practice of naming túns or towns from the rivers on which they stood, is more characteristic of Devon and south Somerset than of other parts of the kingdom, and favours the presumption that the whole of this district was colonized by the Saxons of Wessex at about the same time. All the larger rivers of Devon have each their town; and far more than half of all the rivers, great and small together. In some instances the derivation of the modern name from the ancient tún is not apparent at first sight, and has to be proved from old MSS. Thus it is not immediately obvious that Oakhampton signifies "the town on the Oakment." Such, however, is the fact, as may be shown thus. On the eighth leaf of Leofric's missal at Oxford are inscribed a number of manumissions; § and amongst the Devonshire names mentioned, there occurs twice that of Oc-mund-tun. Can we hesitate to conclude from this, that the river Oakment was by the Saxons called "Oc-mund," and that the name of its

* This has not been unnoticed by Mr. P. F. S. Amery, in a paper on "Hill Fortresses near Ashburton," *Devon. Ass. Transactions* for 1873, vol. vi. p. 262; and by Mr. Worthy, in his work on *Ashburton and the Neighbourhood*, App. xvi.

† Polwhele (iii. p. 498) writes; "Ashburton is said to be so called from the quantity of ash that used to grow there. Whether this be true or not, it is certain that a great quantity of ash formerly flourished there."

‡ Compare the corresponding instance in Sussex, whereupon another Ashburn was established, not a tún, but a hám, which still retains its original name of Ashburnham.

§ MS. Bodl. 579. The manumissions on this leaf appear to have been overlooked both by Hickes, *Diss. Epist.*, pp. 12, 13, and by Thorpe's transcriber; *Diplomatarium*, pp. 638–9. Those on the first page are very much faded; only a few words are legible. This is noticed by Wanley, *Cat*, p. 82; but even he does not seem to have thought of *turning over* the leaf. This is to be regretted, because the absence of these manumissions from Hickes and Thorpe has led to their not making their appearance in the splendid work of Haddan and Stubbs; *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, vol. i., 682. (See Appendix.) The entries are nevertheless very interesting. The following occurs on the back of the eighth leaf; "These are the men's names who were freed for Ordgar at Bradanstone (Bradstone) when he lay sick." This brings the date of this part of the volume up to before A.D. 971, the date of Ordgar's death.

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town, Oc-mund-tun, is that which has become worn by use into Oakhampton?

The instance of Torrington is interesting, because the point was alluded to by Mr. King in his eloquent Presidential Address to the Association at Torrington, in 1875.* Mr. Kemble, in his list of "Marks to be inferred from local names" appended to the first volume of the *Saxons in England*, includes that of the Teorringas, whom he supposes to have been the founders of Torrington, amongst other places. Mr. King expressed his suspicion that the name of the river is not unconnected with that of the town. This suspicion must, I think, be turned into proof positive, when we look at the Saxon boundaries of King Æthelstan's grant of Nywan-tún (Newton) to the Monastery of St. Petrock,† now at Exeter. There the river Torridge is mentioned twice as Toric, and "hric" in Anglo-Saxon, we know, is exactly equivalent to "ridge." A town upon the Toric would necessarily be Toric-tún, the transition of which into Torrington seems the most natural thing in the world.‡

Such being the title of the document, our boundary begins at the point where the Ashburn falls into the Dart, just above Buckfastleigh, and follows the stream of the Dart to the outfall (utscyt) of the river Wedeburn—a word which is thus shown to be the origin of the modern Webburn and Webber—the eastern stream of that name—which falls into the Dart on the north side of Holne Chase. Wedeburn, Withimore, and Widdecombe are obviously all connected, the common origin again being the stream, the Withiburn; so-called from the "withies" or young willows which grew, and were perhaps cultivated, along its bed. These words, "withiburn" and "withicomb," are, as might be expected, of very frequent occurrence in Saxon boundaries.

The line leaves the stream, no doubt, at a place now called Dunstone, and goes up to Withimore, which is the down

* *Trans. Devon Assoc.*, vol. vii. p. 37.

† Albert Museum series, No. 4. The charter is a late copy, to say the least; but were it fictitious, a very forger would be careful to preserve the local names.

‡ Amongst the Devon rivers which give their names to towns on their banks are: Ashburn, Avon, Claw, Clist (preserved in the name of the hundred), Coly, Corry, Creedy, Culm, Dart, Erme, Harbern, Kenn, Lew (Liwton occurs in King Alfred's will, and in the Bodleian missal), Lid, Lin, Mole, Oakment, Otter, Tale, Tamar, Tavy, Taw, Teign, Thistle, Torridge, Wallcomb (Walkham), Yealm, Yeo; and the list may doubtless be widely extended. Amongst the larger streams not comprised in the above are Exe and Axe (each of which, however, had its minster), Bray, Cary, Deer, Loman, Ogwell, Sid, Waldon, Wroy, Yarty, and Yeo (of which there are several).

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lying to the west of Widdecombe Church, and from thence proceeds to Calf Down (Cealfa-dún), "midway along the down" (middewearde).

Of Calf Down no trace is to be found in the maps; but one feels little hesitation in placing it as the present Hamilton Down, inasmuch as the next station is Seven Stones (Sufon Stanas), a conventional name for a tor, like the "seven streams" of the Egyptian river, the "seven mountains" of the Rhine, &c.; and the conspicuous tor which dominates over the neighbouring scene is necessarily Hamilton Tor. If this be accepted, Hamel-dún (a name elsewhere met with) would seem to have been a designation for this tor and its down, either later in date than this writing or not in general use at the time.*

From Seven Stones the line proceeds to Hyfan-treow. This is rendered in a later version Heavitree, and has in all probability become contracted into Heytree, now a farm in Manaton parish. The meaning of the word appears to be "hive-tree." Here then we have the origin of the name of the various Heavitrees which are to be found in the county, including that of the important parish near Exeter. It may excite our surprise that trees should have been so abundantly resorted to, not merely as boundaries, for which they are suitable enough, but as names of homesteads. Yet so it is; oak-trees, apple-trees, pear-trees, alders, willows, play a most important part in the history of names. The Appledores of North Devon and of Kent are no other than "æpel-treows" (apple-trees), the treow being hardened into drow, dre, and dore by the harsh speech of the vulgar when the Saxon tongue was thrust down from the high places of the land to the rude and illiterate ranks. In the parish of Burlescombe there is a farm marked in the ordnance map South Appleford. The true ancient name of this farm, as appears from Pole's *Devon* † and Oliver's *Monasticon*,‡ was "Sour Appledore" (the "Sour Apple-tree" Farm). It is said that at Appledore, in Kent, a large apple-tree, standing on the cliffs above Romney Marsh, was for generations a land boundary of possessions of the See of Canterbury. We find the word in Appuldercomb, in the Isle of Wight, and even where we should scarcely expect it, nearer home, at Powderham. From the *Codex Exoniensis* § it appears that Powderham at that date was called "Poldraham." What is this, I ask, but Apoldraham, with the initial "a" worn off?

* See observations by Mr. C. Spence Bate, in a paper on "Antient Tumuli on Dartmoor;" *Transactions of the Devon Association* for 1872, vol. v. p. 554.
† Page 191. ‡ Page 227. § Folio 4*a*.

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giving us the "apple-tree homestead" as the origin of the name of this distinguished site.* An illustration of the remarkable way in which words of the same class tend to degenerate into the same forms, showing that the laws of speech are constant in their operation, is seen in the corresponding word "Mappowder," Dorset, which is the degraded form of "Mapul-treow" (Mapletree), and with which are associated the numerous Mappertons and Mapledurhams of the western counties, and also Mapledurwell, near Basingstoke. There is no difficulty then in assigning Heytree as the altered form of Hyfan-treow, or in concluding that a hollow tree occupied by a hive of bees was a sufficiently striking object to our Saxon predecessors to furnish a name for a locality.

After two further stations the boundary reaches Langa-stan (Langston), which, like Heytree, is a farm in Manaton parish. The intermediate points are Hordburh and Deorford. Of neither do I find any trace in the maps, unless Barrow Cot corresponds to the former of the two.

From Langa-stan the direction is to Eofede-tor, rendered by a later writer Effedator. I have searched the maps in vain for this name. The situation corresponds with that of the present Foxworthy Tor in Lustleigh parish.

The next step is along Hean-dún, "forewards" (forewearde). This name also does not appear; but if Mr. Rowe is right in giving the name Hayne to the water that comes down from North Bovey,† the down which separates this valley from that in which Lustleigh Church stands may well be Hayne-down, which presents a long continuous ridge stretching to the south-west. At the southern extremity the steep hill-side covered with broken rocks forms the well-known Lustleigh Cliff, or Cleave. If this down be Hean-dún, the boundary has probably remained unaltered to this day, and is now marked by a fence which separates plantations from the open ground.

We are next led to "the blind well," as to which the reader of Saxon boundaries will be more familiar with the name than acquainted with the meaning. From the analogy of "blind-alley," &c., a blind well would be simply a dry well—a well in which water either has ceased to be, or never has been found. To trace such an object now would be hopeless; otherwise the spot to seek for it would be a farm called South Harton, in Lustleigh parish.

* For some Keltic speculations on this name see Polwhele, vol. iii. p. 168.
† The Ordnance Map does not support this.

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We are next introduced to Writelanstán, and "from the stone" onwards, showing that by the word is meant an actual boundary-stone, which, judging from etymology, may possibly have been an inscribed stone. Does such an object exist in the neighbourhood? The answer is, There does exist such an ancient monument, which is thus described in Lysons.* "At Lustleigh, in a lane near the church, is a block of granite, about five feet in height, called the Bishop's Stone, which appears to have been the base of a cross; the sides have been worked into a regular shape, and on one of them may be traced the form of a coat of arms." Should, on the other hand, the sepulchral inscribed stone, which now forms the sill of the church door at Lustleigh, be the Writelan stán, then we are without a guide; for no one probably can now say from what site that stone was removed to its present position, or where was the grave of the person, probably a Christian of the pre-Saxon age, who was intended to be commemorated thereby. One or other of these monuments however, I think, must have been the stone mentioned.

"From the stán" we proceed to "Ruwan-beorh," or Hreoh-beorh, "the rough camp" or "fortress," a word which undoubtedly is the origin of the many Roboroughs in the county, and notably of Roborough Down, near Plymouth. No such name however appears here in the maps. The site is somewhere near Reddiford Down.

The next station is Fyrspenn, the "hill covered with furze." The retention of the Welsh word "Pen" is to be noted, an appellation which often survived the "root and branch" extirpation of Saxon conquest, as witness Pen Sellwood, Pinhoe, &c. This I had conjecturally placed near Ilsington Church, when, happening to look into Polwhele,† I found under his notice of "Ilsington" the following remark: "Penwood hill, covered with thick oaken foliage from the foot to the top of it, has from the road a very rich appearance." The furze-blossom of ancient days seems accordingly to have been supplanted by a growth of oak woods.

From this hill we pass by Wyrtcumes heafod, the head of a small valley, to Ramshorn, which is a well-known locality.

Two stations intervene between Ramshorn Down and the Lymen or Lemon stream. One of these presents a word of great interest—Lulcastile, whether it be pronounced as Lulcastle or as Lulcastleigh. In neither form can a modern name be found answering to it; for, although we have here a tempting origin for the name "Lustleigh," unfortunately for

* Page cccx. † Vol. iii. p. 477.

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the theory, Lustleigh Church and parish are four good miles away to the north; and this idea must, however reluctantly, be abandoned. Local knowledge or research may possibly here avail somewhat. Another valley's head, "Wice-cumes heafod," is passed, and the boundary arrives at the Lemon.

Along this stream it passes to the "outfall of Ogwell lake;" that is to say, the termination of a bay where the river Ogwell overspread its banks. Conjecturally this may be placed at the midmost of three mills on the Ogwell, about equidistant from East and West Ogwell churches; and we are then led to the Ogwell head, "Wocgawilles hafod," somewhere on the road which forms the north-east boundary of Woodland parish.

Thence we are conducted to the "great ditch."* It has been suggested that this may be Danebury; but the objections are insurmountable. This hill-fortress is out of the line of the boundary, and had it been meant, we should have expected some mention of a "beorh;" for in Saxon a "díc" and a "beorh" are things too dissimilar to have a interchangeable name. The "great ditch" must be looked for somewhere near a farm marked "Brimley" in the ordnance map.

A series of stations follow, which can be identified only by examination on the ground. They are—first, "a well at the head of the moor;" secondly, "along a sheet of water to the 'sweliend' or gulf;" thirdly, Jederes beorh, the "hither fortress;" fourthly, "Stán-dún," the stone down, "downwards" to the great linden (or lime) tree; thence to Dyra-snæd, literally the "dear" or "costly piece" of land, "midwards."

We then find three fords in succession—Whitford, Fulford, and Hildesford; with which I compare three fords, marked in the ordnance map respectively as Ford, Little Woodland, and Gidlaford; and thence are led by the stations of Hildes-leigh northward, Sole-gate, Brinks-cnoll southward, and Punnec's or Punks-worthy to Ravens-comb, or Ranscomb head.

The streamlets that feed the Ashburn from the east appear to be few and small. One of them nevertheless, flows down this little valley of Ravenscomb, or Ranscomb, and must, one would suppose, be identifiable. By this rivulet, wherever it was, the boundary arrives again at the Ashburn, and follows it down to the Dart, the point from whence we set out.

* Mr. Kemble (*Codex Dipl.* v. iii. p. 32) suggested that díc in the fem. may signify "ditch," and in the masc. "dyke;" if so, oth tha greátan dic will be "to the great ditch."

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We thus find marked out a considerable tract of land, some ten miles long from north to south, and about six from east to west, Heytor and Rippon Tor forming conspicuous prominences in the middle, like the boss of a shield; and the question remains, For what purposes of property or ownership was this perambulation designed?

It will be remembered that the boundary is said to be "Peading" or "Peding tunes"—Peadington's; and I am reminded that John Padyngton was steward in about A.D. 1310 to Bishop Stapledon, the great benefactor of Ashburton. I am asked, "Can this be a copy of an old Saxon perambulation made by John Padyngton?" The suggestion is a striking one, particularly when we remember that the Lustleigh boundary-stone (which *may have* been the Writelán stone), is called by Lysons "the Bishop's stone;" and is elsewhere said to have had the arms of the See, or of a Bishop of Exeter, carved upon it. It certainly does, therefore, seem highly probable that the limit of Bishop Stapledon's manors was marked by this boundary-stone; and this tract of land *may* even have been the extent of the episcopal possessions here, in 1310. But will any one maintain that such a piece of writing as this can possibly have been a production of the fourteenth, or even the thirteenth, century? Internal evidence shows such a late date to be impossible.

If we turn for assistance to the historians of the county, a very remarkable state of circumstances is disclosed.

Amongst Prince's roll of Devonshire worthies will be found the name of John Hooker, *alias* Vowell. Of this celebrity, who was uncle to the famed Richard, a life is given by Prince; who admits that it was mainly taken from Hooker's narrative of his own life, given in the latest of his works, entitled "*Synopsis Chorographical; or, An Historical Record of the County of Devon;* of which Prince thus writes: "This MS., though it goes up and down the county from hand to hand, was never published;"* and it seems to have undergone some singular adventures.

Hooker, after concluding his work in 1599, addressed it to "a person of honourable place in the commonwealth," supposed by Prince to be Sir W. Raleigh, whose fortunes at that date had suffered no decline. The MS. was delivered after Hooker's death, by his executors; and Raleigh, if he it was, committed the volume to the care of the "vacant hours" of another Devonian, John Dodderidge, at that time a counsellor of note, and afterwards Sir John Dodderidge, the

* Ed. of 1810, p. 506.

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judge. Dodderidge himself corrected the MS. by adding a few notes,* and prepared it for the press; but, notwithstanding this patronage and preparation, the book remains to this day unpublished.†

Hooker himself frames the following title for his work: "A Discourse of Devonsh. & Cornwall, with Blazon of Arms, &c.; the Bishops of Exeter; the revenews of the Deneries and parsonages, and other Gentlemen."

Some portion, probably not much, of the commencement is wanting. The first unbroken sentence relates to "The nombre of the market townes." From this he passes to "The nombre of parkes," "the forestes," the "nombre of the sweete waters," the "abundance of fyshe," and the "salmon of Exe." He shows that "the countrie is evill to be travelled;" then describes the "commodities," and the "nature of the people," being of four degrees, the "gentleman," the "merchantes," the "yeomanrye," and the "laborer." At the back of the eighth leaf comes a quaint description of Dartmoor; and shortly afterwards follows a collection of charters, principally of Queen Elizabeth, the then reigning sovereign, and a series of biographical notes, of eminent persons born in Devon, ending with an auto-biographical sketch. Giving a list of his own works, he ends thus: "Also the historie of Ireland newly by him enlardged and presented to Sr Walter Raleigh, Knight; Also the enlarginge and augmentynge of the last Englyshe cronycle [and also the catalogue of the bishops of Exceter p^r^sented to the biscop];‡ and now lastely this
1600
Synopsis, and is lyvinge, 1599."§

* At the 52nd leaf Hooker writes . . . . . "in theise moderne dayes of Quene Elizabeth, emonge whom the cheaff and most principall is now William Peryam, a man borne in this citie of Excester, and whose father and granfather sate in the cheefest seat of this citie" (a word is erased) "and both Meyers of the same" (the last five words are erased, and over them is written) "were men of greate credit and countenance." The erasure and interlineation are both due to the annotator; who, probably knowing the peculiarities of Peryam, then Chief Baron of the Exchequer, observes in a marginal note, "I think it wilbe better taken if you leve to speake that his father was a marchent or a maior."

† The modern history of the MS. is not without interest. In an imperfect state, it formed a portion of the Harleian Library, No. 6827, when Mr. John Tuckett, the antiquary and genealogist, of Great Russell Street, whilst arranging MSS. in the Museum, happened to discover some of the missing fragments. He represented the case to Sir F. Madden; and after some hesitation on the part of that cautious and learned custodian, obtained permission to restore the volume to its present condition, which is nearly that of completeness.

‡ Inserted over the lines.

§ It would seem that 1599 was the date of the writing, and that the erasure and alteration to 1600 was made in the following year.

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At length at the ninety-second leaf we approach the subject of our immediate inquiry. The author opens the matter by giving a copy of what he calls "the Charter of Kinge H. the 3, for disforestinge of Devon;" being an inspeximus of the charter of King John, that namely of the 18th of May, 1203 or 1204, whereby the king announced that he had disafforested the whole county up to the regards of the forests of Exmoor and Dartmoor, and confirmed certain privileges "within" the regards of the two forests which existed in the reign of Henry I. Hooker gives an impossible date for this inspeximus; namely, "the 17th of May, 1106." The true date was 1253.*

The next entry by Hooker is what he calls "the Charte of the perambulacion for lymittynge the 'bandes' of Dartemore;" and then comes the Latin document, which was the result of the commission of 1240, beginning "Ricardi Comitis Cornubie," &c.† This document it is less necessary further here to advert to, in consequence of the exhaustive examination it underwent at the hands of Mr. C. Spence Bate, in July, 1872; whose paper, illustrative of the very curious and ancient map, then produced and described, will be fresh in the recollection of members of the Association.‡

At the back of folio 93 of the present paging of Hooker's MS. will also be found a map, seemingly in the handwriting of the author of the MS., to which I will refer presently; and then on the 94th leaf we have a passage relating to the "Fenfield Men," which I must take leave to extract at length.

"M^{m} (memorandum) that theer be certaine tenaunts dwellinge in this moore that be called Fennfeild men, and theise be the speciall tenaunts unto the Kynge,§ and as his tenaunts payeth him yerely rent, and doth him suets and svices vnto his courte. He is to paye the Kinge's sylver, and to be attached by no officer; but for default of his neglegence he shall paye yerely at Michaelmas iiij^{d} if he be attached. And he shall wynter upon his holdinge in the Kinge's forest so much cattall as he cann keepe, so that it be doune by the daye tyme, by sonne. But if the tarrye the neight, he shall

* Preface by W. Burt to Carrington's *Dartmoor*, p. 26.

† Printed as No. vi. of the Appendix to Rowe's *Perambulation of Dartmoor*. 1st ed. p. 266.

‡ *Transactions* for 1872, p. 510. At p. 517 the extract from Mr. Rowe, with which Hooker's MS. agrees in all substantial particulars, will be found reprinted.

§ It will be remembered that Queen Elizabeth had been on the throne some forty years when this was written; and this repeated use of the word "kynge," "his" court, &c., seems to point to an older piece of composition, which Hooker was here copying.

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paye for every neight iiiᵈ if he be attached. Also he shall have in the sayed forest all that maye do him good except greene ok and venysone. If he haue more cattall then he cann wynter upon his teneint aforesayed, he shall paye for the sayed cattall as a straunger, that is to saye, for every neate or yonge cattall 1½ᵈ. and for every best iiᵈ. As he shall paye in the forest. And every man of Devon shall comon in the sayed wast or comon payenge nothinge.* But if any cattall com out of Cornewall to feed in the wast, he shall paye for every pole or neate 1½ᵈ, and for every other best iiᵈ. The Kinge hath the Realtie of the whole; and the correction of the corne dishe † and leap yeats ‡ shal be in his courtes of Lydford; and the Fennfield tenaunts shall then and their psent at the sayed courte of Lydford all the faultes founde in and about the sayed forest as ought (oft) as they shalbe sumoned for the Kinge. And if any man dye by fortune, and be slayne in the sayed forest or wast, the coroner of Lydford shall crowne him, for the forest is out of every tythinge. And here understand ye that where dyverse ꝑishes do lye in the bordures of the sayed moore and wast [the parsons of these ꝑishes §] do clayme or ꝑtend to have the tythes and other profytts of the ꝑishes next adioyninge, it is found by soundry virdicts and recordes that the whole moore, soyle, and ground of Dartemoore doth lye and is in the ꝑishe of Lydford, and the ꝑson thereof is to have all the whole ꝑfitte and tythes of corne, cattall, wooll, and lamme, and whatsoeuer breedeth therein. And further that the sayed bourough and manor of Lydford, wᵗʰ the fore sayde forest of Dartmore, is the auncyent demeane of the crowne of England as doth appeare of recorde in the book of domesdaye under the tytle of the kinge's land in the countie of devensheere,

* Here the commentator, probably Dodderidge, inserts a marginal note, "They do all pay."

† *i.e.* the "corndítch," haia, the local name for the boundary fence of Dartmoor forest. Compare the "Vern" (fern) ditches of Cranbourn Chase. It needs not to say, the only "corn" grown or attempted to be grown on Dartmoor was oats. Hooker has a curious passage, describing what was done with the grain when it did not ripen.

‡ Leap gates, saltatoria, the gates or openings where the principal roads enter the forest, possibly so called because they were made high enough to keep in cattle, but not so high as to prevent deer from leaping over. It is curious that "saltatorium," according to Spelman, has another meaning, namely, an engine whereby the deer is caught "in saltibus," perhaps fixed on occasions at the leap gates. "Heyes," according to Tomline (*Law Dictionary*), are large nets for the capture of deer, perhaps fastened in the hedges or corn ditches.

§ These words, omitted in Hooker's MS., are supplied from Risdon, who in the parallel passage has "the parsons of those places."

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where it is there conteyned: Rex habet Burgũ de Lydford et Burgenses ibidẽ tenent vigint. oct. burgẽ infra Burgũ et quadraginta unũ extra inter omnes redditus reddunt iiil aut pensu⁹ et arsurañ Et sunt ibi quadraginta domos vastati postquam * Rex venit in Anglī. Et ꝑd Burgus et maner⁹ de Lydford se extendit ꝑ totã villã et ꝑochiã de lydford et ꝑ totã forestã de dartmore Et q^d nullu⁹ breue dñe Regis currit de terris et tenemts eidem Burgo et maner⁹ pertinentib⁹ Sed omnia terr⁹ et tenem^ta sunt placita et placitabillia quo℥ [coram ?] maner⁹ dict. burgu⁹." †

The above extract shows the inexactness of Hooker's writing, whether as to spelling or accuracy of quotation. He seems to suppose that the whole Latin passage (A) he was citing came out of domesday, whereas it appears that what he gives is both less and more than is to be found in either survey.

Next follows another Latin passage (B) of considerable interest. It is given at the top of the 95th leaf, without title or introduction, and *may* therefore have been a portion or continuation of A. Unfortunately we have nothing but internal evidence to guide us as to the date of this passage, which appears to be part of a claim at a Court of Survey for the forest. It reads thus:

M^m (memorandum) quod Tenent dnī princip. Wengefeild ãls Vennefeld clamant per Johẽ Sutton atturnat. suu⁹ habere eos articulos et libitates subscript. infra forestam de Dartemoore et Libitates eiusdem Et die q^d ips et oẽs antecessores eor⁹ et oẽs alii quo℥ statu ipsi habent et eo℥ Teñntes iacent in vengefeild ꝑd a temp cuius contrariu⁹ in memoria homiñ non existit de Rege in Regẽ et de princip. in princepẽ semꝑ consueti sunt haber⁹ articulos commãs et libertat. subscriptas vizt. adhabere comunã pastura infera forestã ꝑdict et tenent

* Erased, and "priusquã" written over.

† "The king has the borough of Lydford, and the burgesses there have twenty-eight houses within the borough, and forty-one without. In all, by way of rent, they pay three pounds by weight and firing.* And there have been forty houses laid waste there since † the king came to England.‡ And the aforesaid borough and manor of Lydford extends over the whole town and parish of Lydford, and over the whole forest of Dartmoor. And that no writ of our lord the king runs respecting lands and tenements belonging to the same borough and manor; but all things, lands, and tenements are pleaded and pleadable before the manor of the said borough."

^a *i.e.* three pounds of weighed and refined silver. The Exon Domesday adds: "And the aforesaid burgesses have land to the extent of two carucates without the borough;" omitted by Hooker.

† Erased, and "before" substituted.

‡ This is the end of the Domesday entry, so far as it is extracted.

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libertates easdem eis et hered. suis annuatim cu^{9} oib^{9} averiis et cattallis suis et oẽs ibi tenentes quo usi sunt talem comuñ vel aliã coitatẽ infra dictã forestã se attachiat fuerant consueti sunt ꝑ tempe existent solver^{9} annuat. dño principi et hered suis tres denarios ac etiam oẽs tenent ꝑ tempe exist. a tempe cuius contrariũ in memoria homiñ non existit ad eo^{d} libt consueti sunt piscare in oib^{9} aquis infra forestã ꝓd et libtatis eiusdem et fodere turbas et in oib^{9} locis infra dictã forestam.*

From the mention of "our Lord the Prince" it would seem that the document is of later date than 1337, when the castle of Lydford, with its hunting-ground of Dartmoor, its manor and manor court, were granted in perpetuity to the Duchy of Cornwall. It is also of no binding authority, being apparently only a memorandum of claim; and it is grievously corrupt. Still it is of extreme value to the etymologist, for it furnishes three ancient forms of the word Fenfield; namely, "Wengefeild," "Vennefeld," and "Vengefeild," of which I suggest that Wengefeild is the oldest. Now "Wang" is an ordinary Saxon word for a plain or field. May not, then, the words "Wengfield men" signify pasture tenants or herdsmen, as distinguished from cornfield tenants or husbandmen? And then, if the word be of Saxon origin, must it not have represented a Saxon thing? Do not these words afford a strong presumption that the institution itself of the Fenfield men has come down to us from Saxon times?

We come at last to the passage of Hooker which connects his history, and all that he says about the Fenfield men, with the subject of the present paper.

At the back of leaf 95 he heads the page thus:

* "Be it remembered that the Wengefeild, otherwise Vennefeld, tenants of our Lord the Prince claim by John Sutton, their attorney, to have those articles and liberties underwritten within the forest of Dartmoor and the liberties thereof at this day, which they and all their predecessors and all others whose estate they themselves have, and their tenants lying in Vengefeild aforesaid, from a time the contrary of which in the memory of men exists not, from King to King and from Prince to Prince, have always been accustomed to have... the articles, common rights, and liberties underwritten, that is to say, common of pasture within the forest aforesaid and the liberties thereof for them and their heirs yearly with all their beasts and cattle. And all there holding who used such common right or other commodity within the said forest, if they were attached, have been accustomed for the time present to pay annually to our Lord the Prince and his heirs three pence, and also all tenants for the time present from a time the contrary of which in the memory of men exists not, at their free will have been accustomed to fish in all waters within the aforesaid forest and the liberties thereof, and to dig turves in all places within the said forest.

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"The bounds of the Fenfield men's tenures," and then proceeds:

"This is from Podastones Lake runnynge through Ashepton in Dartestrene, and so to Weedeborne and Shippstor, and from Weedborne streame to Whytmore, and from Whytmore to Calstone Mydicayes, from Calstone to Seven Stones, and from Seven Stones to Hevitree, and from Hevitree to Herborough, from Herborough to Doreford, from Doreford to Longstone, from Longestone to Effedator to Hyndon forwarde, from Hyndon to Blundell, from Blundell to Wrytestone, from the stone to Rouborough, from Rouborough to Furspen, from Furspen to Ramshorne, from thense to Lustleigh, and so to Withecombe hed, and from thense to Lymestreme, and so to Woghill lake, and alonge the lake to Voghyll's hedd in the hedd, and then anoue to the dytch, and out of the dytch to the will in Moreshed into the Lak, and so to Smely, and to Jeresdburough, and fro thense to Standon netherward anoue to greate Lynde, from thefise to Dyersnade to Hydesly northward anoue to Seliet, and from Seliet to Gurnerd sknoll southward unto Poucardesworth, frõ Pouncartesworth to Ramesecombes hedd, and from Ramsecombes hedd a noue to the right streame, and from thense to Aysheborne, and so from thense in streme to Darte. Wth in this boundes and lymitte, together wth the towne of Lydford, do all lye in the tenem^{t} of Fennfeild men."

Now a comparison of these "bounds" of Hooker with the Saxon document before us clearly shows that Hooker's list of names must have been taken from this very document, or from a copy of it. For although the misreadings and errors at the outset are gross, they are still those of a copyist; and nearly every clause of the Exeter MS. finds its counterpart in Hooker. Thus, whilst "Peading tunes landscaro" is barbarously travestied by "Podaston's Lake," "oð Wedeburne utscyt" is unwarrantably turned into "Weedeborne and Shippstor," and the words "on Cealfa-dune middewearde" become "Calstone Mydicayes," yet the succeeding paragraphs are by no means ill or unfaithfully rendered, except that where in Saxon we reach the "sweliend" or gulf in the stream, it is turned into a proper name, and is called "Smely." Indeed, in one particular we are under an obligation to Hooker; for a word which is lost at a crease of the parchment is preserved by him in "netherward," showing it to have been "niðewearde" in the original. It will be observed that Hooker renders "blindan wille" Blundell, which furnishes a hint as to the origin of this family name; the

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"Writelan-stan" he calls "Wrytestone"; and "Lulcastile" he translates "Lustleigh."

A curious misapprehension into which Hooker falls is this: In setting down these names as the bounds of the "Fenfield men's tenures," he supposed that his catalogue of words represented places on all sides of the moor—east, south, west, and north. He thought, in fact, he had given a circuit of Dartmoor. Thus, in writing Sheepstor for Cealfa-dún, he fancied, no doubt honestly enough, that he had got down S.W. of the moor to the parish of that name; and Ruwa-beorgh, which he rightly enough gives as Rouborough, he probably considered to be Roborough Down, near Plymouth.

This appears more clearly from the map at folio 93 of the present paging of Hooker's MS., to which I have referred, of which the accompanying engraving is a copy. This consists of two circles, one within the other, the innermost being left blank, and inscribed, "This is the Precincte about the foreste of Dartmore." The space between the circles is occupied with names. At the top, bottom, and sides are left four blank wedge-like spaces inscribed thus: at the top, "Ayshpton, Aysborn out shutt;" on the right, "Plympton, Rouborough;" at the bottom, "Tavystoke, The Ogwell hed;" and on the left, "Okehampton, Brimasknoll."* Then between the blank spaces are a number of lines radiating outwards from the centre, and between the lines a list of names, which upon examination turn out to be no other than those given at folio 95*b* as the bounds of the Fenfield men's tenures. So that, if our author is to be trusted, the document before us describes all the holdings in Venville, which, as Hooker knew, and we know, lie on all sides of the moor—north, east, south, and west. The result is that, according to our author, Langa-stán and the Writelan-stán are somewhere between Ashburton and Plympton; Ramshorn, the Lymen stream, and the Ogwell lake are between Plympton and Tavistock; and Hildesford is treated as signifying Lydford. Lulcastile, which according to this theory should lie somewhere between Plympton and Tavistock, is omitted from the map altogether.

In short, Hooker's geography turns out to be a blunder from beginning to end. Finding a set of boundaries, the true position of which he fails to see, he takes the names and

* Ashburton, Plympton, Tavistock, and Okehampton are not in our set of boundaries, but their accompanying explanatory names all are; showing that Hooker drew out this map or plan of his from our document, supplying the first four words himself.

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arranges them in a series all round a central space representing Dartmoor, in support of his mistaken notion that they represent the "bounds of the Fenfield men's tenures."

It may be asked, "Why expose this failure on the part of the venerable sire of Devon historians?" Why not let these errors "sleep in their father's grave"? Why "lost blunders nicely seek"?

Only on this account, that these unlucky misapprehensions have unfortunately been widely perpetuated. Hooker's MS., having, as Prince says, been handed up and down the county, has become a storehouse from which his successors have helped themselves without stint, and what is more, without acknowledgment.

Westcote, writing from about 1620 to 1630, and undertaking his task, it would seem rather unwillingly, at the pressing solicitation of the Earl of Bath, adopts not only Hooker's arrangement of his subject,* but his language; occasionally, however, introducing a humorous remark of his own. He devotes a chapter to the subject of "Certain tenants of the forest called Fenfield men," and in describing them follows the words of Hooker, interpolating, however, as follows:

After the mention of "Venfield men," he observes,† ["Whence the name should be derived, either of a fenny country, as Mr. Camden speaks of some so called in the Isle of Ely,‡ taking name according to the soil they inhabit, more rude, uncivil, and envious than others; applying themselves

* A comparison of book i. of Westcote with Hooker's list of subjects given above, shows this in a manner quite unmistakeable. Westcote's chap. iv. is "of the limits, hundreds, market towns, and parishes in the county;" v. is of "the temperature of the air;" vi. is of "the soil, beasts," &c.; vii. of "the constitution, nature, and quality of the inhabitants;" viii. of "the sundry degrees of the inhabitants;" ix. is "the second degree is of yeomanry and husbandmen;" x. is "of the merchant, which is the third degree;" xi. is "of the last degree, which is day labourer," &c., and so on; xxii. being "of certain tenants of the forest called Fenfield men." We thus find the missing portion at the beginning of Hooker's MS. to be about as much as corresponds to chaps. i. ii. iii. and part of iv. of Westcote.

† Edition of Oliver and Jones of 1845, p. 84.

‡ The following is the passage from Camden: "The inhabitants of this and the rest of the fenny country (which reaches sixty-eight miles from the border of Suffolk to Wainflete, in Lincolnshire, containing some millions of acres in the four counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton, and Lincoln) were called Girvii in the time of the Saxons; that is, according to some men's explanation, Fen men; a sort of people (much like the place) of brutish, uncivilized tempers, envious of all others, whom they term *upland men*, and usually walking aloft upon a sort of stilts: they all keep to the business of grazing, fishing, and fowling." (Gibson's *Camden*, edition of 1695, p. 408.) Nothing can be more dissimilar than the environs of Dartmoor and the Fens of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire.

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only to fishing, fowling, and grazing, I cannot aver; but these have special and larger prerogatives than others, for] they are not to be attached by any officer," . . . and so on, following Hooker.

Presently he observes:

"The tenants claim to fish in all the rivers of the moor, and to dig turf anywhere therein. [I will conclude all with the record of an intruder found guilty. Thomas Oliver, abbot of Buckland, did, upon the 4th day of October, 18th King Edward IV., 1478, intrude and make claim upon the lord the prince's land in Dartmoor, within the bounds and marks of the said forest, and thereof, by a jury at Lidford, was found culpable and faulty for his such false claim and intrusion; and] that all the lands within the precincts," &c., ... again reverting to the text of Hooker.

It was the fashion of the age to describe Lydford as a bleak and desolate spot, rendered more oppressive to the imagination by the ruins of its castle, a decaying monument of Norman tyranny, and memento of the odious forest laws. The spirited poem of Brown, of Tavistock, will be in the recollection of all. Westcote, following the fashion, accordingly takes leave of the subject thus:

"I may doubt to be arrested if I stay you any longer here with a tin warrant, for imprisoning you so long here at Lidford. Some will say it will bear an action; and doubtless it would if I should lead you to see the bounds of the Fenfield men in such a fenny, rugged circuit: *I had therefore plotted it out.*" And what follows? Actually a copy of Hooker's bi-circular map, with an inscription in the middle, "Dartmoor Forest, with the precincts, as it lieth from the four towns;" and with Hooker's four spaces—only that the words "Okehampton, Brimascol" appear at the top, where Westcote also adds a *fleur-de-lis* to signify the north; the words "Ashburton, Ashborn out-shut" come on the east; "Plimpton, Roborough" on the south; and "Tavistock, Ogwell Head" on the west. The series of lines or rays are also drawn; but the intermediate inscriptions are omitted, and the spaces left blank, Hooker's indications being probably a puzzle to Westcote, as they would certainly be to us, did not this Exeter MS. furnish the key.

Nevertheless, says Westcote unblushingly, "*I had therefore plotted it out.*" *Sic vos non vobis;* however, we hereby hope to have made some amends to the injured shade of old John Hooker.

Risdon, whose work is of course invaluable, writing in

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about 1630, in his description of Lydford,* also copies Hooker without reserve, and equally without recognition. At p. 221 he gives the Latin document (A), being the supposed extract from Domesday — unquestionably Hooker's version — for Risdon prints Hooker's alteration of "post quam" into "prius quam," whereas the former is the true reading in both surveys. He corrects, however, "quorum" to "coram," and omits the Latin document (B) altogether. He gives the perambulation of Richard, Duke of Cornwall, as at fol. 92*b* of Hooker; and then at p. 223 he incorporates what Hooker has said about the Fenfield men, adding these words, "in ancient times Fengfield." He gives the passage from Hooker, extracted above, as to the rents, the crowning by the coroner of Lydford, and then he proceeds (p. 224): "The bounds and limits of the Fenfield men's tenures are as follows; that is, from Podaston Lake," and so forth, following his leader, without a trace of doubt or hesitation.

To complete this part of the subject, it may be added that Lysons says nothing about either map or boundaries; that the map is referred to by Mr. W. Burt in his preface to Carrington's *Dartmoor*,† but without remark or explanation; and that Rowe,‡ referring to Risdon's list of names, says, "But it would be difficult, if not impossible, to identify the names thus enumerated with existing places, so that little available information on these points can be gleaned from his statement." It need scarcely be said that our Saxon document had not come under Mr. Rowe's inspection.

Notwithstanding that our early historians are found to be thus at fault, there is nevertheless a sense in which the statement they make is partially true. The Venville parishes lie in a ring or belt, encircling the whole moor, being some twenty-one in number. Those on the east of the moor are Chagford, North Bovey, Manaton, Withycombe, and Holne. Our Saxon boundaries (if rightly traced) lie in ten or eleven parishes; namely, Ashburton, Buckland, Withycombe, Manaton, Lustleigh, Bovey Tracy, Ilsington, Bickington, West Ogwell, Woodland, and Staverton. Consequently for about a quarter of their area they lie within the Venville district, and for the remainder without; and on the south-west and north-east the boundaries of the two districts are in one instance exactly, and in the other very nearly, identical.

Before quitting entirely the interesting question incidentally

* Ed. of 1811, p. 220. † Ed. of 1826, p. xii.
‡ *Perambulation*, ed. of 1848, p. 4.

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raised above, as to the antiquity of the venville tenures, it may be useful to state very briefly the result of the views of two modern writers on the subject.

Mr. W. Burt, secretary in 1826 of the Chamber of Commerce, Plymouth, whose preface to the first edition of Carrington's *Dartmoor* displays signal research and ability, after describing the disafforestation of Dartmoor, writes thus: *

"For some time the purlieus were devoted to the purposes of the chase, and had officers over them called rangers; but gradually they became more or less cultivated, and as we see them at the present day. Many of them belong to parishes lying in what is termed venville, a word signifying by-dwellings, or habitations in parishes abutting on Dartmoor, which paid annually for their cattle, when trespassing within the forest bounds, certain compensations, intituled fines villarum, or village fines, thence corrupted into fin vil and venville. Mr. Auditor Hockmore, in his report of 1621, mentions the venville estates (in old rolls styled "sepimenta," and a part of the ancient duchy possessions) as of the same nature. 'There are divers towns abutting upon the forest and within the purlieu thereof, who, because their cattle did daily estray into the forest, were at a certain fine, which being turned into a rent, was called Finis Villarum; and those which dwell within those liberties are called to this day Venville men.'"

The other writer who may be consulted is the anonymous author of the Preface to the Appendix to Rowe's *Dartmoor*, now known to have been the late Mr. Edward Smirke, Vice-Warden of the Stannaries. The appendix states a document as early as A.D. 1296–7, being an account rendered at that date by the ministers of Edmund, Duke of Cornwall. This account includes, amongst the issues of the forest, a sum of £4 1s. 8d., "de finibus villarum," from the fines of vills for the pasturing of their cattle; and other ministers' accounts at the Record Office, of later date, mention "fines villarum et agistamentum," and also speak "de quodam redditu vocato 'fyn des villes et agistament' in eâdem more;" but never of "fenfield," or of any similar word.

The conclusion then to which the Duchy records lead unquestionably is, that the tenure itself is of post-Saxon origin; and we now have the two historical views presented to us side by side. One is that the Saxon free land-owner, exercising an immemorial right of sending his winter herd and flock to graze on Dartmoor, was able to maintain that

* Page xxviii.

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right against the Crown, and to enter into a compact with the sovereign, whereby he (the tenant) preserving the royal forest safe from marauders, was to have a right of pasture, to the extent of his winter holding, free, and other rights of ownership at an annual rent. The other view is, that after the forest laws were abolished, the cattle from neighbouring parishes accidentally, but yet habitually, strayed into the forest and its purlieus, and that for this uncertain and yet constantly renewed trespass the Crown imposed a fixed and certain rent by way of penalty. To me, I confess, the former seems a very probable, and the latter a very improbable origin for this singular institution. The difficulties in the way of the latter theory are; first, that for an uncertain amount of trespass a certain fine should be imposed; and secondly, that the payment should be considered in the light of a fine at all; whereas it always has been, I understand, and even now is, considered a valuable privilege.

I even suggest that Mr. Auditor Hockmore's theory is founded on a false etymology; that "Wangfield," or "Wengfield," was the old Saxon designation; that the Normans, when they came, unable to pronounce the word, adopted "Venville" as the nearest approach possible to them; that then from "Venville" were invented the phrases "fins des villes" and "fines villarum;" and from these phrases came the erroneous notion of "a fine" exacted for a trespass, instead of a reduced sum payable by way of privilege for the exercise of an immemorial right.

To return however to our boundaries, it should be mentioned that there are two indorsements on the parchment slip; one being "bundæ per Dert," which is (so-called) Latin for "boundaries at the Dart;" the other "peding tunes land gemæro," being good Saxon for "Pedington's land boundaries." The only noticeable circumstance about the latter is, that the word "gemæro" is broken off at the edge of the parchment and continued in a second line,* so far helping to the conclusion that the document is a complete thing in itself, and not a fragment of a larger instrument.

The question remains, Who or what was "Peadington," otherwise "Pedington"? An enthusiastic disciple of Mr. Kemble would perhaps deduce from the word a migration of the tribe of Pædingas from their tún in Middlesex, and

* Peding tunes land ge |
mæro.

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would picture them travelling westward, leaving traces of their sojourn in the Thames valley at Pædinga-bourn (Pangbourne), and finally casting in their lot with the new settlers amongst the Defnas, and establishing their mark under the shadow of Heytor and Rippon Tor. But for such a vision all trace of reality is wanting: modern Devonshire knows of no other Paddington than the terminus of the Great Western Railway.

That the lands were in some way connected with the See of Exeter is probable, not only from the circumstances already stated, but from the fact of this strip coming out of the cathedral archives; but I am not aware of any trace of such lands as these being in the possession of St. Peter's, Exeter, before the foundation of the See, in 1050; and we have a careful enumeration of the possessions of the See at Leofric's death, in 1071, and know that these lands were not amongst them.

Our results therefore, unfortunately, are negative. We can show where the lands were, also that they are not what Hooker, Westcote, and Risdon supposed them to be; but to say more exceeds our power at present. I trust that the further elucidation of these points will fall to the lot of some more fortunate investigator.

APPENDIX.

LIST of manumissions at St. Peter's, Exeter, inscribed on the eighth leaf of Leofric's Missal or Sacramentarium (MSS. Bodl. No. 579), not mentioned by Hickes (*Dissert. Epist.* pp. 12, 13), and omitted from Thorpe (*Diplomatarium*, pp. 638–9).

Date; circ. A.D. 970.

Fol. 8*a*.

.. freode hunu at oc mund tune . . .	. . . freed Hunu at Okehampton.
.. freode brodu at curitune ..	. . . freed Brodu at Coryton.

Fol. 8*b*.

+ þys sint þara manna naman ðe man freoðe for ordgar æt bradanstane ða he læg on adle. That ys cnysie fram Liwtune ⁊ godcild of	+ These are the men's names who were freed for Ordgar at Bradstone, when he lay sick. That is, Cynsie from Liwton, and Godchild

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lamburnan ⁊ leofric of swurantune dola wines sunu ⁊ eadsige of cyric forda ⁊ ælfgyþ of boc lande ⁊ smala of oc mund tune ⁊ wifman of brada stune ⁊ byrhflæd of tref meu tune ⁊ ælflæd of clymestune on wynst--es ge wytnysse mæsse preosæs ⁊ on wulfsies æt lamburnan ⁊ on ealra þara hired preosta ⁊ ælfgyđ of swuran tune ⁊ þær his to ge witnysse cynsie p̃. ⁊ goda p̃. ⁊ ælfric p̃. đe þis ge wryt wrat þis was æt bors lea ge don for ordgar.

+ Eadgifu gefreode Ælfgiđe birhsies dohtor hlaf bryttan æt borslea on feower wegas on wynstunes gewitnesse mæsse p̃. ⁊ on goda p̃. ⁊ on cynstunes godasunu. ⁊ on afun birhtric gefreode æffan æt curritune on brunes gewitnesse mæsse p̃. ⁊ on wynstanes p̃. ⁊ on ealra þæra hyres p̃.

+ Eadgyfu gefreode leofrune æt curritune for ordgar on brunes gewitnesse messe preostes ⁊ on ealra þæra hyred preosta.

+ Byrhtric gefreode ribrost ⁊ hwite on middeswintres mæsse dæg æt tiwarhel on prudes gewitnysse mæsse preost.

+ Eadgifu gefreode wulfric on feower wegas þrim euen ær middensumera on gewitnisse byrhstunes mæsse

of Lamburn, and Leofric of Werrington, Dola Wine's son, and Eadsig of Churchford, and Ælfgyth of Buckland, and Small of Okehampton, and Wifman of Bradstone, and Byrhflæd of Trematon, and Ælflæd of Clymeston,* on witness of Wynstan the mass-priest, and of Wulfsie at Lamburn, and of all the priests of the convent there, and Ælfgyth of Werrington. And thereto is witness Cynsie the priest, and Goda the priest, and Ælfric the priest, who wrote this writing. This was done at Borslea for Ordgar.

+ Eadgifu freed Ælfgith, daughter of Birhsie, steward (loaf distributor), at Borslea, at four cross roads, on witness of Wynstan the mass-priest, and of Goda the priest, and of Cynstun Goda's son. And at Avon, Birhtric freed Aeffan at Coryton on witness of Brun the mass-priest, and of Wynstan the priest, and of all the priests of the convent there.

+ Eadgyfu freed Leofrun at Coryton for Ordgar on witness of Brun the mass-priest, and of all the priests of the convent there.

+ Byrhtric freed Ribrost and White on midwinter mass day at Tiwernhayle on witness of Prude the mass-priest.

+ Eadgifu freed Wulfric at four cross roads three eves before midsummer on witness of Byrhstun the mass-priest,

* Stoke Climsland.

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preostes ⁊ on cynstunes ⁊ on clerices þe þis gewrite.

+ Eadgyfu gefreode wulf wunne on middes sumeres mæsse dæg on wulfnoþes gewitnysse mæsse preostes ⁊ on ealra þæra hired preosta.

+ Eadgyfu gefreode æþelgyfe wuncildes wif on feower wegas on middes sumeres mæsse æfen æt bræg on brunes gewitnisse mæsse p̃. ⁊ on wulfnoðe mæsse p. ⁊ on ealra þære hyred preosta.

Fol. 11*b*.

Ðis synt þa men þe synt anburge betwinon eadgyfe abbedysse ⁊ leofrice abbode æt þa lande æt stoctune. wulfsige. edwig. ⁊ cytel. ⁊ denisc. ⁊ godwine. ⁊ hunwine. ⁊ speta. ⁊ edwig boga. ⁊ brun p̃. that se abbod hit hæbbe his dæg ⁊ æft̃ his dæg in to mynstre.

and of Cynstun, and of the clerk who wrote this.

+ Eadgyfu freed Wulfwunn on midsummer mass day on witness of Wulfnoth the mass-priest, and of all the priests of the convent there.

+ Eadgyfu freed Æthelgyfe Wunchild's wife at four cross roads on the eve of midsummer mass day at Brigge,* on witness of Brun the mass-priest, and of Wulfnoth the mass-priest, and of all the priests of the convent there.

These are the men who are made sureties between Abbess Eadgyfe and Abbot Leofric respecting that land at Stoc-ton †—Wulfsig, Edwig, and Cytel, and Denisc (the Dane), and Godwin, and Hunwin, and Swete, and Edwig Bow, and Brun the priest, that the abbot should have it for his day, and after his day (it should go) to the minster (St. Peter's).

* Now Bridgerule; or Bray (?).

† Stoke, afterwards Stoke Canon.

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JOHN FORD, DRAMATIST.

BY ROBERT DYMOND, F.S.A., AND THE REV. TREASURER HAWKER, M.A.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

THERE are few names more worthy of remembrance by the townsmen of Ashburton than the name of Ford. It was one of this family who in 1670, to the great irritation of the people of Newton Abbot, made a bold attempt to establish a market on Tuesdays for wools and yarn. He also founded a charity school, which he endowed with £8 a year, charged on the tolls of this market. His ancestors had for several generations held a leading position among the gentry of the neighbourhood. They were amongst those whose legal proclivities gave occasion for old Fuller's remark, that "they in this county seem innated with a genius to study law, none in England (Northfolk alone excepted) affording so many. Cornwal indeed hath a famine; but Devonshire makes a feast of such, who by the practice thereof have raised great estates."*

There were sundry families of the name of Ford flourishing in Devonshire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but perhaps the most prolific of all were the Fords of Ilsington, who sprung from the Ashburton branch. Their name occurs in the Ilsington parish registers no less than 138 times between 1561 and 1750, and they are almost as numerous in the registers of Ashburton of the same period. Many of these were evidently of the class of "poor relations;" but the more important branches occupied the manor houses of Ilsington and Bagtor, and the bartons of Sigford and Levaton, in the same parish. Westcote, writing in 1630, tells us that "at Bagtor is a family of Ford, of which name there are three divers families, all generous, and distinguished by divers armories."†

Risdon, a few years later, says of Bagtor that "it was purchased by John Ford, who left it for a seat to his posterity."‡

* FULLER'S *Worthies*, p. 283.
† WESTCOTE'S *View of Devon*, p. 437.
‡ RISDON'S *Survey of Devon*, p. 135.

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But neither Westcote nor Risdon vouchsafe any notice of the John Ford who in their day was writing in London the plays and poems which have brought down his name with honour to our own. Prince, who is somewhat ungenerously styled by Gifford "that worthy chronicler of nameless names" (whatever that may mean), is also strangely silent with respect to John Ford. This silence can hardly have been undesigned; for though he gives us a copious biography of Sir Henry, the dramatist's nephew, and furnishes a long, though doubtful, pedigree of his ancestors, he makes no allusion whatever to the literary star of the family. To be sure, dramatists and the drama had become sadly corrupted after the restoration, and as a reverend divine, Prince may have thought it unbecoming to refer to the subject at all. In the absence of any contemporary notices, we must be content to found our knowledge of Ford's personal history almost exclusively on a few indirect allusions in his own works. Gifford, in the preface to his edition of Ford's plays, tells the little that was known of him; and as that little is very defective in its genealogical particulars, I have appended to this notice a fragment of the Ford pedigree as the clearest mode of showing his position in the family, and the social status of his relations.

It will be seen that John Ford, the dramatist, was the second son of Thomas Ford; that he was baptized at Ilsington on the 12th of April, 1586; and that he was the uncle of Sir Henry Ford, Charles the Second's Secretary of State for Ireland. It will also be observed that he was closely allied, through his mother, with Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and the Treasurer of the Middle Temple. It was probably owing to this relationship, that when he was between sixteen and seventeen years of age, he was admitted a student of that society.* Another John Ford, his cousin, was then of Gray's Inn, and was evidently regarded by the dramatist with great respect. Ford was soon at work with the pen, his first attempt being a curious tract brought to light in 1843 by the Shakespeare Society, and which was unknown to Gifford and other editors of Ford's works. It was printed in 1606, when the author was just

* The entry in the books of the Middle Temple is as follows: "Sexto decimo die Novembris anno predicto (*i.e.* 1602), Magister Johannes Fordus, filius secundus Thomæ Fordi, de Ilsington, in comitate Devoniensi, admissus est in Societatem Medii Templi specialiter et obligatur una cum Magistris Georgio Hooper et Thoma Fordo et dat pro fine £3 6s. 8d." The only entries that can be found of students of the name of Ford at Gray's Inn about this period are Edward Ford, 1537; Philog. Ford, 1562; John Ford, of Hackney, 1613; Richard Ford, 1669.

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twenty years of age, under the title of *Honor Triumphant; or, the Peere's Challenge.* With this appeared some spirited little poems, entitled *The Monarch's Meeting; or, the King of Denmark's Welcome into England.* These were followed in the same year by *Fame's Memorial,* an elegy on the death of the Earl of Devonshire, from certain expressions in which it would appear that Ford was involved in an affair of the heart, and that his suit was unfortunate. It is not certain that he ever married; but there is some ground for believing that he was the "John Ford, of Devon," who wedded a Mary Claverton, and by her became the father of John Ford, who married a lady of the name of Apleton, and whose son John married one Magdalen Ford, of Harting, in Sussex. These Fords of Harting were of a different race from those of Devon. This clue is worth pursuing; but I have not as yet been able to follow it up. Gifford speaks of faint traditions in the neighbourhood of his birthplace, leading to the supposition, "that having from his legal pursuits acquired a sufficient fortune, he retired to his home, to pass the remainder of his days among the youthful connections whom time had yet spared him." This tradition appears to have died out, and is not supported by any entry in the parish registers of Ilsington or Ashburton. His works afford little or no indication that his thoughts ever recurred to his early home; nor do his writings furnish a single Devonian word or phrase. A natural disposition to seclusion probably increased the mystery that surrounds the personal history of John Ford; and a cotemporary wrote of him in the *Time's Poets:*

> "Deep in a dump John Forde was alone got,
> With folded arms and melancholy hat."

It has generally been assumed, though on inconclusive grounds, that Ford died soon after producing *The Lady's Trial* in 1639. The time was then at hand when the stage, and all connected with it, were regarded with something worse than disfavour. Possibly he foresaw the coming storm, and withdrew from its fury; so at least we are left to conjecture, for at the age of fifty-three he vanishes.

This is hardly the place or the occasion to enter upon any lengthy or close criticism of Ford as a dramatist. Of him, and a great many others of the same ilk, it may be truly said that they would hold a very different position in the ranks of literature if there had never been a Shakespeare. There is a story of the celebrated race-horse Eclipse, which may serve as an illustration of what I mean. He was running for the

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prize of the day against a large number of formidable competitors, and came in first, *longo intervallo;* so that the race was aptly described afterwards as "Eclipse first, and the rest nowhere." *

We may say the same of Shakespeare and his cotemporaries and successors. Many of them—and Ford is no exception—possessed considerable powers of imagination, poetical fire, elegance and vividness of expression. Take them by themselves, and they give us thoughts and passages of a very high order. Read one of their dramas before or after one of Shakespeare's plays, and it is hardly an exaggeration to say that there is *no* comparison, the difference is so great. The sustained interest, alternated with successive strokes of pathos and humour, is absent; the astonishing penetration which plumbs the depths of human nature and puts the result into what become household words, is wanting; and the characters, however interesting, are lay, not living figures.

But what perhaps is the most striking deficiency is that, so to speak, clarifying process which eliminates the grossness and impurities of an old fable or story, purging out the dross by its artistic genius, and reducing a mass of rude material to order, beauty, and "a joy for ever." The Greek tragedians could treat repulsive subjects with a delicacy of touch which prevented them from being altogether offensive, however horrible the plot or the details. Their marvellous power of handling a dreadful tale, like the *Œdipus Tyrannus*, or the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles, so that we forget almost all else except the skill of construction, and the bright, tender grace of their grand musical utterances, belonged to them, and to them alone. It is difficult to understand how any writer could dream of bringing before the public, or how any public could tolerate, one of Ford's plays with a coarse title which is really harmless by the side of the play itself. And yet there are sentiments put into the mouths of some of the characters which are as admirable as they are forcible. A fine passage on atheism has fitly found a place in the *West Country Garland*, that charming little book for which we are indebted to a valued member of this Association.

"Dispute no more on this; for know, young man,
These are no school points; nice philosophy
May tolerate unlikely arguments,
But heaven admits no jest: wits that presumed
On wit too much, by striving how to prove
There was no God, with foolish grounds of art,
Discovered first the nearest way to hell;

* *The Horse*, p. 47.

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> And filled the world with devilish atheism.
> Such questions, youth, are fond: far better 'tis
> To bless the sun than reason why it shines;
> Yet He thou talk'st of is above the sun."

For acute and learned criticisms on Ford's plays from his first tragedy, *The Lover's Melancholy*, printed in 1629, to the *Witch of Edmonton*, nothing can be pointed out better than the preface and notes in Gifford's edition. His labour doubtless was a labour of love. The work was congenial to him, and he must have felt a pleasure in bringing out the merits and beauties of one who was almost a townsman.

The play best known amongst Ford's is, I suppose, *The Witch of Edmonton*. It is the one which best reveals the character and feelings of the author, whose personal history has little light thrown upon it except from the internal evidence of his writings. And judging from that one play, Ford must have been before his age; for it is quite evident that he did not the least himself believe in witches or witchcraft. He represents an old, ugly, poverty-stricken woman cruelly treated, coarsely reviled, and hunted off his ground by a rough farmer as dangerous and mischievous, so that in misery and despair she assumes the power she is supposed to possess. If she can get no love, she will be feared; if every man's hand is against her, it will be some gratification for her to see that every one dreads lest her hand should be against them. Of course the accessories and machinery are open to ridicule; the familiar spirit in the shape of a black dog, with its "bow, wow, wow," and its becoming white before the execution of the witch and murderer. Such were necessary concessions to the exigencies of the stage of that day, and, after all, are not more grotesque than some of the creations of much more modern writers. Sir Walter Scott, for instance, in his *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, has employed a goblin page, to help out his story, who is not far advanced with his "Lost, lost, lost," beyond Ford's dog. The whole tone of the play is, I am bold to say, healthy; a protest against vice and mammon-worship; and the simple, innocent, loving Susan, unwitting of her wrongs, and pouring out her heart's affection upon the wretched man who had basely pretended to marry her, is as charming a character in its way as any of Shakespeare's. Her death by the hand of her miserable husband is described with the most tender pathos, and makes one think well of him who could describe such a scene. It is so uncertain what Ford's domestic life was, and where he died, that we may perhaps be allowed to believe that he was telling the

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tale of one whom he had known in the lovely neighbourhood of Bagtor, and that if he died afar off, in London or elsewhere, his last thoughts were where he had seen such fair surroundings, and known so true and good a woman. Virgil makes a like assumption when describing the fall of a warrior. He speaks of him as casting his eyes up to the sky, and in his dying agony recalling his distant, much-loved home.

"Cælumque
Adspicit, et moriens dulcis reminiscitur Argos."

And we all are conversant with the delightful touch of homely nature in Dame Quickly's account of Falstaff's death-bed:

"After I saw him fumble with the sheets, and play with flowers, and smile upon his fingers' ends, I knew there was but one way; for his nose was as sharp as a pen, and a' babbled of green fields."

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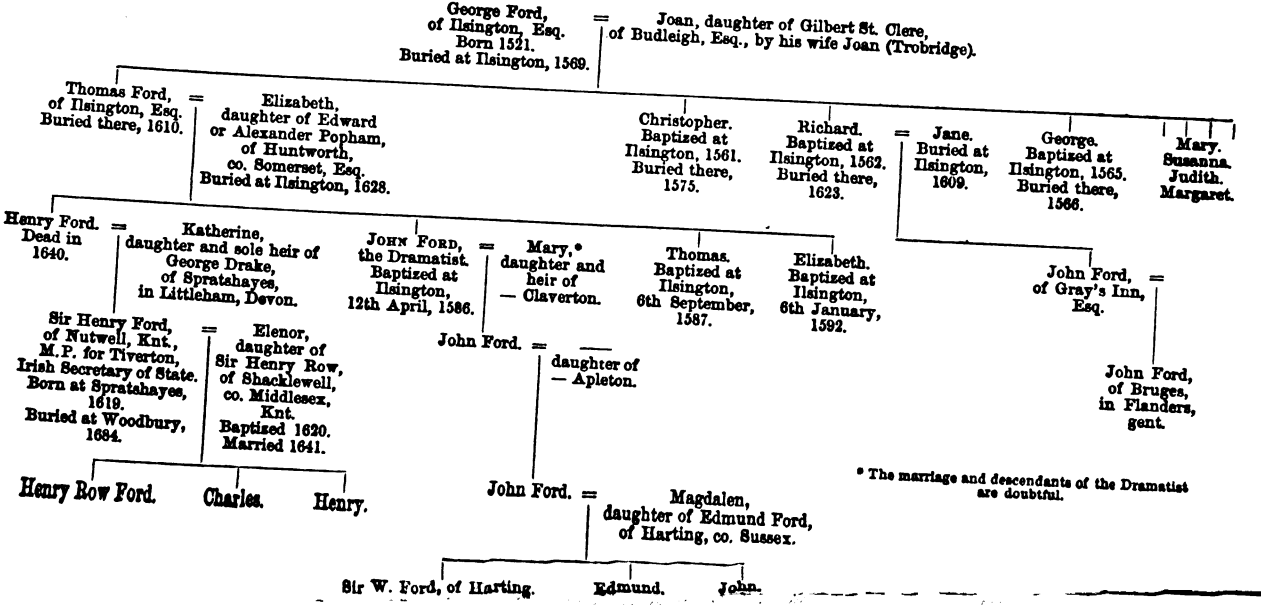
FRAGMENT OF THE FORD PEDIGREE,

SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIPS OF JOHN FORD, THE DRAMATIST.


George Ford, of Ilsington, Esq. Born 1521. Buried at Ilsington, 1569.
Joan, daughter of Gilbert St. Clere, of Budleigh, Esq., by his wife Joan (Trobridge).
Thomas Ford, of Ilsington, Esq. Buried there, 1610.
Elizabeth, daughter of Edward or Alexander Popham, of Huntworth, co. Somerset, Esq. Buried at Ilsington, 1628.
Christopher. Baptized at Ilsington, 1561. Buried there, 1575.
Richard. Baptized at Ilsington, 1562. Buried there, 1623.
Jane. Buried at Ilsington, 1609.
George. Baptized at Ilsington, 1565. Buried there, 1566.
Mary. Susanna. Judith. Margaret.
Henry Ford. Dead in 1640.
Katherine, daughter and sole heir of George Drake, of Spratshayes, in Littleham, Devon.
John Ford, the Dramatist. Baptized at Ilsington, 12th April, 1586.
Mary,* daughter and heir of — Claverton.
Thomas. Baptized at Ilsington, 6th September, 1587.
Elizabeth. Baptized at Ilsington, 6th January, 1592.
John Ford, of Gray's Inn, Esq.
Sir Henry Ford, of Nutwell, Knt., M.P. for Tiverton, Irish Secretary of State. Born at Spratshayes, 1619. Buried at Woodbury, 1684.
Elenor, daughter of Sir Henry Row, of Shacklewell, co. Middlesex, Knt. Baptized 1620. Married 1641.
John Ford. = — daughter of — Apleton.
John Ford, of Bruges, in Flanders, gent.
Henry Row Ford.
Charles.
Henry.
John Ford. = Magdalen, daughter of Edmund Ford, of Harting, co. Sussex.
Sir W. Ford, of Harting.
Edmund.
John.

* The marriage and descendants of the Dramatist are doubtful.

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ON SOME OLD GRAVELS OF THE RIVER DART, BETWEEN TOTNES AND HOLNE BRIDGE.

BY W. A. E. USSHER.

By permission of the Director General of H. M. Geol. Survey.

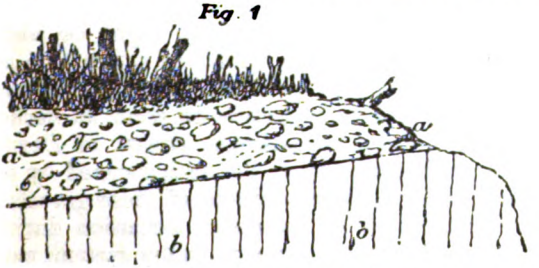
(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

THERE is a very general tendency amongst geologists to segregate their attention, as it were, to different branches of the science; and although by such a course only we can hope to master details, yet in the divisions of enquiry little facts are often disregarded, or suddenly seized upon to foster a particular theory without extraneous support.

I venture then to lay before the Association the following brief notice of certain old fluviatile deposits in this interesting neighbourhood, commencing with a quotation from that encyclopædia of Devonian and Cornish geology, "De la Beche's *Report*, pp. 411–12.

"While studying the gravels of the district, it is necessary to pay due attention to the evidence which appears to exist of several rivers having flowed at higher levels than they now do. This evidence consists of lines of gravel and boulders, similar to those found in the river-beds beneath, occurring at the height of several feet above their present beds. The

Fig. 1



Report on Corn. and Dev., p. 411, fig. 74.

annexed is a sketch of one of these gravel banks, rising about eighty feet above the present course of the Dart, near Holne

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Bridge, *a a* representing the gravel and boulders of the granite and of the altered carbonaceous rocks traversed by the river, resembling those now brought down by it, and *b b* schistose rocks, on the edges of the laminæ of which the bank reposes. A continuation of the same line of gravel and boulders, preserving the same height, may be traced on the left and steep bank up the river for some distance.

"Similar banks may be observed up the Teign, above Chudleigh Bridge; and one is well seen on the road from Crowcombe Bridge to Farley.

"Banks of boulders and gravel, similar to those now found in the bed of the Tavy, are discovered near Tavistock, particularly on the old Plymouth road between the turnpike-gate and Tavistock, and on the northward of the latter town, near a modern villa. These banks above the Teign and Tavy are many feet higher than the present beds of those rivers. There are many localities in the district where small flats occur in the course of valleys, such flats being formed of gravel and boulders that have been drifted down until stopped by still or nearly still water, the level lands being now again cut through by rivers, the barrier of rock which formed the original lake or still water having in the course of time been lowered. If the localities above noticed be considered to have been the sides of similar though larger lakes, filled gradually by gravel and boulders to the height of the banks previously described, very great subsequent modifications of the valleys down which the Dart, Tavy, and Teign flow, must have taken place to admit of this explanation."

Were there no fluviatile deposits of the same river occupying positions intermediate between this high-level gravel and the present alluvial flat, such an explanation as that put forward by De la Beche might be of much value, and as an alternative the re-excavation theory might be adduced, by which this patch of gravel would be taken as a relic of a deposit filling the valley prior to its re-excavation; but in point of fact, as old-river gravels do occur at various levels by most, if not every considerable stream in Devon (I can only speak with certainty of the area covered by secondary rocks), and as the relative positions of these gravels are such as to favour the idea of successive formation during stages in the excavation of the present valley system, neither the lacustrine nor re-excavation theories seem adequate to account for the phenomena.

In those parts of west Somerset and Devon where the

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secondary rocks occur, traces of old alluvia and river gravels are numerous, but owing to the denuding and disturbing agencies of tributary streams, rain, &c., it is often difficult to distinguish them from soils; this is more particularly the case where the subjacent rock consists of marl, as the gravel is often concealed by a re-deposit resembling the ordinary soil.

As this is not a paper on gravels generally, but on the high-level gravels between Ashburton and Totnes, a few corroborative instances will sufficiently illustrate my meaning.

The banks of the river Exe present many examples of old river action, the low-lying tract in the neighbourhood of Stoke Cannon being an example of the most recent. At Brampford Speke, and at Rew, patches of gravel occur at from twenty to fifty feet above the river. Part of Tiverton is built on old river gravel, at some thirty or forty feet above the present alluvium.* Exeter Post-office is on old river gravel, and intermediate alluvia and gravel terraces may be seen on the southern outskirts of the city, and towards Topsham. Omitting numerous other instances by the Exe, we pass on to the Otter. Patches of river gravel occur between Budleigh Salterton and Budleigh at from fifteen to sixty feet above the river; but on its western side, opposite Ottery St. Mary, one of the best examples of the old gravel terrace occurs, here two fringes of gravel occur at heights of about twenty and fifty feet or more above the river, whilst near Fairmile Inn there is reason to consider that traces of a still higher gravel present themselves.

Old gravels are frequently met with in the watersheds of the Tone, Culm, Clist, and even the Sid, which displays an old gravel terrace near the Blue Ball Inn; but these examples will, I trust, suffice.

The following observations have been made, with one exception, upon this side of the Dart. Proceeding from Totnes to Ashburton, the first section of interest was noticed in a railway cutting near Totnes station, where the deposit consisted of (*a*) a mass of shale fragments, with a few subangular stones of dark bluish-grey slate in brown, loamy soil; (*b*) gravel of dark bluish-grey slate, granite (apparently), elvan, and quartz, in the form of pebbles and subangular fragments in a matrix of coarse brown sand composed of small angular and subangular particles of similar material. (Fig. 2.) The stones have no regular lie, the longer axes seem

* A patch of gravel occurs on the north of Tiverton, at about 100 feet above the alluvium.

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generally to approximate to the vertical. Distinguishable signs of bedding are absent, although lenticular seams of coarse brown sand are visible here and there.

The granitic fragments exhibit the greatest attrition; those of slate and grit being generally subangular, with flat polished faces.

This gravel occupies a position contiguous to the alluvium, and scarcely exceeding fifteen feet above it where exposed.

The succeeding sections were noticed in railway cuttings proceeding from Staverton to Buckfastleigh.

First cutting. Brown loam, with small subangular slate fragments containing pebbles, subangular stones, and boulders of granite, bluish slate, and greenstone. Base of the gravel about six feet above the alluvium.

Second cutting. Brown loam, with a few large pebbles; at base, eight to ten feet above the alluvium.

Third cutting. Brown loam, containing pebbles and subangular stones of various sizes derived from granitic and slaty rocks, exhibiting no arrangement or regard to gravity in the disposition of the fragments. A few large granite boulders are dispersed throughout the mass, one of which was found to measure 1 ft. 6 in. × 1 ft. × 8 in. The gravel rests on an eroded surface of grey slates at about twenty feet above the alluvium.

A ditch by the line further on shows rounded boulders and smaller stones in brown loam, three to four feet in thickness, resting on slates. The granitic boulders frequently present flattish faces. The height of this section was not taken, but it can scarcely exceed fifteen feet above the river.

Fourth cutting. Loam and fine gravel of slate fragments, with embedded boulders, and also overlain by them. The gravel rests on greyish slates, with a southerly dip; its height was not taken.

Fifth cutting. A thin capping of gravel not exceeding two feet, mostly composed of pebbles, containing boulders. (Fig. 3.) The base of the gravel is six to ten feet above the rails, and probably nowhere exceeds twenty feet above the river.

Sixth cutting. Brown loam, with small shale or slate fragments, and occasional pebbles and subangular stones of granite, grit, and slate, resting at one end of the cutting upon gravel of granite of different varieties (felspathic, schorlaceous, and porphyritic), dark bluish slate, and apparently elvan, as pebbles and boulders. Many of the granitic stones present flat, smooth faces. (Fig. 4.)

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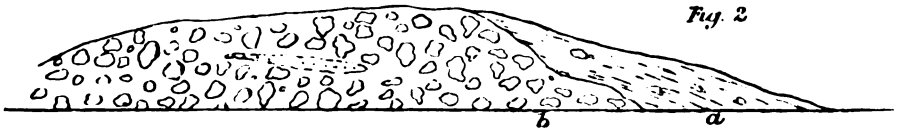
In figs. 2, 3, 4, 5, Vertical Scale, 1 in. = 12 feet.

TOTNES.

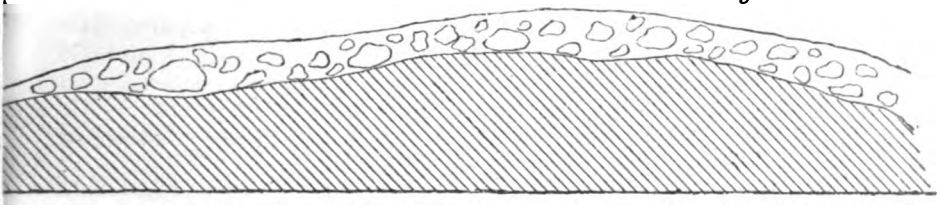
Fig. 2



a. Brown accumulation, full of shale fragments. *b*. Gravel.

Fifth Cutting.

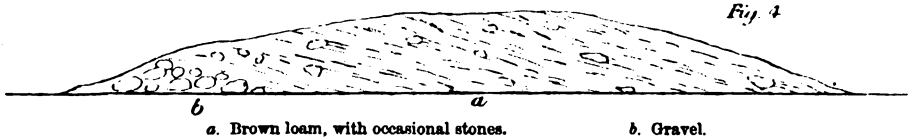
Fig. 3



Gravel on uneven surface of grey slates.

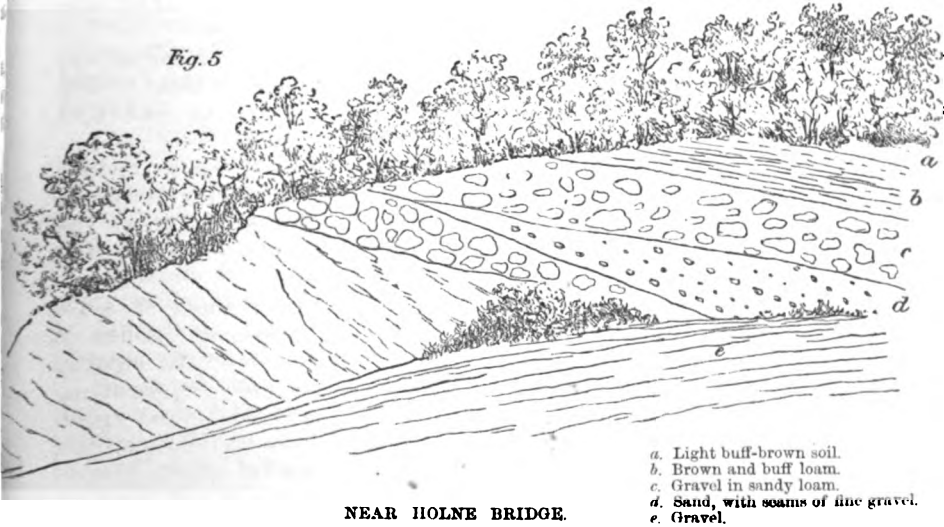
Sixth Cutting.

Fig. 4



a. Brown loam, with occasional stones. *b*. Gravel.

Fig. 5



a. Light buff-brown soil.
b. Brown and buff loam.
c. Gravel in sandy loam.
d. Sand, with seams of fine gravel.
e. Gravel.

NEAR HOLNE BRIDGE.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

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The visible base of the gravel is about eight feet above the river, the height of the cutting being five feet.

This gravel is shown in a road cutting near the railway; the matrix is composed of fine brown sandy loam. The stones exhibit no regularity in position. The deposit is five feet in thickness.

In the road cutting on the Ashburton side of Holne Bridge the following interesting section (fig. 5) is observable, being probably opposite to the one alluded to by De la Beche, given above:

	ft. in.
(*a*) Light buff-brown loamy soil	1 . 0
(*b*) Reddish-brown and buff loam, full of small slate and shale fragments, and containing small grit stones; stratification indicated by buff-coloured bands . . .	3 . 0
(*c*) Light brown sandy loam, with angular and subangular fragments of grit, quartz, and granite, reddish-brown near the base, and containing numerous large pebbles and boulders, and flattish pebbles resting unconformably upon	4 . 0
(*d*) Brown sand, of angular and subangular grains, with lines of fine subangular gravel indicating bedding . .	0 to 4 . 0
(*e*) Subangular and pebble gravel of dark bluish slate and granite, the former predominating, containing large rounded and subangular boulders in a sandy matrix .	0 to 3 . 0

The base of the gravel was found, by aneroid measurement, to be sixty feet above the Dart at Holne Bridge. In the bed of the river granite boulders are frequently observable, one of them on the bank measuring 4 ft. × 3 ft. × 2 ft. 6 in.

Were the country fully explored, other traces of old gravels would probably be found at positions relative to the river, intermediate between the Holne Bridge gravel and the highest gravel in the cuttings between Staverton and Buckfastleigh.

On the idea previously put forward, the higher the situation of the gravel above the rivers the older its date, allowing the erosive power to have acted uniformly, we would then have an excavation of sixty feet made by the river since the deposit of the gravel of Holne Bridge, of which no resultant deposits are found in the immediate vicinity, which, when we consider the sharp slope of the ground, is scarcely to be wondered at. But part of this interval is bridged over by the gravels between Staverton and Buckfastleigh.

When the time necessary for the erosion of a gorge sixty feet deep in solid rock is taken into account, with the varied attendant forces of denudation in the form of frosts, rain, melted snow, tributary streams and brooks acting on the

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loose material left by the river, it would be unreasonable to expect to find continuous river terraces, or direct indices of the gradual deepening of the gorge, although the large boulders found in the stream bed, which the river is now incapable of moving, may have formerly constituted portions of old gravels deposited at higher levels by the river, when its volume was much greater, and gradually carried down to lower levels as the deepening of its channel proceeded. To this redistributing power the absence of stratification and arrangement in the gravels, not exceeding twenty feet above the river, might with some show of reason be ascribed.

In speaking of the excavation and re-excavation of valleys care is necessary; for whilst the former implies the creation of the valley, the latter indicates a formation more or less remote, a filling up with deposits, the removal of which constitutes a re-excavation.

From the presence of such isolated outliers of secondary rocks as the Trias of Stoodleigh, near Tiverton, Portledge-mouth, and Slapton, and the Greensand of Haldon, it is of course questionable how far the older rocks may have been concealed by them; and how many old palæozoic valleys may have exhibited in pre-pleistocene times the same features as the valleys of Tiverton, Crediton, and Stogumber now do. But it is almost incredible to conceive a removal of Triassic or Cretaceous material from existing palæozoic valleys so thorough as to have left no outlying patches in sequestered nooks, and to have furnished no material to the gravels formed successively during that removal; for the composition of the Dart gravels betray no such origin.

Therefore we are led to believe, that whatever secondary deposits may have covered the older rocks in the vicinity of Ashburton and Staverton, they had been entirely removed before the formation of the gravel of Holne Bridge; that is, before the excavation of the present gorge, or when the bottom of the valley stood sixty feet or more higher than it does now.

Although the smoothed flat surfaces, so frequently presented by the boulders in the gravels, might be taken as evidence of original ice transport, or the reassortment of old moraine material, the absence of striæ, as far as I am aware, precludes the building of any indefinite theory on such slight grounds. But one can scarcely fail to be struck with the large fragments so common in old gravels, which must have come from some distance, unlike the large angular stones to be met with in the more modern valley gravels derived from

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the disintegration of much-jointed slate or grit in the river bed, or by its banks.

The old alluvia frequently found at considerable heights above the valley bottoms, and occurring by rivulets and brooks, which play a very trifling part in the present economy of nature to which Mr. Godwin-Austen has referred; the small proportion borne by the width of the present rivers to the alluvial tracts through which they meander, seem to lead to the conclusion that the present rivers are very puny in comparison to their former representatives, which is still further borne out by the constitution of many of their old high-level gravels; so that it is difficult to avoid concluding that the former rivers were of greater magnitude; that after the excavation of some of the valleys, and possibly the re-excavation of others to their present depth, a decrease took place in the volume of the surface waters, causing the desertion of the most part of their courses by the gradually diminishing rivers, and leaving them to spend their remaining energies on the selection of winding channels through the present alluvial plains, their old beds left dry, by which a true re-excavation is now progressing, leading to the exposure of sections showing the composition of the former river beds by their present banks. Thus the Dart, with its pleasant woodland scenery, gives little evidence above Totnes, as it meanders through its former bed, of a volume and power competent to excavate a gorge through sixty feet or more of slate rocks at Holne Chase during the later stages of the pleistocene period.

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FIRST REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SCIENTIFIC MEMORANDA.

FIRST REPORT *of the Committee—consisting of Mr. G. Doe, Rev. W. Harpley, Mr. H. S. Gill, Mr. R. J. King, Mr. E. Parfitt, Mr. W. Pengelly, and Mr. J. B. Rowe—for the purpose of noting the discovery or occurrence of such facts in any department of scientific inquiry, and connected with Devonshire, as it may be desirable to place on permanent record, but may not be of sufficient importance in themselves to form the subjects of separate papers.*

Edited by W. PENGELLY, F.R.S., F.G.S., Hon. Secretary of the Committee.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

THOUGH it was intended that this Report should only include *Memoranda* of facts which had been discovered or had occurred during the twelve months ending with the 30th June, 1876, it has been thought desirable to admit a few belonging to previous years, simply because they seem worthy of record, and have not been noted elsewhere.

The portions of this communication which are not placed within inverted commas are editorial. The sources whence all the other portions have been derived are either fully stated, or are indicated by initials, the full import of which is as follows:—

"F. H. A." = Mr. F. H. Anson.
"W. B." = Mr. W. Brodrick, Littlehill, Chudleigh.
"G. B." = Mr. G. Busk, F.R.S., F.L.S., F.G.S., &c., 32, Harley Street, Cavendish Square, London.
"F. S. C." = Mr. F. S. Corkran, Petworth, Torquay.
"G. D." = Mr. G. Doe, Great Torrington.
"A. W. F." = Mr. A. W. Franks, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.R.A.S., British Museum.
"N. S. H." = Mr. N. S. Heineken, Sidmouth.
"C. P." = Mr. C. Pannel, Walton Lodge, Torquay.

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I. ARCHÆOLOGICAL.

(1.) On 14th February 1876, Mr. Wm. Brodrick, of Littlehill, Chudleigh, presented to the Museum of the Torquay Natural History Society the fragments of a broken urn with the materials which had occupied it; and was so good as to send me the following statement respecting it:—

"Littlehill, Chudleigh,
"Feb. 14th, 1876.

"The remains of the urn and its contents, that I brought to Torquay to-day were found on Thursday last, the 10th, in a field adjoining my house, by some men, whilst digging a hole for planting a tree. Their spades had broken into the upper portion of the vessel before they noticed it, and their attention was drawn to the particles of bone it contained. When I first saw it, the bottom of the urn was *in situ*, and untouched. By loosening the soil about it I hoped to get it out unbroken, but upon raising it, it fell to pieces. The vessel was about 10 inches or so in diameter at top, the bottom being some 4 or 5. It was was buried about a couple of feet from the surface, *in the clay*, which there commences at a depth of about 18 inches. I could find nothing near it indicating anything else of a similar character. The urn was full of small pieces of bone, pieces of charcoal, and soil. The soil above the urn appeared to have also been stained with burnt matter. I suppose that it is simply a case of cremation." (W. B.)

The "find," as it reached the Museum, formed two distinct small parcels, one being the fragments, and the other the contents, of the urn.

On being carefully washed, the pieces of pottery proved to be upwards of 70 in number, few of them as much as 3·5 inches in greatest length, whilst most of them were much smaller. The pottery was of very humble quality, much cracked on the outer surface, without a trace of glaze, imperfectly and rudely baked, and by no means of uniform thickness. On putting together the pieces which formed the base of the sides, the bottom proved to have had an ovoid outline, measuring 5·5 inches in greatest length, by 4·7 inches in greatest breadth.

Whilst the "contents" were mainly "small pieces of bone, pieces of charcoal, and soil," as stated by Mr. Brodrick, there were with them the head portion of an iron nail, 1·625 inch long, quadrilateral in transverse secton, and such as would be popularly called "a ten-penny nail;" another iron object,

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apparently a "hob-nail," much corroded, and having the point bent; a small bit of pottery, glazed on each surface, and much superior to the urn in quality; and a piece of the stem of a white clay smoking-pipe, 2·25 inches long, 1·375 inch in circumference, nearly circular in transverse section, and having the tube or bore considerably out of the centre.

I wrote Mr. Brodrick about these apparently extraneous objects, and was favoured with the following reply:—

"Littlehill, Chudleigh,
"June 27th., 1876.

"I should say that there was no good reason whatever to suppose that the urn contained anything beyond the fragments of bones and charcoal. As it had been disturbed and some portion of the contents scattered about before I arrived on the ground, I collected as well as I could from the heap of soil whatever appeared likely to have come out of it. The portion that I saw intact, and which I raised myself, had certainly nothing beyond the bones and charcoal; but as the urn was a very short distance below the surface of the field, and as it had been the custom to dress such grass fields with ashes, or, rather, the rubbish of the dust-hole, it is easy to see how such articles as old nails, pieces of earthenware, and so on, could be found a few inches deep in the earth; the feet of cattle, the roller, &c., could easily press them down." (W. B.)

Having a suspicion that at least some of the fragments of bone were not human, I sent the whole of them to Mr. G. Busk, F.R.S., the eminent comparative anatomist, requesting him to be so good as to inform me whether or not they were human; if not human, to what animal they belonged; and, in any case, to say of what bones they were portions.

The following is his reply:—

"32, Harley Street,
July 24, 1876.

"I have tried all I can to be certain about the bones, and they have been carefully studied by Mr. Flower also, at the College of Surgeons, but one fragment, which looks like a fragment of a tibia, puzzles us extremely.

The fragments of ribs I think are, without doubt, those of Goat or Sheep, as are also the few recognizable portions of vertebræ.

The tibia (?) must I should imagine belong to the same individual, but we cannot make it correspond with that of the sheep. Chance may enlighten the matter some day.

There is no suspicion of the bones being human." (G. B.)

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Mr. A. W. Franks, F.R.S., of the British Museum, to whom I sent a few of the potsherds, was so good as to send me the following note respecting them:—

"British Museum.

"It is difficult to give an opinion about pottery, but I see no reason to doubt that your fragments are Roman, perhaps made in this country. Some of them are very much decayed, but I have seen Roman pottery as bad." (A. W. F.)

(2.) "In April, 1873, Mr. H. Ede found a 'pick' of yellow chert, 7·375 inches long on Salcombe Hill, near Sidmouth." (N. S. H.)

(3.) "On 20th May, 1873, Mr. H. Ede found a 'pick' of brown chert, 6·5 inches long, on Salcombe Hill, near Sidmouth." (N. S. H.)

(4.) "On 26th May, 1873, Mr. H. Ede found a sandstone 'Spindle-whorl,' 1·75 inch long and ·5 inch thick, at Bickwell farm, near Sidmouth." (N. S. H.)

(5.) "On 5th May, 1875, Mr. H. Ede found a sandstone 'Spindle-whorl,' 3 inches in diameter and ·75 inch thick, at Broadway, near Sidmouth." (N. S. H.)

(6.) "In May, 1876, Mr. P. O. Hutchinson found a 'pick' of grey flint, about 3·5 inches long on the flank of Peak Hill, near Sidmouth." (N. S. H.)

The following extract respecting "picks," a term which it will be observed is used three times by Mr. Heineken, is taken from Mr. John Evans's *Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments of Great Britain* (1872), and may not be out of place here:—

"I now come to several forms of implements which, though approximating closely to those to which the name of celts has been given, may perhaps be regarded with some degree of certainty as forming a separate class of tools. Among these, the long narrow form to which, for want of a better name, that of 'Picks' has been given, may be first described as being perhaps the most closely allied to that of the so-called celts." (Chap. vii. p. 154.)

(7.) On 14th July, 1876, Mr. W. W. Buller, of Chapel, about a mile W.S.W. from, what Cornishmen would call,

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Bovey Tracey *Church-Town*, presented to the Museum of the Torquay Natural History Society a Celt or Chisel of bronze or copper—probably the former—which had been ploughed up in 1873, so far as could be remembered, in a portion of Bovey Heathfield which had been then recently enclosed. The implement is much corroded on the external surface, and bears a few traces of abrasion—the results, I understood from Mr. Buller, of attempts on the part of the discoverer "to scrape off the rust." It is 4·8 inches long, and throughout its entire length its transverse sections are rectangular parallelograms, having the angles slightly rounded off. At the but-end it is 1·05 inch wide, and 1 inch thick; so that it is there almost square. These dimensions are very nearly, if not quite retained for a distance of ·5 inch, where it suddenly contracts to ·85 inch in width and in breadth, so as to give it a sort of slightly raised "head" ·5 inch long. From the head it gradually and slightly decreases in width until, about midway in its length, it measures ·75 inch, and then increases to the opposite end, where it is again 1·05 inch. Its thickness diminishes almost, but not quite, uniformly from the head to the opposite end, where it terminates in a nearly sharp edge, equally sloped on each face. This edge is convex, the straight line joining its extreme points being about ·15 inch behind the centre of the edge; or, to use the language of the mathematician, the edge is a circular arc having a a chord of 1·05 inch, and a versed sine of ·15 inch. Each of its four lateral faces is slightly concave; and this is most marked in those which bound its breadth. When placed on a flat surface it is seen that the concavity is not quite equal on either of the pairs of opposite faces; and that when thus placed, with its terminal sharp edge horizontal, the tool rests, not on this edge, but on a line a short distance behind it.

It has a socket with a very smooth surface extending 2·9 inches lengthways into the tool, and measuring in transverse section, at the opening on the but-end, ·8 inch by ·7 inch; so that the bronze shell is from ·1 inch to ·15 inch thick. The weight of the tool is 5·39 ounces Troy.

II. NUMISMATICAL.

(1.) On September 8th, 1875, Mr. Charles Pannel of Walton Lodge, Torquay, and Moorlands, Chagford, sent, from the latter place, through Mr. E. Vivian, a copper coin to the Museum of the Torquay Natural History Society, accompanied by the following statement:

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"I found the enclosed coin on breaking up some earth in my garden here.

It looks to me like a Roman coin minted during their occupation of Great Britain." (C. P.)

The coin was submitted to Mr. S. F. Corkran, the well-known Numismatist, who returned it with the following note:

"This coin is a halfpenny of George II., the inscription being tooled with the intention of making it appear to belong to the reign of the Emperor Claudius. It may be ranked in the class called 'Forgeries,' and is only interesting as a *tooled* coin." (S. F. C.)

(2.) The following paragraph appeared in the *Western Morning News*, Plymouth newspaper, of Friday, 23rd June, 1876:

"A very curious find was made by Mr. Nicholas Coleman, while ploughing in a field near the Jubilee Inn, Wembury, the other day. He turned up a large copper coin in excellent preservation, an inch and three quarters in diameter, and an ounce and a half in weight. It has on the obverse a shield of arms surmounted by a crown—quarterly first and fourth, three crowns; second and third, a lion rampant and gardant. There is also an inescutcheon, the charge of which is doubtful. Legend—CHRISTINA.DG: SVEG:GOTH:WAN:DESI:REGI:ET.PR:HE. On the reverse there are two arrows in saltire, a crown above, with the figure 7 on one side, and the letters O R on the other. Legend—MONETA·NOVA·CVPREA·DALARENSIS·M·DC·XXXIX. It is an ore of Christina, Queen of Sweden, daughter of the famous Gustavus Adolphus, of the year 1639, and, as the reverse expresses it, 'Dalecarlian copper new money.' How got it to Wembury? Possibly in the way of commerce."

Mr. Coleman, in a letter, dated "July 6," which he was so good as to send me in reply to certain questions I had forwarded to him respecting his "find," says that the foregoing paragraph "is quite correct," that the coin "was found about a month since," that is, early in June, 1876, and that it was still in his possession.

(3.) "A Roman coin, second brass, inscription indistinct, was found at Broadway, about March, 1876." (N. S. H.)

III. GEOLOGICAL.

(1.) On Rivalton estate, in the parish of Langtree, about four miles from Great Torrington, there is a subangular

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Boulder, 13 feet long, 6 feet broad, 3 feet thick; its longest axis having the direction of north-west to south-east. It has no natural ruts, groovings, or scratches of any kind. It is not known by any particular name, nor is there any legend connected with it, beyond that met with almost everywhere, that it was thrown where it lies by the devil. It rests on clay, near a small brook, and its site is about 500 feet above mean sea-level.

At a distance of about 25 feet from it, in a north-easterly direction, there is another boulder of precisely the same kind of stone, 8 feet long, 3·5 feet broad, and 2·25 feet thick.

About 35 land-yards from the larger boulder, and southwards from it, there are six small boulders, just cropping above ground; and at a distance of nearly half a mile farther in the same direction are three other specimens similar to the six just mentioned. Near them is a deposit of clay, containing flints, and a gravel pit." (G. D.)

IV. PALÆONTOLOGICAL.

(1.) On the 1st February, 1876, Mr. Frederick H. Anson, then residing at Torquay, found a portion of an antler of the Red Deer (*Cervus elaphus*) on the Tor-Abbey Sands, near Torquay. He sent it to the Museum of the Torquay Natural History Society, and with it the following statement:—

"The antler was found accidentally at about the water level at that time of the tide when the island of rock ['The Harbrik'] which lies opposite the centre of the beach, and which is well uncovered at low tide, was only just bare of water." (F. H. A.)

The situation in which the bone lay, and its very pronounced dark colour, show that, without doubt, it had been dislodged from the Submerged Forest more or less displayed at every low water at Tor-Abbey Sands. The specimen is not so finely preserved as are many of those which the "Forest" has yielded, but its freedom from marks of abrasion indicate that it had been exposed a short time only. The state of the tide was probably a little below half ebb, and the antler was no doubt found at about 140 feet from the sea wall.

V. ZOOLOGICAL.

(1.) The following paragraph appeared in the *Western Times*, Exeter newspaper, of Saturday, 1st July, 1876:—

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"EXMOUTH. *Extraordinary Skate*:—Holman, the fisherman, caught in his trawl yesterday morning a skate weighing no less than three hundred weight. Some doubt if it is a true skate. Perhaps some of our readers may know if skate attain such a size as this."

In order to obtain the precise facts, I the same day sent a series of questions to Mr. Holman, who was so good as to favour me with full replies, which reached me on 4th July, and may be thus condensed:—"The skate was taken on Thursday, 29th June, 1876, about 15 miles south of Berry Head, in a trawl, by a Brixham trawler, of whom Mr. Holman bought it. It measured 9 feet from the tip of the snout to the end of the tail, 6 feet in greatest breadth, and 16 inches in greatest thickness; and its weight was about 5 cwt." Mr. Holman says, "I sold it for crab bait."

That this was a skate of most unusual dimensions there cannot be the least doubt. According to Mr. Couch, in vol. i. of his *History of the Fishes of the British Islands*, the *Blue* or *Common Skate* "often reaches the weight of a hundred pounds, and would scarcely be thought extraordinary if of double that magnitude." p. 91. The greatest ordinary length of the Long-nosed Skate is 4 feet 7 inches, and breadth 3 feet 1 inch, p. 93; whilst the Burton Skate has a measurement often equal that of the largest Common Skate, its greater thickness causes it to be of heavier bulk. p. 98. All other British Skates appear to be of smaller dimensions.

(Signed) WM. PENGELLY, Hon. Sec. Com.

(Signed, on behalf of the Committee)
RICHARD JOHN KING, Chairman.

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A MEMOIR OF BISHOP STAPLEDON.

BY LIEUT. C. WORTHY.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

WHILST commemorating the deeds of local celebrities before this Association, formed for the advancement of literature, science, and art, it would, I think, be a grave omission if we were to pass over in silence the name of one, a native of this county, a munificent patron of literature in days when education was to be obtained only amidst almost insuperable difficulties; of one who was not only lord and patron of this manor and borough, but who was also one of the most illustrious of the bishops of this extensive diocese, and whose name is still familiar to all of us, although he has been dead for the long period of five hundred and fifty years.

Walter Stapledon, fifteenth bishop of Exeter, and lord of the manors pertaining to his episcopate, was therefore, as Ashburton men are proud to recollect, the lord of this manor and borough. That he actually farmed his estates here there can be no question; and when affairs of state permitted him, it is believed that he frequently retired from the busy world and resided here in his manor-house, now long since destroyed. But the tower of his ancient chantry still remains, and the instruction to the youth of Ashburton which he there provided is still afforded beneath its shadow; whilst the Saturday market, and the fairs yet held on the festivals of SS. Lawrence and Martin, all of which he originally procured from his royal master King Edward II. in the year 1310, have ever been enduring memorials of the kindly interest he evinced in the prosperity and welfare of the inhabitants of this his favourite manor.

It is uncertain whether he was born at Stapledon, in the parish of Cookbury (about five miles from Holsworthy), or at Annery, in Monkleigh, near Bideford. Dr. Oliver, in his *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, inclines to the latter place, and such was the tradition in Westcote's time; but his name un-

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doubtedly originated in the residence of his ancestors at the ancient manor of Stapledon. At about the end of the thirteenth century, property in the parish of Milton Damerel (on which Cookbury is dependent) was sold by the Damerels to the Courtenays, and was held under them by the Stapledons; who appear to have been anxious to increase their possessions in this neighbourhood, it is therefore only reasonable to suppose that they then chiefly resided there; and the bishop's own register, folio 114, clearly proves that his brother Richard, one of the puisne judges of the king's bench, principally lived there.

Walter, the future bishop of Exeter, was born in the last half of the thirteenth century, and was the son of William de Stapledon and his wife Mabilla. His own deed, dated Exeter, 25th February, 1323, states that his birthday occurred on the first of that month: "prout ex parentum relatione didicimus."

Bishop Godwin states that he was "nobili ortus prosapia," and that "his education was suitable to his birth and quality," and his talents and virtues soon raised him to distinction. The university of Oxford placed him in her chair of professor of canon law, and he was precentor of Exeter, rector of Aveton Giffard and chaplain to Pope Clement V. before the year 1307.

In this year died Thomas de Bitton, who had been promoted from the deanery of Wells to the See of Exeter, in November, 1292; and on the Monday after Martinmas (November 13th, A.D. 1307) twenty-three canons of Exeter assembled for the election of a successor to their late prelate; when fifteen votes were in favour of the precentor, three for Dean Lechelade, three for Thomas de Chirleton, Archdeacon of Totnes, and two for one of the canons, John de Godelegh. The voters concurred at once in the election of Stapledon; but afterwards Richard de Plympstock, rector of Exminster and Uffculm, entered an invidious protest against the proceedings, which occasioned a vexatious delay; which was increased by the Pope above mentioned declining to concur in the request of King Edward II., "that he would expedite the business," because the English Primate, Robert Winchelsea, was abroad at the time, and was, moreover, in disgrace with the Holy See. However, the Archbishop of Canterbury was reconciled to Pope Clement V., at Poictiers, and on the 15th January, 1308, he issued his commission to confirm the election, which was duly effected that year, at Reading, on the 13th March. On the Saturday following,

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the king restored the temporalities, but the consecration was postponed until the 13th of October.

Nearly all these particulars are contained in the Stapledon register, which is still in a good state of preservation; and I have been much impressed with the clearness of the court-hand in which it is inscribed, the ink in many places being still perfectly fresh, although it was written more than half-a-thousand years ago.

Prince, in the *Worthies of Devon*, gives an account of the enthronization, which must have been very splendid. He says, at page 722, "Sometime after this he came to Exeter to take possession of his bishoprick, where, his enthronization being more than ordinarily splendid and noble, it may not prove ungrateful to give this more particular account thereof. Bishop Stapeldon came to the east gate of the city aforesaid, alighted from his horse, and went on foot towards St. Peter's Church, supported on either hand by two noblemen, who were none of the lowest rank or note—*Latus illi tegen tibus duobus non infimæ notæ nobilibus.*" Prince quotes this from Bishop Godwin's work concerning the bishops of Exeter,* and continues: "Before him went Sir William Courtenay, Knt., his steward; after him followed abundance of gentlemen of place and quality. The whole street whereon he walked was covered with black cloth, which, as soon as he was passed over, was taken up again, and given to the poor. When he came to the entrance into the close of the cathedral, called Broadgate, he was received by the canons and vicars choral in their habits, who, singing the *Te Deum* as they went along, led the new prelate to the church with great pomp and solemnity, and placed him in the episcopal throne. Thus ended, they all hasten to a splendid feast, prepared by the bishop for abundance of nobility, clergy, and others, at the expense well near of one year's value of the bishoprick, which in those days amounted very high."

There appears to have been rather serious discord between the new prelate and Sir Hugh Courtenay, who claimed to be steward of this feast, because he held the manor of Slapton by this service; but it was afterwards amicably settled, by the bishop agreeing that the said Hugh Courtenay and his heirs of lawful age, and holding the aforesaid manor, should be stewards at the installation of every bishop of the See; and that upon the arrival at Exeter of any new bishop, he, or his heirs, should meet him at the east gate of the city,

* Bishop Godwin, *de Præs. Exon.* p. 465.

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and, walking on his right hand, should attend him into the choir of the cathedral, and that after the installation feast, should serve in the first mess at the episcopal table, in consideration for which service the Courtenays of Slapton were to have for their fee four dishes, two salt-cellars, one wine-pot, one spoon, two silver basins, and the cup in which the bishop drank, all to be of silver, provided they attended the feast in person; but if they were sick, they were permitted to attend by deputy.

Another clause in the agreement provided hay and provender for the horses of the steward and his attendants, and a fitting livery of wine and candles, and concludes thus: "In consideration of which, the said Hugh Courtenay, for himself and his heirs, hath quietly remised and released to the said bishop and his successors all other exactions, demands, or quarrels for or concerning the said office-fees, or any other thing belonging to the said office of stewardship for ever." This covenant was executed at Newton-Plympton, under the seals of the bishop, dean and chapter, A.D. 1308, 2nd Edward II. Witnesses, William Martin, Philip Courtenay, Thomas Chichester, Stephen Haccomb, Roger Novant, and several others.

Consecrated, as I have said, in 1308, Bishop Stapledon worthily occupied the episcopal throne of this diocese for a period of eighteen years and three quarters. Upon his accession, he found that the rebuilding of the cathedral had been commenced, and he applied himself readily to the work. I find from the fabric rolls that the receipts from 1308 to 1310 are missing; but in 1310 and 1311, amongst other benefactors, there occurs the donation of £121 18s. 8d., *de dono Walteri Episcopi.* Afterwards, year after year, he subscribed the large sum in those days of £124 18s. 8d. towards the necessary expenses, until 1325, when he gave £285 13s. 4d.), the remainder of a sum of one thousand marks *de dono venerabilis patris domini Walteri Episcopi dicto operi.* Taking the value of the mark at thirty shillings, he therefore contributed £1500 towards the perfection of his church; but Dr. Oliver says, that in all his donations amounted to £1800, an assertion which I do not at all wish to question.

It has been recently satisfactorily ascertained that he erected that magnificent specimen of ancient wood carving known as the episcopal throne, which for some years was attributed to Bishop Bothe, his successor at a much later period (A.D. 1465). But in the year 1312 there appears the charge of £6 12s. 8½d. "pro maremio ad sedem episcopi,"

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and we are told that the oak from the woods of Newton and Chulmleigh was kept for four years in order that it might be thoroughly seasoned. In 1316 the sum of £4 was paid to Robert de Galmeton for making the throne by contract, and the painting cost £1 10s. Lately restored at a cost of nearly £1000 the enclosure at its base is now appropriately approached by three steps of magnificent black marble, from our Ashburton quarries, and in nearly all its pristine beauty, and still adorned with foliage, pinnacles, and elaborate niches, it towers upwards above the triforium arcade, until its finial is nearly level with the clerestory window, and, as a well-known author now amongst us remarks, "the lightness of its ascending stages almost rivals the famous sheaf of fountains of the Nuremberg Tabernacle."*

Time and space will alike prevent my referring to all the good work this famous prelate effected in his cathedral, nor is there occasion for me to do so whilst the works of Oliver and Freeman remain. Both priests of the Holy Catholic Church, but belonging to diverse branches, they met on equal ground when describing the venerable fane of which they were equally proud, and amidst the aisles, and tombs, and wondrous arches of which they both loved to linger. Both have been taken from us, but have left a name behind them as imperishable as the Norman towers of the grand old structure they have so largely helped us to understand and appreciate. The former sank gently to his rest at a ripe old age. To the latter I may apply the lines mentioned by his contemporary in his history of our church, as once existing beneath the dial of the famous clock in its northern transept:

> "Præterit ista dies nescitur origo secundi
> An labor an requies? Sic transit gloria mundi."

Turn we now to the care and attention Bishop Stapledon bestowed upon this town of Ashburton. His residence here was situated on land bounded on the east by the lane now known as Heavihead Lane (a name perhaps derived from a corruption of the Latin word "ave"), and by the street of St. Lawrence on the west. The present inn, bearing the sign of the "Fleece," is believed to occupy a portion of the actual site of the manor-house, and the entrance to the enclosure was beneath an archway now destroyed, but which anciently existed in East Street, about twenty yards above the turning to St. Lawrence Street above mentioned.

* *English Cathedrals.* R. J. King, B.A.

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The provision of the fairs and market appear to have been his earliest care, since, as I have already said, he procured them in 1310; and in 1313 (May 19th) I find him, upon the presentation of his dean and chapter, admitting James de Champonere to this vicarage, his institution being dated at Stockwell.

About six years after his rule in this diocese commenced, he founded here the guild or fraternity of St. Lawrence, and upon them he bestowed a chapel, which he had just completed within the boundary of his court, "infra ambitum curiæ suæ," upon condition that the said guild should find a priest to pray for his soul after his death, and for the souls of all his predecessors and successors, and for those of the donors of the land and all other benefactors, and keep a free-school for children, and in return for which he was to have a stipend of £4 13s. a year. The total value of the lands and possessions of the fraternity amounted to £10 15s. yearly, and the bishop directed that the balance should be spent in the "reparacion and maintenance of ledes for the conduction of pure and holesome water to the town of Aysheperton, and upon the relief and sustentacion of such people as are infected when the plage is in the towne, that they being from all company may not infect the whole." On the eve of the assumption of the Blessed Virgin, 16th August, A.D. 1314, the portreeve and commonalty of Ashburton, under their common seal, testified their acceptation of the bishop's offer, and their deed, written in Latin, is still preserved amongst the archives of Exeter Cathedral, whilst a literal translation of it is printed in the appendix to *Ashburton and its Neighbourhood*, p. 16.

The bishop's own charter was surrendered to the Crown, together with the chantry, in the year 1535, and is still retained in the Public Record Office. It bears date Monday after the feast of St. Lawrence, 1314; and to this saint the chapel was dedicated. A copy is, I believe, attached to Brantyngham's *Register*, vol. i. folio 12. Although the foundation has experienced many and great changes, and is even now in a state of transition, and although nothing but the tower of the ancient chantry now remains, yet the youth of Ashburton are still educated within the boundary of the bishop's court; and amidst troubles and changes, total suppression and deprivation of income, the burgesses of Ashburton have up to the present time fulfilled the promise they made to the good bishop five hundred and fifty years ago—"to find for him who was to be chosen by them to undertake his

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peculiar jurisdiction at Ashburton a full and fitting maintenance."

By such an earnest man as Stapledon the neglected condition of the parish church was not likely to be overlooked; and we find him declaring, on the 3rd April, 1314, that it was in a most dilapidated condition, particularly the north aisle, which he ordered to be at once rebuilt under a penalty of £20, payable to the fabric of the cathedral, should the repairs not be completed by the ensuing Michaelmas. He further complained of the deficiency of the sacred ornaments, and directed them also to be supplied, and a vestry to be built on the north side of the chancel. There is no trace of any vestry on the north side of the church; but behind the eastern wall, which is nearly five feet in thickness, is a low embattled structure, with a plain, pointed window of two lights very much splayed on the inside,* which from time immemorial has been used for this purpose. It is of later date than the chancel, since the eastern buttresses run completely through it; and whilst the four chapels within the church are frequently referred to in our churchwardens' accounts, and their situations particularized, no mention whatever is made of any chantry at the eastern end, although the vestry is often alluded to. I think therefore that this must have been the room erected by order of the bishop in 1314, and that its position is due to the circumstance of a convenient situation on the north side being unprocurable, or because an excrescence of this kind would have necessarily destroyed the cruciform character of the church. I consider also that the eastern end of the north aisle, inclusive of its northern window, remains pretty much as Stapledon left it. Amongst the bosses in the roof may be noticed a head of the then reigning sovereign, Edward II.

His office of Lord Treasurer and his seat in the Cabinet occupied much of his time, yet he never forgot what was due to his episcopal character; and his register proves to us how diligent he was in visiting his diocese, and how particular in the administration of holy orders. But the domestic troubles of his weak and almost imbecile sovereign caused him to be frequently absent from the county during the last two years of his life. He was called away in September, 1324, having previously addressed his dean and chapter from Cornwall on the 9th August; and I can find no evidence of his return until the month before his death, when he appears to have

* I have noticed windows precisely similar at Winkleigh and at Denbury. *The church of the latter parish was dedicated Aug. 27th*, 1318.

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paid a hasty visit to Exeter, since, on the 22nd September, 1326, he confirmed there an agreement between his chapter and the nuns of Polslo.

On the 9th of September, 1325, he accompanied Prince Edward, the heir to the throne, to do homage in place of his father to the French monarch for the provinces of Aquitaine and Poitou. Whilst in Paris the faithless Queen Isabella endeavoured to draw him into her disgraceful conspiracy against the king her husband; but the loyal bishop immediately withdrew to England, informed the king of her proceedings, and urged him to command her immediate return with the Prince of Wales. King Edward's letter to Isabella herself on this subject is exceedingly temperate; but the epistle he indited to her brother, Charles le Bel, and which is still preserved amongst the close rolls of the nineteenth year of his reign (1326), is a much manlier and more eloquent production than any one could have expected who is acquainted with the weak and vacillating character of the English king. It concludes thus: "And, dearest brother, at this time the honourable father in God, Walter, Bishop of Exeter, has returned to us, having certified to us that his person was in peril from some of our banished enemies, and we, having great need of his counsel, enjoined him on his faith and allegiance to return forthwith, leaving all other matters in the best way he could. We pray you therefore to excuse the sudden departure of the said bishop for the cause before said.

"Given at Westminster, the first day of December, 1325."

At this time our good bishop had exercised spiritual jurisdiction over this diocese for a period of seventeen years; during this time his purse had always been ready to help on any deserving object. A learned man himself, he was always anxious for the extension of knowledge; and he not only founded and liberally endowed Hart's Hall and Stapledon's Inn at Oxford, afterwards consolidated into Exeter College, but he left funds behind him to establish in St. John's Hospital, at Exeter, a grammar school to prepare youths for the university. Dr. Lingard justly describes our prelate as "a minister of irreproachable integrity." Although his life was threatened abroad, and although upon his return to England his penetration satisfied him that everything portended a speedy revolution, yet amidst the distracting affairs of State he found time, as I have already said, for one hurried visit to his cathedral town, and it was his last.

He must have left again almost immediately; for the

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journey to London in those days was long and hazardous; but the serious and threatening aspect of affairs peremptorily demanded his presence there; for Queen Isabella and her paramour Mortimer effected a landing on the coast of Sussex on the 28th of September, and the king, becoming sensible of his danger, and fearful that treason had done its worst, issued a proclamation from the Tower against them, committed the custody of the metropolis to this faithful prelate on the 2nd of October in the same year, and then hurried off to Bristol. Our bishop had concurred with some of the Privy Council in promulgating the sentence of excommunication against those who had invaded the realm; but the king's flight and the successful advance of the queen's army towards London induced the citizens to break out into open rebellion against the government, and the loyal and good Stapledon became their victim. The various accounts of his death do not differ in any important particular, and he appears to have encountered the mob as he was riding to his inn or hotel in Eldedanes Lane for dinner. Hearing them shout "Traitor!" he rode rapidly to St. Paul's for sanctuary; but was unhorsed, stripped of his armour (called aketon), and then beheaded. His head was placed upon a pole, and carried to the queen at Gloucester, whilst his body was brought to St. Clement's, beyond the Temple, but was ejected, and it was afterwards thrown naked, together with the corpses of his two esquires (William Walle, his nephew, and John Padyngton, his steward), upon a spot called "Le Lawles Chirche," without office of priest or clerk. The three bodies are subsequently reported to have been buried in the rubbish outside the new episcopal residence, afterwards called Exeter House, then in process of erection, for which the bishop himself had procured an excellent site on a property near Temple Bar which had belonged to the Knights Templars. The remains of the heroical prelate were permitted by the adulteress Queen Isabella, in the January following, to be consigned to Christian burial, probably in St. Clement's Church, London. Leland translates a French chronicle, written by William de Pakington, and dedicated to Edward the Black Prince, of whose Gascon household he was the treasurer, from which the following is an extract: "But after xi. weeks, at the request of Quene Isabel's lettres, the bishop's body was carried to the church thereby, and after to Excestre, and the two esquires' bodyes were carreyed to St. Clement's Chirch, and there buried." Grave doubts have of late years been thrown on this statement. The "Chronicon" of Exeter

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Church (Harleian MSS., No. 545) simply states that on the 28th March, 1327, the body was solemnly interred—"solemni traditur sepulturæ"—without specifying where. In a letter of Henry Gower, Bishop of St. David's, dated 16th August, 1328, and in possession of the dean and chapter, he recommends the bishop's soul to the prayers of the faithful, and mentions his interment in Exeter Cathedral "Cujus corpus in ecclesiâ Cathedrali Exoniensi est humatum;" and in the Newenham register, fol. 117, a contemporary, after mentioning his decapitation on Tuesday, 15th October, 1326, concludes with these words: "Pro magnâ fidelitate suâ est sepultus apud Exon." These two distinct assertions would almost seem to set the matter at rest were it not for Bishop Grandisson's letter contained in his *Register*, vol. ii. fol. 133*b*, and addressed to Robert de Lanton, a canon of Exeter, and one of Stapledon's executors, in which he commends his intention of founding a perpetual chantry, and of erecting a tomb and chapel "in suburbio London," where the body "primitus *quiescit* humatum." There are, moreover, no charges in the accounts of the executors for the removal of the dead bishop from London.

The question might perhaps be determined if the dean and chapter would consent to examine his supposed grave, which might easily be done now whilst the work of restoration in the cathedral is still in progress. If the altar tomb is only a cenotaph, it probably owes its situation to the circumstance of the monument opposite in the north choir aisle being attributed to Sir Richard Stapledon, on the authority of Leland. It may be so; but there is no truth in the assertion that he fell a victim, with his episcopal brother, to the fury of the mob, as it is proved by an existing deed that he was alive on the 2nd April, 1330. His obit, moreover, was kept in the cathedral on the 10th of March, and that of the bishop on the 15th of October. We cannot therefore pay attention to Prince's statement, "that a certain cripple, as Sir Richard was riding into London with his brother, lying at the gate, laid hold of one of his horse's fore legs, and by crossing of it, threw horse and rider to the ground, by which means he was soon slain, and from that occasion the place obtained the name of Cripplegate, which it retains to this day." Brantynghame's *Register*, vol. ii. fol. 6, states that Bishop Stapledon not only complied with the ancient custom of his predecessors in leaving a hundred oxen to the see to work the farms in Devon and Cornwall, but added another hundred, with directions that at his anniversary or obit one hundred poor should then

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be fed in the hall of Exeter Palace, or at its outer gate. There were large numbers of cattle remaining after his death upon his farms at Ashburton, Chudleigh, Crediton, &c.; and I find from the inventory of his effects that a draught-horse was then valued at £5, an ox or bull at 6s. 8d., a cow at 5s. 6d., a heifer at 2s., a calf at 1s. 6d., a sheep or ewe at 1s., a ram at 1s. 2d., and lambs varied in price from 6d. to 8d.

I cannot do better than sum up my poor account of this beneficent prelate in the words employed by the late Dr. Oliver in his careful and valuable work entitled *The Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*. He says, at page 61, "Those who do not pronounce on events merely from their success, who attend to the springs and principles of actions, must award the tribute of praise and admiration to this high-minded bishop and minister; they will appreciate his zeal and energy to sustain the declining fortunes of his royal master, and venerate him for his disregard of *self*, and for his incorruptible honour and loyalty under every discouragement."

The issue male of Sir Richard Stapledon, the bishop's brother, continued two or three generations, and then expired. The heiress, Thomasin Stapledon, married Sir Richard Hankford. Their son Sir Richard was twice married; by his first wife, sister and heiress to Fulk, Lord Fitz-Warren, he had issue a daughter, Thomasin, wife of William Bourchier, Lord Fitz-Warren, and ancestress of the Earls of Bath, now represented by Sir Bourchier Palk Wrey, Bart., of Tawstock and of Holne Chace, in this neighbourhood, who therefore also represents the Stapledons. By his second wife he had two daughters; the youngest married Sir Thomas Boleyn, and her granddaughter was Queen Elizabeth, so that, as Prince says, "that illustrious queen had her origin from the county of Devon."

The arms of Bishop Grandisson may still be seen in the neighbouring church of Ilsington, and those of Bishop Oldham were retained here until long within the memory of the present generation; but I have never discovered a single example of the armorial bearings of Stapledon in this district, but his shield argent, with its two bends wavy sable, occurs frequently in Exeter Cathedral.

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THE CHANGES OF EXMOUTH WARREN.

PART II.

BY J. M. MARTIN, C.E., F.M.S., ETC.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

AT the meeting of this Association at Exeter, in 1872, I had the honour of submitting various plans of the Exmouth Warren, reaching from 1787 down to a survey made by myself in June, 1872, and of reading a paper in connection therewith.

The tendency of both plans and paper was to show that considerable changes had taken place in the outline and extent of the seaward portion of the Warren, each change assisting to decrease the area of dry land, and to deflect the sea face of the eastern portion of the Warren to the northward or up-stream; that of the present paper, with the accompanying plans, will be to show that these changes are still going on in a very persistent manner, and that considerable loss has been occasioned to the south-eastern extremity of the Warren, the other portions remaining very nearly as they were at the period of my survey in 1872.

Besides the earliest of the maps to which I referred in the paper of that date, I have two other plans of far more ancient origin; viz., one of 1611, and another of 1637. As the antiquity of these plans might reasonably be expected to preclude the element of accuracy which was necessary to demonstrate the actual degradation, they were not referred to in my previous paper; but as in the course of the discussion thereon the very interesting question of the position of the main river channel in old times was raised, some considering there is sufficient evidence to show that even in comparatively recent times the river had its embouchure under Langstone Cliff, I have thought it worth while to allude to them here.

The first of these plans, dated 1611, shows a spit running

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out easterly from the Langstone side, and opposite the end thereof is the word "Checkstons," the only channel being on the Exmouth side of the estuary. The second shows an island nearly in the centre of the mouth of the estuary, opposite which also occurs the word "Checkstons," so that if this can be taken as evidence at all, there would be two channels, one under Exmouth, and another under Langstone Cliff. I find also in my notes that a map in the museum, bearing date 1651, shows the mouth of the channel on the Exmouth side of the estuary.

So much for these ancient maps, the balance of whose testimony, although apocryphal, goes to show that two centuries and a half ago the river found its way into the sea pretty much in the track it now follows; for I do not imagine that in the short period between 1611 and 1637 a channel would have been opened under the Langstone to become closed in 1651, and remain sealed ever since.

There may very possibly have been a temporary gap made through the Warren at about the middle of its face, and if so, I should place the date thereof at a more recent period than that at which Captain Peacock, by oral tradition, fixes it; viz., in the early part of the eighteenth century, and for this reason: the earliest authentic map, that of 1787, shows a continuous seafront nowhere less than eleven chains, or about 250 yards in width, and having behind it a comparatively narrow channel or creek, at high-water about 80 or 90 yards wide, running parallel to the sea's face, and discharging at a point between Exmouth Passage and the Bight. Behind this is the inner Warren, which at the point opposite the narrowest portion of the outer Warren is shown to be nearly 500 yards in width. On the river-face of the inner Warren, and at a distance of nearly half-a-mile from the highland on the Mount Pleasant side, is marked the site of what was then known as "Old Salt Works." The channel, or rather creek, mentioned above had its western extremity about 120 yards from the same highlands, and was, near its end, about 160 yards in width at its widest part. It is this creek which has expanded into the present lake, and which forms so conspicuous a feature in the map of 1809, and from that date to the present day. It is noteworthy that at the isthmus connecting the inner Warren with the mainland, which where narrowest is only 200 yards wide, there is an irregular rectangular enclosure described as the Great Intake, which I read to mean an intake from the flooded estuarine lands by embanking. If this be so, it is evident that that isthmus must

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have had a comparatively low elevation above meantide, and that at no long anterior period there might have been a high-water channel between the inner Warren and the neighbouring shore, leaving the inner Warren either an island or a peninsula stretching out to the westward from the Exmouth promontory. There is no evidence on the face of the map of the outer Warren consisting otherwise than now of a considerable width of sand-dunes of greater or less elevation, and having a width at the upper end of the creek of about 380 yards. All communication therefore between the Exe Bight, or that ramification of it known as Shutterton Lake, and the sea would be through the creek between the two Warrens to the inner end of the Exmouth passage, and thence by the present channel. Whether this course would be navigable or not it is from this evidence quite impossible to judge; but it may from further researches become demonstrable that the condition of the inner Warren, either as a peninsula stretching from the Exmouth shore, or as an island, may tend to reconcile the conflicting testimony of the contemporaneous existence of channels on each shore; and the enquiry is worth following up.

I have been thus prolix in deciphering this map, because it is the first authentic one to which I have had access, if not the oldest authoritative one in existence. It is a map of the manor of Kenton, and now in the possession of the Earl of Devon.

It does not, unfortunately, show the Exmouth side of the river, and so no opportunity is given on the face of it for a comparison of the then entrance to the Bight with more recent maps; but being, as the delineated portions testify, extremely accurate, it is quite possible by measurements therefrom to fix the position of the Exmouth shore with respect to it, if it should ever be desirable to do so.

The map of 1809 shows some remarkable changes effected since the date of the previous survey. It is an enlargement from the ordnance survey of 1809 to eight times the scale of that map. This is a *prima facie* objection to its being received as evidence; but as the extreme accuracy of the surveyors engaged on the ordnance survey is undoubted, as I took the greatest care in personally enlarging the same, and as, moreover, it is so thoroughly corroborated in the matter of these changes by the next map in the series, I have every confidence that this enlarged plan truthfully represents the surface of the Warren at the date of its delineation.

The changes most directly apparent are these: The outer

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Warren is considerably reduced in width, the creek having expanded into a lake approaching at the nearest point within about thirty yards of high-water mark outside the Warren. The outer face of the Warren appears to have been degraded through its entire length, but no gap is shown until we approach the eastern end, where a channel had been formed (high-water, I presume) nearly 180 yards wide, and leaving an island on its eastern side of some twenty or twenty-two acres in extent. The inner part of the outer Warren facing northwards and the north side of the inner Warren had lost the comparatively regular oval outline the older map shows, and had become divided into the three elongated ridges that are shown on the later map, and which at present exist, some minor modifications only having affected them.

The narrow creek of 1787 has expanded into a lake, the area of which is about equal to that of the two Warrens combined, the only outlet being at or near the same point at which the creek previously debouched into the Bight. Shutterton Lake (or the creek known by that name) retained the same width as it occupied on the 1787 map, and no further changes appear to have taken place where the Warren adjoins the Langstone side.

The map of 1839 shows a gap of about 130 yards in width, which had been formed in the outer Warren since the date of the map last referred to, not at the point where the lake and the sea so closely approximated, but about 330 yards east of it. The date of this gap I am not able positively to fix; but I have been informed it was made in 1824. This gap appears to have occupied the site of the present wooden barrier, which, if erected for the purpose of closing the breach, seems to have been effective. Besides this gap, the most noteworthy change is the obliteration of the island shown on the 1809 plan. Taking the testimony of the maps alone, I am inclined to think that the island was not totally carried out to seaward; but that part of its materials were thrown upon the eastward face of the Warren, inasmuch as this map shows a thickness and prolongation of the last of the three up-stream spits previously mentioned.

No other change of importance is indicated on this map, except that Shutterton Lake is considerably narrowed; and I judge from the indications given that an embankment and roadway, not shown on the older maps, had been thrown across it during the last interval.

As a point of considerable interest, I would call attention

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to a remarkable coincidence between this map and that of 1787. Between the site of the old salt works on the last-named map and the western shore some enclosures are laid down. These are reproduced on the 1839 map very faithfully; but the "Old Salt Works" of the older map have vanished, and the words "Old Salt Works" are placed opposite a building nearer the foot of the high lands, in fact, on the roadside, which building is also shown on the more ancient plan, and where the manufacture of salt may also have been removed to.

This fortunate coincidence gives us the means of testing the amount of the wastage during the intervening thirty years by measuring across from any one point of these enclosures to the sea face of the Warren, and at right angles thereto, and it is found to be as nearly as possible forty yards, or a yard and a third per annum. I do not assume it went on regularly at that rate; but should expect the degrading action to have been intermittent. It would appear therefore that this eastern portion of the Warren, which it was afterwards (1864) attempted to protect, was wasting away before the construction of the South Devon Railway, however much the process may have been hastened thereby.

Five years after the stakes and wattling intended to protect the Warren had been fixed, the sea face was found to have receded twenty-five yards, or thereabouts, half of which Captain Peacock believes to have been carried away during the gale of January, 1869, when a breach was made in the railway wall near Dawlish, and a gap made in 1859 in the Warren, to the eastward of that previously closed, was very much widened and deepened.

I made a survey of the outer Warren in 1872 for the purpose of noting the changes that had occurred since the date of the map of 1839, and I found, as I stated in the paper I had the pleasure of reading before you in the following month, that the gap of 1859 had widened from 130 yards in 1869 to 240 yards. Measurements taken last week show that the width of the gap is now 292 yards; but the depth at low-water is somewhat diminished. This may be accounted for by the fact that at and up to that time the sluices in the dam erected by the oyster company across the channel leading from the lake to the right had been kept shut, so that all the water entering the breach from the sea during flood tide must ebb the same way; and as the surface of the sea lowered faster than the lake, there would be considerable fall and consequent scour at the later period of ebb, which scour,

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now that the sluices are left open, has been somewhat and perhaps appreciably diminished.

Besides the widening of the gap from 240 to 292 yards since my survey of 1872, my recent measurements show a considerable loss from the sea face of the Warren eastwards. The widening of the breach itself in fact has been occasioned rather by this recession of the Warren than by the simple erosion of the points forming the entrance of the breach itself. The western headland occupies, as nearly as possible, the position it did in 1872, probably from the protection of the wood barrier closing the 1824 gap; but as the inner line of the eastern headland receded at an acute angle from the sea line, it followed that the removal of the exterior surface caused an increase in the width of the gap; this point being now about 33 yards east, and nearly 43 yards north, of its previous position.

From this point around to the north-east there has been continuous loss until we get to the narrowest part of the tidal channel, where the high-water line is very nearly where it was in 1872, although there seems to have been some loss of blown sand above high-water level. The greatest loss is at the south-eastern bend, which has been considerably flattened thereby; the greatest width of lost land being 50 yards, and the total length nearly 620 yards; the loss of surface, in form resembling an irregular crescent, amounts to nearly four acres, the quantity of material removed being from 60,000 to 70,000 cube yards in the four years that have elapsed.

One effect of the erosion of the rounded extremity of this portion of the outer Warren has been to lay open the gulf between the outer and second spits which tend to the northward; so that there is now at high-water a new channel, from 60 to 70 yards wide, intervening between the bulk of the eastern Warren and the most easterly spit, which is left an island, ere long, in all probability, to share the fate of its predecessor, which disappeared between the years 1809 and 1839.

I have been unable to continue my survey lines along the outer face of the Warren westward, but I have ascertained that it is also wasting, though much more slowly. The mud-flats above the inner Warren are, I have reason to believe, increasing in height. It would be beyond my province to speak of any alteration in the channels, or the sand-banks below high-water mark, as I have not made a survey of them; indeed it would require a larger expenditure of time, and

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possibly also of cash, than I have hitherto been able to make; and I do not care to take as granted the reports of boatmen and others, which, however well qualified they may be for their own purposes, would be quite out of place in a paper which aims at strict geographical accuracy.

If my remarks do not carry conviction to the minds of others my investigations have to my own, that the poor Warren is, to make use of a paraphrase of a well-known nautical proverb, "between the river and the deep sea," in one or other of which, or perhaps both, but mostly the latter, it is sure to be engulphed, if present agencies continue at work; its centre is broken, its exposed flank turned, and it is only a question of time, and not a very long one either, how soon the Exe Bight will be what my friend Captain Peacock has so aptly described as a "dangerous bay of shoals."

Although everything is said to be possible in the way of engineering, provided only sufficient funds are at hand, it will be an exceedingly difficult task to preserve the Warren, and by consequence the Exmouth Channel and Bight, in its present state, and every successive change makes it more so. A new gap has been formed since my last survey, which will take thousands of tons of material to close. The old one has been greatly extended, and the materials with which repairs could be effected are being rapidly swept away.

Upon all this comes a very important question. Are the agencies tending to destroy the Warren assisted by any change of the relative levels of the land and water whereby the degrading effects are accelerated, and which would render any attempts at its preservation as a natural breakwater futile? If so, nothing short of an artificial mole from Langstone Point would remedy its loss, and that only temporarily; but if it is not so, the case, though full of anxiety, is not quite hopeless.

Means exist for obtaining an answer to this question. In 1838 the British Association had levels taken from the English Channel at Axmouth to Portishead on the Bristol Channel, to determine the comparative level of mean tide in the both channels. Incidentally I may remark that this difference was somewhat less than nine inches; but what is of importance in this enquiry is, that a bolt was fixed in the wall of Axmouth Church from which the present height of the mean tide on the adjacent coast, and consequently at the Warren, can be readily ascertained; and I shall be happy to take the necessary levels if some other member of the Association, resident in the neighbourhood, will make the needful

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tidal observations, for which, as they should extend at least over a fortnight, I should be unable to give the time.

I have endeavoured in this paper to give such an account of the changes that have taken place in the configuration of the Warren as a surveyor may learn from inspection of those documents which it is especially his province to decipher, leaving the historical and geological bearings thereof to more able pens. I trust I have made my subject understandable; and if so, it will be a pleasure to me to make from time to time such other surveys as may serve to show any further important changes, and, if the Association possess sufficient patience, to report duly thereon.

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OBSERVATIONS ON THE RECENT FLOODS IN THE DAWLISH VALLEY.

BY THOMAS ANDREW, F.G.S.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

THE evening of Tuesday, the 19th day of October last (1875), was remarkable for its very heavy rain, probably the greatest fall within the memory of any living person. The storm was not confined to this neighbourhood, but was general throughout Devon, and extended itself to the north of England. It was characterised by a suddenness and force that took most persons by surprise, and to the injury of not a few. Large herds and flocks, quietly grazing in the river valleys and marshes, were for the most part destroyed, the individual losses in some instances amounting to a very considerable sum.

The register of the Devon and Exeter Institution records that there fell no less than three and a quarter inches of rain between 5·30 p.m. and 8·30 p.m., a space of three hours only, being about one-tenth of the average yearly rainfall in the neighbourhood of Exeter. The Devon and Exeter register commences in the year 1817, and the heaviest falls since then appear to have been on the

31st October,	1823,	when	2·00	inches fell.
28th November,	1838	„	1·86	„
21st June,	1839	„	1·86	„
1st August,	1846	„	1·92	„
18th December,	1847	„	1·88	„
19th October,	1875	„	3·26	„

so that the last fall exceeded that on any one day for a period of fifty-eight years by about one inch and a quarter; and the average annual fall during that period has been within a few fractions of thirty inches. One day in October last a fall of three hours sufficed to give a tenth of this quantity. The terrifically powerful rush of waters through the various valleys

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can only be fully understood by eye-witnesses. Some of the effects in the Dawlish valley I will attempt to describe.

In a paper read before this Association at Exeter, in July, 1872, Mr. Pycroft, F.G.S., ably describes the little stream which runs into the sea at Dawlish and its five sources. He says: "The principal source is at Grammercombe, in Great Haldon; a smaller source exists at the Thorn's Plantation; a third at Charnwood; a fourth at the side of Little Haldon, below the Tower Plantation; and the fifth at Lidwell Chapel." Its greatest length through the Ashcombe valley will be about six miles. The beds through which this little river and its tributaries have cut a channel are the Trias, or what are more generally termed the New-Red-Sandstone series, and in some places to a depth of from four to five hundred feet. The Ashcombe valley extends to the green sands of Great Haldon, and the like beds on Little Haldon.

Mr. Pycroft in his paper argues that the Dawlish and Ashcombe valleys evidence *glacial action;* but as my conclusions may somewhat differ from so excellent and accomplished an authority, it is only just that I should quote him in his own words. He says: "Commencing from the mouth of the stream, and tracing it upward, I find the first mile converted into an artificial piece of water, and containing nothing to chronicle. Above this, at the commencement of Luscombe grounds the water has cut through the rock, leaving escarpments about twelve feet in depth." I am unable to concur with Mr. Pycroft that there is nothing to chronicle below Luscombe Park. Since the rainfall, whilst looking for boulders in the bed of the Aller, just above its junction with the Dawlish water, I observed a channel of some twenty feet in depth cut through, not as I at first thought, the New Red, but the Drift, which so largely covers the Trias from Langstone Cliff to Teignmouth. This drift lies in a basin from the point referred to to some little distance beyond Dawlish Church. It follows, therefore, that the valley was excavated anterior to the drift period, or that by reason of a fault the new red with its detrital covering settled down to its present level. De la Beche noticed that the rocks near Dawlish were traversed by faults. It may be that this is the result of one, but with the data at command I hesitate to pronounce an opinion. Indeed the whole detrital covering in this locality must afford the geologist matter for very interesting investigation and research. Mr. Pycroft proceeds to say: "Here in the stream itself, that is, just beyond Luscombe, and the fields adjoining, many boulders of

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porphyritic trap are met with, some three feet across, some less. At this point the tributary from Lidwell Chapel joins the main stream; and tracing this upwards, I find for the first two miles the streamlet flowing in an artificial channel. At Higher Southwood Farm, blocks of trap are very common in the farm-yard; and in the road adjoining, one block about four feet in length has been hollowed out, and converted into a drinking-trough for cattle. Farther up the stream, at a height of 271 feet above the sea-level, is situated Lidwell Farm; and in a field just above is the second largest boulder I have met with, measuring fifteen feet in circumference. As the stream is followed up, many more are observed in the fields; and far above Lidwell Chapel, at a height of 702 feet, is a large rounded boulder, the highest I have met with anywhere in the valley. A little lower down another lies on the surface, measuring about twelve feet in girth."

Mr. Pycroft proceeds to describe the porphyritic and trappean boulders which more or less cover the little valleys which drain into the Dawlish valley. He then argues that "they might have been brought thither and scattered *broadcast by ice;*" and this, he suggests, is probably the solution of the difficulty. He submits, that when we consider the great weight of the erratics, the distance from which they must have been transported, the irregular way in which they are distributed, the confused way in which they are deposited, the red mud on which they lie, the finding them occasionally with flat polished sides, and the breccia between them and the subjacent rock, we are justified in raising the question whether their long travel was not due to glacial action.

I was at Dawlish a few days after the flood, and was surprised to see several of these boulders in the bed of the stream, about half-way down the lawn. On enquiring how they came there, I was assured they were *washed* from the bed of the stream further up. This very interesting fact was sufficient to determine me to seize the first favourable opportunity of making a careful survey of the effects of the flood; and the following is the result.

That portion of the stream which runs through the lawn is intersected by some half a dozen little weirs, in order to give it a lake-like appearance. The weirs give an average depth of water from twelve to twenty-four inches; but the entire length was filled with gravel, stones, and mud, with here and there trap boulders and blocks of limestone, the latter evidently washed out of the rockeries which adorned the lawn. Proceeding up the stream, I was much struck

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with the deepening of its bed. For a distance of seven hundred feet the channel had been newly deepened at least four feet the entire length. This commenced at the entrance to the gas-works, and terminated at the weir just below the manor-house lawn. This portion of the stream had been previously "pitched," or paved with water-worn pebbles of a fair size; but the floods swept nearly the whole of it away, leaving just a few patches to indicate the paving. As an evidence of the suddenness of the flood, it may be observed that a house abutting on the bank was thrown down, and a bedstead with its mattress and coverings was bodily carried down towards the sea, the owner having had but little, if any, warning of approaching danger. This reminded some of the oldest inhabitants of a sudden thaw in the year 1810, when a hayrick from Dawlish water was carried into the sea, and probably the wonder became unreasonably magnified by the assertion that it was safely landed at Babbicombe.

The deepened channel exposed layers of a fine red sandstone, somewhat soft, with an inclination to the north-east of about 45 degrees. The beds much resemble those at the top of the cliff of the bathing cove, which may be easily remembered, having been once seen, for their much-weathered and "honeycomb" appearance. Between these layers and the remaining "pitching" I could only detect patches of fine red clay and river gravel, with a considerable mixture of flint nodules, probably from the drift of this district. Further up the beds assumed a brecciated form, but the splintered fragments composing it are not quite so large as those which characterize the exposed beds along the coast line.

At this point of the bed of the stream I observed a considerable number of boulders, much water-worn and, so far as I could perceive, smoothed over their entire surface, and not confined to one face. The boulders closely resemble those found in the section of the cliff from just above the tunnel down to Teignmouth; and there being such a variety of opinion concerning their character, I forwarded three specimens to Mr. John W. Judd, F.G.S., a gentleman who has given great attention to granitic and volcanic masses. I should observe that the first specimen was a fragment from one of the newly-exposed boulders in the Dawlish valley: the second from a small boulder which I removed from a section in the trias about fifty feet above the bed of the stream; and the third from a boulder in the cliff near to Teignmouth. The following is an extract from Mr. Judd's reply: "The specimen (No. 1) which you forwarded is not

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a granite, but a quartz-porphyry, containing two very well marked varieties of felspar, one easily decomposable, and the other glossy. The other two specimens are also quartz-porphyries of slightly different aspect, but which might have been derived from the same source as No. 1." In answer to a question whether they were altered granite, he replies: "I am quite justified in replying 'certainly not,' and for the following reason: We know of rocks becoming more highly crystalline on the one hand, or of undergoing internal disintegration on the other, but of no example in which a perfectly crystalline rock-like granite is changed into another with a compact base enclosing separate crystals."

From the spot of which I have been speaking; viz., the deepened channel, the boulders here and there, as far as the chapel-of-ease, had evidently been washed, the furthermost distance being at least 1700 feet. Of this I was most careful in my enquiries; because if they were washed out from the rockeries, like the limestones, then it will be necessary to modify my conclusions. But I gathered from several persons that there was no doubt the flood brought them down at least the distance indicated. Some of them were comparatively of large size and weight. One, just below the bridge in the middle of the lawn, I found to be 24 inches by 18, and about 20 in depth. Let it be observed, this stone had been carried a distance of at least 1700 feet in the bed of a stream with a fall not exceeding one foot in fifty.

Above the manor-house the stream is crossed by a stone bridge leading to the parish church, or rather by an old bridge with two arches, and a modern one of one span side by side. The rush of water and *débris* at this point was too much for the pier of the old bridge, and it gave way, resulting, most unhappily, in the loss of a poor labourer who was crossing at the moment. The right bank immediately above this bridge was also cleared away—in length about 150 feet, in height from 20 to 25 feet, and at its greatest thickness 30 feet. With such a rush of water and *débris* the wonder is that no more damage was done to the pleasant little watering-place. This bank was drift with an alluvial covering.

At the juncture of the Aller and the Ashcombe water just above is a little delta, if I may call it so, in which there are several trees and a rank vegetation; but the flood has swept away a portion of it, revealing the fact that the bank mainly consisted of water-worn boulders similar in character to those already described. It is near to this spot in the course of the Aller that the drift section is to be seen.

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The conclusions therefore to which I have come, although with much diffidence, are—

1. That if the Dawlish valley owes its origin to denudation, it must have been anterior to the drift period; for not only is there a heavy deposit in the valley itself, but its sides are in many places covered therewith. Whether it is anterior to the deposition of the cretaceous beds of Haldon is not so clear, although a green-sand fossil has been found by my friend Mr. Parfitt in a flint imbedded in the drift of this locality, thereby favouring the idea that the matter comprising the drift has a local rather than a very distant origin.

2. That the present position of the boulders in this valley does not necessarily indicate the agency of ice in their transportation seems clear from the following facts: (*a*) the boulders imbedded in the trias between Dawlish and Teignmouth appear to be identical with those on the surface of the valley and those imbedded in the trias of the valley; (*b*) these boulder beds have a north-easterly direction, and probably at some time more or less covered the area of the valley; (*c*) the late floods conclusively show their power to denude and distribute the boulders along the course of the stream. Therefore what more probable than the Trias is the adopted home of these strange stones; that the disintegration and denudation of its beds exposed the boulders imbedded therein; and that as the work of destruction proceeded they were dislodged and distributed in the valley according to their specific gravity? Much the same kind of thing is to be seen on Dartmoor at the foot of the tors—large masses and blocks removed considerable distances from their original position. I am of opinion that the boulders of the Dawlish valley owe their presence in the valley to the disintegration of the beds in which they were imbedded, and that their "higgledy, piggledy" distribution has been caused by water. What their original home may have been, or where the rock from which they were detached before the formation of the trias, is a much more difficult problem to solve.

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QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA IN EXETER, AND HER ESCAPE THEREFROM. 1644.

BY PAUL Q. KARKEEK.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

In the spring of 1644 Charles I. and Henrietta Maria his queen were at Oxford, then the royal capital of the kingdom. The city was filled with troops, members of the royal parliament, and officers of state; and was looking forward to having a battle in its vicinity, if not an actual siege. The queen had been ill for some time; the fatigue she had undergone in her journey to France to procure help for her husband, and the excitement and anxiety caused by the war, had told considerably on her constitution; in addition to which she was shortly expecting again to become a mother. Under these circumstances the king decided on placing his wife in some retreat free from all the noise and bustle incidental to Oxford at this time, and where she would find that rest and quiet so necessary to one in her condition. In all the kingdom no place seemed so well suited for this purpose, and so little likely to become soon the seat of war, as the good city of Exeter, then under the command of Sir John Berkley; and there, after much deliberation, the queen decided to go.

The following extract is taken from the *Mercurius Aulicus* of April 17th, 1644:

"This day the Queen's Majesty began her journey into the *West*, which being the most freed from the rebels' power, Her Majesty made choice of to enjoy the present peace and quiet of those parts rather than *Oxford*, where *she* was in the middest of His Majesties armies, which afforded security, but too much noyse and businesse. His Majesty, Prince Charles, the Duke of York (attended by the chief lords and gentry of the kingdome), brought Her Majesty the first day's journey."

This first day's journey was as far as Abingdon, and here Charles and his wife, on April 18th, bid one another adieu,

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never to meet on earth again. On the 21st she was at Bath, and hoped to reach Bristol the next day. On the 28th she was at Bridgewater, and on May 1st reached the city of Exeter, taking up her abode at Bedford House. Here she commenced making preparations for her approaching accouchement, and wrote to Sir Theodore Mayerne, her physician, the following letter:*

"Exeter, ce 3 May.

"Monsieur de Mayerne,

"Mon indisposition ne me permet pas d'escrire beaucoup, pour vous prier de venir si votre santé vous le permet: mais mon mal vous y convie plus comme j'espere que ne feroit beaucoup de lignes: C'est pourquoy je ne diray que cela, ayant tousjours dans ma memoire les soigns que vous avés eu de moy dans mes besoings, qui faict que je crois que si vous pouvés vous viendrés, et que suis et seray tousjours.

"Votre bien bonne mestresse
"et ami,
"Henrietta Maria R."

The king also wrote Mayerne to the same purport, and his letter is even more touching and laconic:

"Mayerne,—Pour l'amour de moy, allé trouver ma femme.
"C. R."

The *Perfect Diurnal*, 13th May, says:

"The Queen, we hear, certainly is at Exeter, some say very sick. She sent this week to London for two other doctors to come to her, but for ought I hear they have no list for the service, though the Parliament have given them leave to go."

The other doctor alluded to was Sir John Hinton, who had accompanied Her Majesty from Oxford, and was with her during her stay in the West. Sir Theodore Mayerne and Sir Matthew Lister left London in the queen's chariot on May 21st, and reached Exeter May 28th, having very probably in their company Mistress Elizabeth Crofts, a *sage-femme* of some repute in London, and for whom the Earl of Forth had applied to the parliament to grant a pass.

The city of Exeter treated the queen in her distress just as might have been expected from one whose motto is "Ever faithful." It voted £200 for her use, in token of its respect; a large sum considering the distress of those days. Edmund Tremain,† of Cullacombe, advanced a considerable sum for the same purpose, and doubtless there were others who did like-

* Sloane, MS., 1679, folio 71b. † Prince's *Worthies of Devon*.

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wise. In spite of the kindness shown to her by the citizens of Exeter, the poor queen remained very sick at heart, and looked not forward with much joy to the birth of her child. Her letter to the king at this time shows how desponding she was.*

"My dear heart,

"I have so few opportunities of writing that I will not lose this, which will, I believe, be the last before I am brought to bed (since I am now more than fifteen days in my ninth month), and perhaps it will be the last letter you will ever receive from me. The weak state in which I am, caused by the cruel pains I have suffered since I left you, which have been too severe to be experienced or understood by any but those who have suffered them, makes me believe that it is time for me to think of another world. If it be so, the will of God be done! He hath already done so much for us, and has assisted us so visibly in all our affairs, that certainly whatever way He may be pleased to dispose of me will be for your good and mine. I should have many things to say to you, but the roads are so little sure that I should not dare to trust this letter, only I will beg you to believe what *Lord Jermyn* and *Father Philip* will say to you for me. If that should happen to me, it is a great comfort to me to have written this letter to you. Let it not trouble you, I beg. You know well that from my last confinement I have reason to fear and also to hope. By preparing for the worst, we are never taken by surprise, and good fortune appears so much the greater. Adieu, my dear heart! I hope before I leave you to see you once again in the position in which you ought to be. God grant it! I confess that I earnestly desire this, and also that I may be able to render you some service.

"Exeter, this 8 June, 1644."

On Sunday, June 16th, a little princess, afterwards Duchess of Orleans, was born. Among the manuscripts in the possession of Earl de la Warr is a letter from Exeter, from Sir Ralph Sydenham to the Earl of Bath, containing this notice of the event:

"The Queen yesterday, at 11, was delivered of a daughter; a guard brought the news to the Preacher; he mistook, and gave thanks for a son; after dinner it proved a girl."

One would have thought that the queen's troubles were now over, but indeed they were only commencing. Before she had been delivered, intelligence reached Exeter that the parliamentary general, the Earl of Essex, was advancing with

* For the three letters of Henrietta Maria to the king I am indebted to Mrs. Green's excellent book, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, which is by far the best and most reliable life of the queen we have.

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his army into the county of Devon. Fearing the noise and inconvenience of a siege in her then feeble condition, the queen wrote Essex, then at Chard, and asked, first, that he would refrain from assaulting the city, and afterwards, for a safe conduct for herself and followers to Bath. To these applications Essex replied, that if she would go to London he would give her a pass, but that in no other way would he help her. It would seem that the Parliament wished to capture the person of the queen (she had been proclaimed a traitor the year before). Though no direct evidence has been found on this point, yet the refusal of Essex to grant her a pass, and the exertions made to prevent her escape to France, look very much as if it would have been a satisfaction to have lodged her in the Tower. The *Parliament Diary* of June 27th contains the following:

"It is reported that the queen, understanding of my lord-general's advance to Exeter, did send a trumpet to him, desiring him to forbear all actions of hostility against that city, in regard of the great weakness wherein the estate of her body at that present was, being but lately brought to bed, and in danger of her life. There are some of belief that the queen is not yet delivered, but only useth this colour to divert, if she can, the siege of Exeter. But my lord-admiral lying not far off from it at sea, and my lord-general being before it on land, I can not well conceive how either the city or herself can long hold without being surrendered to his hand."

The fleet under Warwick and Admiral Batten were in Torbay, and one ship, the *James*, 1,200 tons, was on the look-out for any vessel attempting to leave or enter the Exe; so that the queen was placed in such a position as to have no road left open to her but the west; and with the hope of finding the means of escape in Falmouth, she prepared, weak as she was, to set forth in that direction. The following letter to the king was the last from Exeter:

"MY DEAR HEART,

"Up to this time, I was unwilling to trouble you with my complaints, having always hoped that time would remove my reasons for so doing, and because that would only grieve you; but when there is a probability of an increase of misery, it is well to prepare those whom we love to bear it. This then is what induces me to write you this letter about my condition, which compels me to it by the violence of more ailments, all at once, than either the state of my body, or that of my mind, depressed by the body, can support.

"Since I left you at Oxford, that disease which I began to feel

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there has constantly increased, but with attacks so violent as no one ever felt before. I bore it patiently, in hopes of being cured by my accouchement; but instead of finding relief, my disease has increased, and is so insupportable that, if it were not that we ought not to wish for death, it would be too much longed for by the most wretched creature in the world. And to render my condition complete, from three days before my confinement to this present time, Essex has been threatening us with a siege, to which I cannot make up my mind, and would rather set out on the road towards Falmouth, to pass from thence into France, if I can do it, even at the hazard of my life, than stay here. I shall show you by this last action, that nothing is so much in my thoughts as what concerns your preservation, and that my own life is of very little consequence compared with that; for, as your affairs stand, they would be in danger if you come to help me, and I know that your affection would make you risk every thing for that. This makes me hazard my miserable life, a thing which in itself is of very little consequence, excepting in so far as you value it.

"You will perhaps wish to know the particulars of my disease; it is always a seizure of paralysis in the legs and all over the body, but it seems to me as though my bowells and stomach weighed more than a hundred pounds, and as though I was so tightly squeezed in the region of the heart that I was suffocating; and at times I am like a person poisoned. I can scarcely stir, and am doubled-up. This same weight is also upon my back; one of my arms has no feeling; and my legs and knees are colder than ice. This disease has risen to my head. I can see with but one eye. It has pleased God to prove me, both in body and mind. I trust in His goodness that He will not abandon me, and that He will give me patience.

"Adieu, my dear heart.

"The most miserable creature in the world, who can write no more.

"From my bed, this 28th June. Exeter."

With regard to the next stage in the queen's movements much doubt exists, and it is mainly with the view of elucidating the mystery that this paper is written. Two stories are in circulation; one is in Miss Agnes Strickland's *Life of Henrietta Maria*, and the other is of local origin. The latter pretends that the queen left Exeter by night, with a very small party of attendants, passing by Fulford House to Okehampton, where she lodged in the house of Luxmoore, of Withenden, the present guildhall. Here Anthony Paine, Grenville's Cornish giant, met her, and guided her party to Stowe by a series of by-tracks and lanes in order to secure greater secrecy. From Stowe she went to Lanherne, and from there to Falmouth. In confirmation of this theory, a letter

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is said to have been seen from Lady Grenville, in which she mentions the fact of the queen having slept at Stowe, and departing for Lanherne. It is much to be regretted that no trace of this letter can now be found in the localities where it might be supposed to be preserved.

The account given by Miss Strickland is much more wonderful, and is founded probably on French sources. She says:

"She rose from her sick-bed, and left Exeter with one gentleman, one lady, and her confessor; she was constrained to hide herself in a hut three miles from Exeter gate, where she passed two days, without anything to nourish her, couched under a heap of litter; she overheard the parliamentary soldiers defile on each side of her shelter; she overheard their imprecations and oaths, 'that they would carry the head of Henrietta to London, as they should receive from the parliament a reward for it of fifty thousand crowns.' When this peril was passed she issued out of her hiding-place, and, accompanied by the three persons who had shared her dangers, traversed the same road on which the soldiers had lately marched, though they had rendered it nearly impassable. She travelled in extreme pain, and her anxious attendants were astonished that she did not fall by the way. Her ladies and faithful officers stole out of Exeter, in various disguises, to meet her. The rendezvous was at night, in a miserable cabin in a wood between Exeter and Plymouth. The valiant dwarf, Jeffery Hudson, was of this party; he had grown up to the respectable stature of three feet and a half, and showed both courage and sagacity in this escape. The queen, whose original destination was Plymouth, found Pendennis Castle a safer refuge. She arrived with her company, in doleful plight, at this royal fortress on the 29th of June, 1644; as a friendly Dutch vessel was in the bay, the queen resolved to embark at once, and she sailed with her domestic suite from the western coast early the following morning, only one fortnight after her accouchement."

It will at once be seen that from these two stories the following conclusions may be drawn:

First. That the queen left Exeter in great secrecy, and with but small retinue, and passed two days without food in a hut three miles from Exeter gate, &c.

Secondly. That she was on the route of Essex's army, and consequently, in order to reach Falmouth, was going to the east of Exeter.

Thirdly. That she originally proposed going by way of Plymouth.

Fourthly. That she slept at Stowe, and went from there to Lanherne.

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Fifthly. That Pendennis Castle was reached on June 29th, and left the next day.

The arguments in favour of the Stowe version are, that the queen could not go through Launceston, because it was in the hands of the rebels; and that she was obliged to keep close to the north coast, because Lord Robartes was on Bodmin Moors with a large rebel army.

In order to contradict these somewhat romantic statements, it will be necessary to refer to the actual historical *data* which exist.

The exact date of the queen's departure from Exeter is unknown; that she was there on June 29th is certain from her own letter, already quoted. Oliver says she was at Okehampton on July 1st, but does not give his authority. Oliver's statements however may generally be taken as accurate. From Okehampton she went to Launceston, as may be concluded from the following letter of Sir Francis Bassett, High Sheriff of Cornwall:*

"This thyrd of July, 1644.

"Deare Wiffe,

* * * * * * *

"Here is the woefullest spectacle my eyes yet ever look'd on, the most worne and weake pitifull creature in ye world, the poore queene, shifting for one hour's liffe longer. Here is also Prince Maurice; but all the soldiers are fled from us. Essex is at this time at Barnstaple, or neare it, where there is at present greate rebellion. . . . . Fairwell, sweete, Bless Tehidy. God bless us ever, sweete love. The prayers off yr F. Bassett.

"To my dearest ffriende Mrs. Bassett at ye Mount. Speede. Lett the bearer hereof pass quickly to the Mount.

"Laun., 15th July, 1644. F. Bassett."

If this letter means anything at all, it certainly asserts that the queen was at Launceston; for the word *Laun* certainly stands for that. Though the letter was commenced on the third of July, by some mischance it was not sent until the 15th. On looking at the map, it will be at once seen that Launceston would be the most direct route to be taken, and as time was a consideration, it is probable that the queen would go this way; that is, supposing that no enemy interfered to compel her going farther north. In *Whitelocke*, p. 97, the following passage occurs:

"General Essex marched into Cornwall, the enemy removing before him. Most of the garrisons near Plymouth and the borders of Devon and Cornwall were quitted by the enemy. Mount

* Polwhele's *Traditions and Recollections.*

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Stamford, with four pieces of ordnance; Saltash, and a great fort with some great guns and many arms; Launceston and other small garrisons, yielded to the general."

Rushworth adds to this account, and says:

"Passed on to Launceston, the shire town, where they took divers barrells of powder."

Now it is very evident that if Launceston yielded to Essex on July 26th, it must have been previously occupied by the Royalists, and that it was the capture of their barrels of powder recorded by Rushworth. If such were the case, there could be no objection to the queen's resting there on or about July 3rd, when Essex was at Chard.

If Prince Maurice accompanied the queen to Launceston with an escort of soldiers, the whole of Miss Strickland's wonderful story about the hut three miles from Exeter, and Jeffery Hudson's bravery, &c., falls to the ground. From other sources than Bassett's evidence, there is ample proof that Prince Maurice did escort the queen into Cornwall.

Sir Edward Walker, in his *Historical Discourses*, p. 42, says:

"Wherefore, having settled the garrison in Exeter, and attending her Majesty safely in her journey for Cornwall, he (Maurice) drew his forces to Okehampton."

The *True Informer*, of July 13th, says: "Maurice drew forth Barnstaple garrison as a life-guard for the queen, and conducted her safe to Pendennis." The *Court Mercury*, of July 11th, says: "Prince Maurice is gone towards Pendennis, to be a life-guard to her Majesty."

Allusion is made in the queen's letter from Exeter to Father Philip. This was a Capuchin friar, who, with another named Father Cyprian, accompanied the queen in all her movements. They were members of a mission which came to England under the queen's protection and patronage, and contributed largely to her unpopularity. As they looked on Henrietta Maria as a sort of royal martyr, they will not lightly be accused of suppressing any adventures and risks in her movements which would add to the list of her sufferings. Their account of this journey runs as follows:

"The time for her lying-in being near at hand, she resolved to pass it in the city of Exeter, where she was happily delivered of the Princess Henrietta Anne, who was married to Philip of Bourbon, only brother of the King of France and Duke of Orleans. The favourable issue of this accouchement gave great joy, but it did not

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last long; for the army of the parliament being not far off, and preparing to besiege the city, the queen, who knew it, was obliged, a fortnight after her delivery, to leave her new-born infant to the mercy of her furious enemies, to retire precipitately on board a ship, weak and ill as she was, to expose herself to the tempests of the sea, and to seek in France, her dear native land, a secret and secure asylum from the rage and persecution of her subjects."

No more mention is made of hardship and danger in the journey from Exeter to Falmouth than in that from Oxford to Exeter, and beyond great weakness and pain doubtless there were none.

Sir John Hinton, the queen's physician, who to men of the West is a person of peculiar interest, inasmuch as he attended Sir Bevil Grenville in his dying moments on the field of Lansdowne, tells almost a similar story:*

"After which the queen, being great with child and weak, having fits of the mother, and a violent consumptive cough, I was commanded to wait upon her in her journey to Exeter, and I attended her Majesty till she was delivered of the Princess Henrietta; and as a cruelty which ought not to be forgotten, being in that weak condition, she was forced within a week after her delivery to go for Cornwall, in which journey I waited upon her Majesty, the greatest part of the way on foot, by the side of her litter. From there she went into France, and then I was commanded to return, and take care of the princess at Exeter, by your Highness's special orders, she having convulsion fits; afterwards she went away, well recovered, with the Lady Dalkeith and the Lord Berkley."

This quotation is made from a letter of memorial to Charles II., in which the petitioner, Sir John Hinton, enumerates all his services to the king and his father, &c., and this to the effect that he might be rewarded for the same. If therefore he had passed through any danger, or undergone any inconvenience other than having to walk beside the litter of his royal patient occasionally, he would no doubt have mentioned it. Under the circumstances, he would be more inclined to dilate on than curtail any risk or trouble he may have incurred.

The principal personage to whose care Charles had entrusted his wife was Lord Jermyn, recently created Earl of Yarmouth, and his share in this transaction shall be given by an enemy; for such no doubt was the reporter of the *Court Mercury* of July 20th:

"We have private information of the Earl of Yarmouth's (Jermyn, I mean) courtly behaviour to the queen in her journey to Pendennis

* Ellis' *Historical Letters.*

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Castle, towards Cornwall (*sic*). He was pleased to conceive her litter a burden to her (not that it is), and the prison which deprived her of the sight of him. Therefore (notwithstanding the indisposition of her body, and the doctors' and physicians' careful counsel to the contrary) she caused the windows on every side of the litter to be thrown open, he riding by her, and upon every stop (and she made many) the courtier's officious hand appeared to support her weak body upon occasion of stirring or removing herself in the litter; and when she was pleased (contrary to the advice of the physicians) to walk on foot, his arm (which she conscious as mighty as the strongest pillar of this land) warranted her health more than all the precautions of the most skilled physicians. His cloak, richly embroidered (as she passed by any moorish place) was cast under her feet (the young man carried some care along with him)."

The youthful gallant here pourtrayed is said to have been twenty-six years older than the queen he served; had been placed by the king himself in her service; and when in France was her minister and adviser in all matters. If the *Court Mercury* could scatter such libel about poor old Jermyn, it would have made great capital of the queen's hiding in the heap of leaves, and of Hudson's bravery, supposing those incidents to have come to its knowledge.

But the whole of this adventurous journey is rendered utterly improbable by the fact that Prince Maurice with sufficient soldiery accompanied the queen to some place in Cornwall, and therefore there was no necessity for Lady Grenville's giant, Anthony Payne, to appear on the scene at all, except perhaps to see if his rival in notoriety, the dwarf Hudson, was present in the queen's train.

Maurice drew his escort from Barnstaple garrison, doubtless much to the delight of the townspeople, who were rebels when they dared; consequently, on the garrison leaving and Essex approaching them, they declared for the parliament. This was expected by Maurice, and is evidently alluded to in Bassett's letter, already quoted—"Essex is at this time at Barnstaple, or neare it, where there is at present great rebellyon." Doubtless then, on a place of safety being reached, the queen would be the first to suggest that the troops should go back to Barnstaple, and if possible anticipate Essex in obtaining possession of the town; and this will explain the words in the same letter, "But all the soldiers are fled from us."

Whitelocke, p. 93, says: "Prince Maurice sent a party to burn Barnstaple, but the town rose against them, shut them out, and killed about twenty of them; hereof they gave notice

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to the Lord-General, who sent Lord Robartes with a strong party to secure them."

Rushworth, vol. v. p. 684, contains this passage: "From Chard, Essex marcht to Tiverton, July 5th, and whilst he lay there, Prince Maurice, sending a party to Barnstaple, the townsmen having notice of their coming, shut the gates against them, and slew several of them, and immediately sent a message to Essex, who dispacht the Lord Roberts with a strong party thither to secure and settle the town, which they did accordingly."

Lord Roberts held the office of field-marshal in Essex's army, and was high in favour of the parliament. It is very evident that, if he was doing duty with Essex, and able to go to Barnstaple on July 5th, that he could not be on Bodmin Moors with a rebel gathering of Cornish. Essex did not leave Tiverton until after July 18th, when a council of war was held, at which Roberts was present, and when it was decided to march into Cornwall. This plan was adopted mainly on Roberts' promise to raise the county by his own personal influence, and with what result is well known. The Cornish would have nothing to do with the rebel cause, being thoroughly royal; and there was no more need of a troop of soldiers to protect the queen from rebels after crossing the Cornish border than in the good city of Oxford.

Whether Prince Maurice went further than Launceston is doubtful, very probably not, though some of the newspaper reports speak of Pendennis. It seems not unlikely that the Cornish gentry assembled at different points along the road to pay their respects to the queen, and that she went from one house to another, according as her strength would allow, with perhaps a simple guard of honour, until she reached Truro. That this surmise is not quite without foundation may be seen by the following note in Polwhele's *Traditions and Recollections*:

"Queen Henrietta, passing through Cornwall, was assisted on her way by one or two of our family, to whom she presented (it is said) her miniature portrait."

The queen's route from Launceston to Truro is unknown, the easiest and most direct probably being chosen. From Truro she wrote the following letter to the king:

"My dear heart,

"This letter is to bid you adieu. If the wind is favourable, I shall set off to-morrow. Henry Seymour will tell you many things from me, which the miserable condition I am in

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does not permit me to write. I beg you to send him to me again to France, where, if God grant me grace to recover my health, I hope yet to serve you. I am giving you the strongest proof of love that I can give: I am hazarding my life, that I may not incommode your affairs. Adieu, my dear heart. If I die, believe that you will lose a person who has never been other than entirely yours, and who by her affection has deserved that you should not forget her. I send you back my company, to be with you, and beg that it may remain undissolved as long as I live, if I do not die during these troubles; and if you would give Brett a pension of two hundred pieces, you would oblige me extremely. You are assured that during these times he will not ask you for anything, and after the peace he deserves a reward. I beg you also to please to give the commission of Caulsfield's brother-in-law to that Colonel Tilsley: Caulsfield cannot ask for it on account of his religion, and the other is the nearest relation the young man has, and one against whom there can be no objection; and Caulsfield has served you so well, and will do so yet, that you should not refuse so small a thing. Also, my lord marquis has begged me to write to you for him, and to recommend him to you. It is a miserable condition in which he is.

"Truro, this 9th July, 1644. Well adieu."

It would be interesting to know what was meant by "my company" referred to in this letter. Was it a kind of *guard de la Reine*, which might be useful during the war? If not, why the request that it should not be dissolved? It is just possible that it was a company of young cavaliers, whose special duty it was to guard the queen's quarters and person.

How long a stay was made at Truro is not known, in order to take advantage of the first opportunity of the wind suiting; Falmouth may have been reached, as proposed, the next day, though, for some reasons unknown, the actual date of setting sail was July 14th.

Pendennis Castle, in 1644, was under the command of Sir John Arundel, of Trerice, who was known by the name of "Old Tilbury" on account of his having been on duty at Tilbury Fort in 1588. It was a place of considerable importance as a fortress at this time, though it could have afforded but scanty accommodation to a queen and her suite. Close by, and almost within range of the castle guns, lay the mansion and estate of Arwenach, the seat of the Killigrews (it was burnt to the ground by Sir John Killigrew, in 1646, to prevent its being taken by Fairfax); and it seems just within possibility that the queen may have rested with Lady Killigrew till the moment of departure, and thus have been nearer the shipping, and just as safe as within the castle itself.

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Intelligence must soon have reached the parliamentary admiral that he was wasting his time in Torbay, and that he had better look out for Falmouth, if he wished to keep the queen from getting to France; consequently Vice-Admiral Batten was sent westward, and arrived just in time to see the queen's ship and her consorts come out of the harbour. The *Parliamentary Diary*, of July 25th, thus records the setting out of the queen's fleet of small vessels from Falmouth:

"The first ship that put to sea was a Flemish man-of-war, after whom warped out by degrees nine more, who had most of them the advantage of oars to increase their speed. In the midst of them was discovered a galley with sixteen oars, in which peradventure Her Majesty was embarked. Our ships receiving but late intelligence of it, did make what haste they could to overtake them; but being more heavy far in burden, they could not get the advantage of them. However, the *Vice-Admiral*, the *Warwick* frigate, and the *Paramour*, three of the best sailors that we had, came close unto them in the pursuit, and bestowed a hundred cannon-shot upon them."

Henrietta Maria landed near Brest on July 15th, a month save one day after her confinement.

From an examination of this evidence it will be seen, that though perhaps the queen left Exeter with a smaller retinue than usual, still there was no lack of necessary attendants, and that she had at all events lords in waiting, a private physician, her nephew Prince Maurice, and certain troops as a military escort; that she never was near Essex's army, and that she never intended going by way of Plymouth, which at that time was a rebel stronghold undergoing a siege; that it is extremely improbable she was ever at Stowe, and that most likely she went through Launceston.

In conclusion, it may be stated that the little princess, who had been left in Exeter in the care of Lady Moreton and Sir John Berkley, was baptized in the cathedral, on July 21st, by Dr. Laurence Burnell, with all the solemnity befitting so important an occasion. In Exeter she stayed until after April 13th, 1646, when the city surrendered to Fairfax, and shortly afterwards was conveyed to Paris by Lady Moreton.

In 1671, her brother, Charles II., in memory of the kindness shown to his mother and sister, presented the city of Exeter with a portrait of the latter, by Sir Peter Lely; the original of the portrait however had died just twelve months before, with (it is sad to relate) every symptom of having been poisoned.

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WILLIAM COOKWORTHY AND THE PLYMOUTH CHINA FACTORY.

BY R. N. WORTH, F.G.S.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

CONCERNING William Cookworthy the man we have abundant information.* The doings of William Cookworthy the potter are as vaguely reported as the substratum of an ancient myth, and as variously stated as if there were half-a-dozen potter Cookworthys instead of one. It is hoped that this paper may be the means of giving fuller and more accurate information concerning William Cookworthy and the Plymouth China Works than has yet appeared.

How little was really known, even by connoisseurs, concerning Cookworthy the potter, a quarter of a century since only, may be illustrated by a reference to Mr. Marryatt's first edition of the *History of Porcelain*, published in 1850. He there, speaking apparently of white china only under the term Bristol ware, says it was not known whether it was actually made at Bristol or not; and that Cookworthy, who made the first hard English porcelain, appeared to have carried on the manufacture at Worcester. By the time his second edition appeared Mr. Marryatt had learnt better, and rightly placed the seat of Cookworthy's pottery at Plymouth, distinguishing between the Plymouth porcelain and the Bristol, and speaking highly of the later Plymouth ware.

Recently however an important contribution to the literature of keramics has appeared, in which the claims of Cookworthy to have been more than an inventor are impugned; and it is sought to prove that the china works of Cookworthy at Plymouth were very inferior, alike in extent and in artistic production, to the china works of Champion at Bristol.† Moreover, from first to last, all accounts of the

* See *Memoir of William Cookworthy*, by his grandson, G. H. Harrison; and *Relics of William Cookworthy*, by John Prideaux, the one published in 1854, and the other in 1853.

† *Two Centuries of Potting in Bristol.* By Hugh Owen, F.S.A.

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Plymouth china works are more or less erroneous; to an extent that appears almost incredible, considering it is little more than a century ago they ceased to be. To attempt a sketch of the Plymouth China Factory is therefore to enter into the region of almost endless controversy.

Concerning Cookworthy the man, as already stated, all is clear enough. He was born at Kingsbridge, April 12th, 1705; and his father, who was a weaver, died when he was a lad, leaving his family in straitened circumstances. Young Cookworthy was apprenticed to a firm of druggists in London, named Bevans; and it is stated that, in consequence of want of means, he had to walk to London to enter upon his duties under that firm. He won the esteem of his employers, becoming not only an able man of business, but an accomplished chemist, and by the aid of the firm established a wholesale drug business in Notte Street, Plymouth, at first under the style of Bevans and Cookworthy. With this firm, which subsequently, on the admission of his brother Philip as partner, became that of William Cookworthy and Co. Cookworthy remained connected until his death, in October, 1780. He was in many respects a remarkable man, and his life is one of the most illustrious examples of men who have risen of which even England can boast. Emphatically self-made, he had none of the foibles which frequently mark the characters of those who have been the architects of their own fortunes. An industrious man of business, a shrewd and painstaking inventor, deeply versed in the science of the day, valued in society for his geniality and power of conversation, he was at the same time one of the simplest and devoutest of Quakers, and an enthusiastic believer in the views of Swedenborg. He was withal most absent-minded, and on one occasion, while on his way to meeting at Exeter, was so engaged by a novel which he found on an inn table, that he never reached his destination. Yet he was, in the words of Sarah Champion, an "eminent minister" in the society. "His benevolence was as abundant as his charity was extensive," and he had "originality of character," and a "lively entertaining manner." He was a firm believer in the divining rod, and left a treatise on its uses. In short, Cookworthy was a man of many sides, but always genial, courageous, and persevering; a man who won the respect and esteem alike of high and low by his strict integrity, wide sympathies, and varied powers; one who, having set his hand to the plough, was not ready to turn back. And this was the man who, not by accident, but by patient, well-directed research, prosecuted

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during his business journeys, first discovered in this kingdom the existence of the china clay and china stone—the kaolin and petuntse—which are the necessary ingredients of true porcelain; and then—not having, like Wedgewood, been bred a potter—taught himself the potter's art, and by careful study and long-protracted experiments, extending over many years, reproduced in England the hard porcelain of the East, the secrets of whose manufacture he had thus attained, and gave to his country new forms of industry and new sources of wealth.

Let us see how this was done.

There is no uncertainty as to the date when the narrative should begin. In a letter addressed to Richard Hingston, of Penryn, on the 30th May, 1745, Cookworthy says:

"I had lately with me the person who has discovered the china earth [in Virginia]. He had with him several samples of the china ware. . . . . They can import it [the earth] for £13 per ton, and by that means afford their china as cheap as common stone ware; but they intend only to go about 30 per cent. under the company."

Cookworthy's search for the kaolin and petuntse of the Chinese potters, of which he had also read in the account of that country, written by the Jesuit Father d'Entrecolles in 1712, is held to have commenced about this period, and with good reason. Various dates are assigned for the consequent discovery, and various places given as the first locality in which the china clay was found; yet we have Cookworthy's own authority on both points, in a valuable but undated paper. Much regret has been expressed at the absence of date; but every writer on the subject appears to have overlooked the fact that within very narrow limits the paper dates itself. Cookworthy says at the commencement, that he first found the china clay nearly twenty years previously, and immediately afterwards, that at the time of writing he had not commenced manufacture. His own words are: "And as I have since that time by abundance of experiments clearly proved this to the entire satisfaction of many ingenious men, I was willing this discovery might be preserved to posterity, if I should not live to carry it into a manufacture." We know that the clay was undiscovered in 1745, and we know that Cookworthy's patent was taken out in 1768. Nearly twenty years prior to the latter date limits us therefore to 1745–50 as the period of the discovery. He then proceeds:

"I first discovered it [the petuntse, or "china stone"] in the

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parish of Germo, in a hill called Tregonnin Hill. That whole country in depth is of this stone. It reaches, east and west, from Breag to Germo, and, north and south, from Tregonnin Hill to the sea. From the cliffs some of this stone hath been brought to Plymouth, where it was used in the casemates of the garrison;* but I think the best quarries are in Tregonnin Hill. The stone is compounded of small pellucid gravel [quartz], and a whitish matter, which indeed is caulin petrified [felspar]; and as the caulin of Tregonnin Hill hath abundance of micæ in it, this stone hath them also. If the stone is taken a fathom or two from the surface, where the rock is quite solid, it is stained with abundance of greenish spots, which are very apparent when it is melted. This is a circumstance noted by the Jesuits, who observe that the stones which have most of this quality are the most proper for the preparation of the glaze; and I believe this remark is just, as I know that they are the most easily vitrifiable, and that a vein of this kind in Tregonnin Hill is so much so that it makes an excellent glaze without the addition of vitrescent ingredients."

Then as to "caulin" (kaolin, "china clay"), he says: "This material, in the Chinese way of speaking, constitutes the bones, as the petunse does the flesh, of china ware. It is a white talcy earth, found in our granite countries, both in the counties of Devon and Cornwall. It lies in different depths beneath the surface. . . . By what I have observed, it is by no means a regular stratum, but is rather in bunches or in heaps, the regular continuance of which is frequently interrupted by gravel and other matters. . . . . There are inexhaustible stores of this caulin in the two western counties. The use it 's commonly put to is in mending the tin furnaces and the fireplaces of the fire [steam] engines, for which 'tis very proper. The sort I have chiefly tried is what is got from the side of Tregonnin Hill, where there are several pits of it."†

Subsequently Cookworthy states: "I have lately discovered that in the neighbourhood of the parish of St. Stephens, in Cornwall, there are immense quantities both of the petunse stone and the caulin, and which I believe may be more commodiously and advantageously wrought than those of Tregonnin Hill, as by the experiments I have made on them they produce a much whiter body, and do not shrink so much by far

* This may have directed Cookworthy's attention to the locality.

† Borlase, in his *Natural History of Cornwall*, 1758, alludes to some of the clays of his neighbourhood, West Cornwall, as being probably adapted for the manufacture of porcelain. But this must have been written after Cookworthy's discovery, though evidently in ignorance of it.

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in baking, nor take stains so readily from the fire. Tregonnin Hill is about a mile from Godolphin House, between Helston and Penzance. St. Stephens lies between Truro, St. Austel, and St. Columb; and the parish of Dennis, the next to St. Stephens, I believe, hath both the ingredients in plenty in it. I know of two quarries of the stone—one is just above St. Stephens, the other is called Caluggas, somewhat more than a mile from it, and appears to be the finer stone."

So much for the discovery; now as to the manufacture.

It is clear that Richard Champion, who became proprietor of Cookworthy's patent, and the sole owner of the Bristol China Manufactory, had been associated with Cookworthy several years before that event; and it is probable that some of Cookworthy's earliest experiments in manufacture were made at Bristol, where potteries already existed. In a letter by Sarah Champion, dated January, 1764, Cookworthy is called the "first inventor of the Bristol China Works," a phrase which Mr. Owen thinks may have been added in copying. But in a letter, dated November, 1765, Richard Champion informs Caleb Lloyd that in a new work just established Cornish clay and Cornish stone were being used; and as no one has ventured to question the claim of Cookworthy to the discovery of these materials, so it is but natural to suppose that he was concerned in their original utilisation. The work however did not prove a success. The difficulties of manipulation were considerable, and a letter from Richard Champion to Lord Hyndford, dated February, 1766, shows that it had then been given up. Mr. Owen points out that there is a dated bowl of hard porcelain which must have been made either out of the materials which Cookworthy had procured from Cornwall, or of kaolin and petuntse from abroad, and which, if the date is correct, would antedate considerably the commencement of the hard porcelain manufacture. This bowl is marked "F B [Francis Brittan], Jan. 9, 1762."*

I think it therefore not only possible, but indeed almost certain, that while Cookworthy made his first experiments with the china clay and stone at Plymouth, and there undoubtedly succeeded in producing the first hard porcelain made in this country, the first attempts to establish the manufacture were made at Bristol, probably because skilled labour of the kind required was more easily obtained there.

* I am largely indebted to Mr. Owen's elegant volume for the facts concerning the Bristol potteries, and I much regret that I am compelled to differ from him in regard to the Plymouth.

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That the effort failed we have Champion's own testimony, and that the failure arose from want of requisite scientific knowledge. Cookworthy then resumed his experiments at Plymouth, and very shortly brought the art to such a state of perfection that he applied for a patent, which was granted 17th March, 1768. The earliest dated example of the Plymouth china is March 14th of the same year. In his subsequent specification Cookworthy states:

"The materials of which the body of the said porcellain is composed are a stone and earth or clay. The stone is known in the countys of Devon and Cornwall by the names of moor-stone and growan, which stones are generally composed of grains of stone or gravel of a white, or whitish colour, with a mixture of talky shining particles. This gravel and these talky particles are cemented together by a petrified clay into very solid rocks, and immense quantities of them are found in both the above-mentioned countys. All these stones, exposed to a violent fire, melt, without the addition of fluxes, into a semi-transparent glass, differing in clearness and beauty according to the purity of the stone. The earth, or clay, for the most part lies in the valleys where the stone forms the hills. This earth is very frequently very white, tho' sometimes of a yellowish or cream colour. It generally arises with a large mixture of talky micæ, or spangles, and a semi-transparent or whitish gravel. Some sorts have little of the micæ or spangles, but the best clay for making porcellain always abounds in micæ or spangles. The stone is prepared by levigation in a potter's mill, in water in the usual manner, to a very fine powder. The clay is prepared by diluting it with water untill the mixture is rendered sufficiently thin for the gravell and micæ to subside. The white water containing the clay is then poured, or left to run off, from the subsided micæ and gravell into proper vessells or reservoirs; and after it has settled a day or two the clear water above it is to be then poured or drawn off, and the clay or earth reduced to a proper consistence by the common methods of exposing it to the sun and air or laying it on chalk. This earth or clay gives the ware its whiteness and infusibility, as the stone doth its transparency and mellowness. They are therefore to be mixed in different proportions as the ware is intended to be more or less transparent, and the mixture is to be performed in the method used by potters, and well known (viz., by diluting the materials in water, passing the mixture through a fine sieve, and reducing it to a paste of a proper consistence for working in the way directed for the preparation of the clay).

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This paste is to be form'd into vessells, and these vessells when biscuited are to be dipp'd in the glaze, which is prepared of the levigated stone, with the addition of lime and fern ashes, or an earth called magnesia alba, in such quantity as may make it properly fusible and transparent when it has received a due degree of fire in the second baking."

Cookworthy thus describes his mode of operation in the paper already cited:

"Our potters mills prepare the petunse much better than stamping mills, and excuse one from the trouble of washing it off, it being fit to be used as it comes from the mill. I would further observe that the mills should be made of the petunse granite, it being obvious that in grinding, some of the mill-stones must wear off and mix with the petunse. . . . I have generally mixed about equal parts of the washed caulin and petunse for the composition of the body, which, when burnt, is very white and sufficiently transparent. The caulin of St. Stephens burns to a degree of transparency without the addition of petunse. The materials from this place make a body much whiter than the Asiatic, and, I think, full as white as the ancient China ware, or that of Dresden.

"The stones I have hitherto used for glazing are those with the green spots of Tregonnin Hill. These, barely ground fine, make a good glaze; if it is wanted, softer vitrescent materials must be added. The best I have tried are those said to be used by the Chinese; viz., lime and fern ashes prepared as follows: The lime is to be slaked by water and sifted; one part of this by measure is to be mixed with twice its quantity of fern ashes, and calcined together in an iron pot, the fire to be raised until the matter is redhot. It should not melt, and for that reason should be kept continually stirred. When it sinks in the pot, and grows of a light ash colour, 'tis done. It then must be levigated in the potters mill to perfect smoothness. It may be used in proportion of one part to ten, and so on to fifteen or twenty of the stone as shall be found necessary. We found one to fifteen of the stone a very suitable proportion. Our manner of mixing was to dilute both the stone and the ashes to a proper degree for dipping, and then mix them as above. If 'tis too thick for dipping, more water must be added. Our method of dipping was just the same as is used by the delft-ware people. We first baked our ware to a soft biscuit which would suck, then painted them with blue, and dipped them with the same ease, and the glazing grows hard

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and dry as soon as it does in the delft-ware. Large vessels may be dipped raw as the Chinese are said to do it; but the proper thickness of the glaze is not so easily distinguished this way, as when the ware is biscuited; for the raw body being of the same colour and consistence with the glaze, when the latter is dry, 'tis hardly possible to determine the limits of either, a thing very easy to be done when the body is hardened by biscuiting. Our chinaware makers in general deny it to be possible to glaze on a raw body or soft biscuit. And so it is with their glaze, which abounding in lead and other fluxing materials, melts soon and runs thin, and melting before the body closes, penetrates it, and is lost in the body; whereas our stone is almost as hard to melt as the body is to close, and not melting thin, neither runs nor penetrates the body. I insist on the truth of this observation, and 'tis necessary to be insisted on, as scarcely any of our potters, misled by too slavish dependence on their own too partial experience, will allow it. I have said above that the Jesuits observe that the Chinese paint and glaze their ware on the raw body. I know this can be done; for I have done it, and so may any one else who pleases to try it. . . . I don't point out the advantages of painting and glazing on a soft biscuit, as they are very obvious to any one ever so little used to pottery.

* * * * * *

"The North of England kilns, where the fire is applied in mouths on the outside of the kilns, and the fuel is coal, will not do for our body, at least when it is composed of the materials of Tregonnin Hill. . . . How true this remark may be with regard to the St. Stephens materials I cannot determine, as they have not yet been tried in a kiln. The only furnace or kiln which we have tried with any degree of success is the kiln used by the potters who make brown stone. It is called the 36-hole kiln: wood is the fuel used in it. They burn billets before and under it, where there is an oven or arch pierced by thirty-six holes, through which the flame ascends into the chamber that contains the ware, and goes out at as many holes of the same dimensions in the crown of the furnace. . . . . The air and flame freely ascend and play around every safeguard [seggar], by which means these tingeing vapours which have given us so much trouble are kept in continual motion upwards, and hindered from penetrating and staining the ware. Experience must determine the best form and way of using this kiln. 'Tis the only desideratum wanting to the bringing of the manu-

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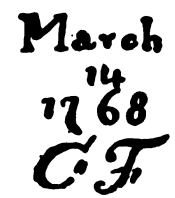
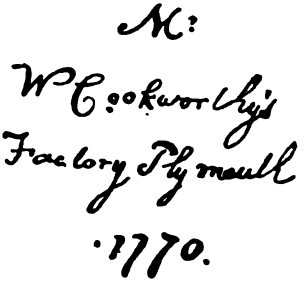
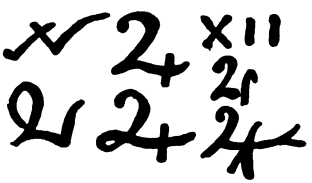
facture of porcelain equal to any in this world to perfection in England.

"Caulin pipe clay and a coarse unvitrifiable sand make excellent safeguards."

There are two kinds of Plymouth porcelain, the one white, and the other ornamented. The former was rarely, if ever, marked; the latter commonly bore the distinguishing mark in blue or red. This mark was commonly the alchemical symbol for tin (the astrological for Jupiter); though others were occasionally used. Thus there is a porcelain cup which bears a shield of the borough arms, a saltire between four castles, and the inscription, "Plymouth China Factory, March 14, 1768, C. F.;" the latter letters probably standing for "Cookworthy fecit." Another dated piece, a butter-boat, bears the inscription, "Mr. W. Cookworthy's Factory, Plymouth, 1770." One article is marked "Josiah and Mary Greathead." The form of the ordinary mark varied much with the hand that made it.







There is no doubt that Cookworthy's experiments were at first entirely in the direction of the imitation of the blue oriental porcelain; originally of its body, and subsequently of its ornamentation; and there is abundant evidence in the examples left to prove that success was not easily achieved. As Mr. Marryatt says, "the early specimens are disfigured by fire cracks* warping and blotches in the glaze from imperfect fusion incidental to first attempts, and his paintings were also coarse and bad." Indeed these defects are not bad means of identifying some of the unmarked specimens. The colouring of the blue ware, which was the chief product of the factory, was at first dull and dirty;

* "The rift or fire-flaw frequently seen in the Plymouth, less so in the Bristol china, was caused by inequality of contraction."—Owen, p. 307.

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but in this respect very remarkable success was afterwards attained, Cookworthy succeeding in manufacturing cobalt blue direct from the ore.

It is believed that in the earlier days of the china works a good deal of the decoration was done by his own hands.

When the manufacture had become established, Cookworthy sought artistic help in carrying out these details, and the Plymouth china thenceforth became distinguished not merely for its composition, but for the beauty of its modelling, and the exquisite character of its ornament. Mr. Chaffers believes that the Plymouth works were organized by workmen from Bow, holding that Bow was the first porcelain manufactory in this country, and the great nursery of potters whence the other works were supplied with workmen. That the works at the two places had a connection is clear from the fact that busts of George II., Woodward the actor, and Kitty Clive, first modelled at Bow, were reproduced at Plymouth; and in fact, articles of Bow china have often been sold as unmarked Plymouth. The modelling of shells and corals for salt-cellars, centre-pieces, &c., is not only very elegant, but marvellously true to nature.

The productions of the Plymouth China Factory included dinner, tea, breakfast, and toilet services, mugs, busts, figures and groups, vases, and various miscellaneous articles. The finest examples are a couple of vases in the possession of Mr. F. Fry, of Bristol, which are adorned with festoons of beautifully modelled flowers, and exquisitely painted in addition. These, though they bear the Plymouth mark, Mr. Owen holds to have been made by Champion, at Bristol. There is really no ground for this opinion, outside Mr. Owen's belief that the Plymouth works were artistically a failure. And these vases, moreover, though the best of their kind, do not stand absolutely alone. Examples of Plymouth china, hardly inferior, may still be found in the immediate neighbourhood of their place of manufacture.

It is stated, but I am not aware of the original authority, that Cookworthy engaged a French artist from Sevres, named Soqui, as a china painter. This Mr. Owen is apparently inclined to think an incorrect version of Champion's having engaged a man named Le Quoi. And it is at least possible.

But upon another point connected with the personnel of the factory I must differ wholly from this gentleman. It has long been held, and indeed the statement found its way into print more than three-score years ago, that Bone, the celebrated enameller, worked for and had his early instruc-

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tion from Cookworthy. The attempt is made to controvert this, on the ground that "Henry Bone, son of Henry Bone, of Plymouth, cabinet-maker," was bound apprentice to Richard and Judith Champion, January 20th, 1772. But this undoubted fact by no means disposes of his having previously worked for Cookworthy. Bone when bound to the Champions was seventeen years of age; and it is altogether out of the question to suppose that he would be removed from Plymouth to Bristol if he had not in some way evinced a special aptitude for the work. Mr. Chaffers states that Bone was taken on by Cookworthy in January, 1771, in consequence of his showing an early inclination for drawing, and having copied a set of playing cards. Mr. Harrison says that Bone was taken under Cookworthy's protection in 1768, and employed in the manufactory. And this seems to be the most reasonable account. At the time when the works were in process of transfer to Bristol (of which more anon), Bone would thus be of considerable experience and use. There were other Plymouth lads apprenticed to Champion—John Hayden, whose father had been a cordwainer in Plymouth, and William and Edward Stephens, whose father moved from Plymouth to Bristol in 1771. This William Stephens is the only one of Champion's painters whose work has been satisfactorily identified.*

The mark of the Plymouth ware has already been explained. The distinguishing mark of the Bristol china is a cross. But there are frequent variations from both, and unmarked specimens are common. The fact that both are hard porcelain will help to distinguish them from the other English porcelain of the period. There is also in both a peculiar creaminess in the glaze; and Mr. Owen points out "a distinguishing characteristic of the Plymouth, and in a less degree of the Bristol porcelain," in "the series of spiral ridges often observed on the surface of thrown ware held in reflected light." To the somewhat characteristic flaws allusion has already been made. †

Specimens of Plymouth china now fetch very high prices, and good ones are almost unpurchaseable.

There is no direct information as to the period during which the Plymouth China Works were in operation. Only two dates

* Owen, p. 301.

† The body of hard porcelain may be distinguished from soft by the fact that it cannot be scratched with a knife. Soft porcelain has an earthy body covered with and penetrated by a transparent glaze; hard porcelain consists of an infusible clay, and a flux consisting of silica and alkali—the first the kaolin, and the second the petuntse.

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are certain—that of the grant of the patent, March 17th, 1768, and that of its assignment to Richard Champion, May 6th, 1774. But we have seen that Cookworthy's discoveries had resulted in the manufacture of porcelain (partially at least at Plymouth), certainly four, probably half-a-dozen, years before the issue of the patent. Whether the works continued to be carried on at Plymouth until the transfer of the patent is a more difficult problem. Sarah Champion, in a letter written in February, 1770, refers to the manufacture as then in operation in Plymouth, and this is almost the only definite evidence we possess.

Mr. Owen states: "After some years of variable fortune it was found that Plymouth was not a suitable place for the manufacture, and it was removed to Bristol, and placed under the management of Richard Champion, in extension of his own factory, commenced in 1768. There it was carried on under the firm of 'W. Cookworthy and Co.' till September, 1773, when Champion purchased the entire interest in the patent." *

This begs the whole point at issue. Mr. Owen proves "that W. Cookworthy & Co. made china in Bristol from 1770 to 1773; and he shows that Cookworthy and Champion, with others, were interested therein. But he brings no real evidence to prove that when "W. Cookworthy & Co." went to work at Bristol, "W. Cookworthy" ceased to work at Plymouth. The assessment of the Bristol works changed from the name of "W. Cookworthy & Co." to that of Richard Champion & Co., in September, 1773; though the legal transfer of the patent was not completed until May, 1774.

In the *Worcester Journal* of March 22nd, 1770, there appears the following advertisement:†

"China Ware Painters wanted for the Plymouth New Invented Porcelain Manufactory. A number of sober, ingenious artists capable of painting in enamel or blue, may hear of constant employment by sending their proposals to Thomas Frank, in Castle Street, Bristol." This *may* refer, as suggested by Mr. Owen, to the Bristol works; but on the face of it clearly applies to Plymouth.

The oldest printed account of the Plymouth China Factory, is contained in a letter written to the *Plymouth and Plymouth Dock Telegraph*, Dec. 1st, 1814, by Mr. W. Burt, secretary to the Port of Plymouth Chamber of Commerce, wherein he says:

"I have been so lucky as to meet with a person employed

* Introduction, pp. xxiii., xxiv.

† Binns's *Century of Potting in Worcester*.

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in it during his youthful days, from whom I collected the following particulars. It was instituted by Mr. Cookworthy of Plymouth (commonly styled the great Cookworthy, through his being considered one of the first chemists in the kingdom), and some gentlemen in Bristol; who, envying its flourishing condition, and wishing to transport it to that city, removed it thither about forty-two years since, whence, after some time, it was transferred to Staffordshire. While it continued at Plymouth, there was such a demand at home and abroad, particularly in America, for its articles, which consisted of enamelled and blue and white china of all descriptions, both ornamental and useful, that they could hardly be made fast enough. The fuel consumed in the manufactory was principally wood, and from fifty to sixty persons were engaged in its various processes. The manufactory buildings adjoin the sugar-house in Mr. Bishop's timber-yard, and have retained the name of the China House. The original shop for vending the manufacture, still used as a china-shop, remains in Nut Street, Plymouth. Mr. Bone, the celebrated enamel painter, in London, learnt his art and was brought up in this manufactory. . . . . Mr. Cookworthy, proprietor of the manufactory, carried its productions, particularly the glaze and gilding, to the highest perfection. The latter adhered under all circumstances, the gold being first dissolved in aqua regia, and then applied as a paint; after which the glaze was laid on.' "

Here we have a very different account of the Plymouth factory to that drawn by Mr. Owen, and one which I think we may treat as substantially accurate, though it certainly does contain some errors. That large quantities of the china were sent to America I have been fortunate enough to obtain corroborative evidence from friends in New England, where the Plymouth china is as highly valued by collectors as it is at home. The reference to some gentlemen in Bristol evidently points to Cookworthy's connection with Champion. The points that I think of most importance are—the statement with regard to the success of the manufacture as an art, the references to the quality of the decoration, and the allusion to the date of the removal to Bristol, which would place that event about 1772.

The two particulars in which Burt was either misinformed or drew mistaken inferences were, first, that the works flourished in a pecuniary sense;* and secondly, that they were situated at the spot still known as the China House.

* See Lord Camelford's letter.

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It is quite true that Mr. Cookworthy was in some way connected with these premises, but that they were never used as a pottery I think I shall be able to prove. The first reference to them that occurs in the Plymouth rate-books is in 1769, when "Thomas Veale, Esq.," is rated in £5 for Mr. Cookworthy's "storehouse," &c. Veale was the lessee of Sutton Pool. In the previous year's rate there is no mention of any such premises belonging to Cookworthy, or occupied by Veale; but reference is made to "Late Bray's house in ruins," and "Late Hawkin's, late Bennett's, and late Gimblett's houses in ruins;" and as these valuable properties are omitted from the rate of 1769, and do not thereafter appear, and as moreover they were evidently in close contiguity to the Sugar House, then occupied by Michael Fanning (which adjoins the so-called China House), I think it clear that in the interim they had been replaced by "Cookworthy's storehouse." Of this storehouse, if the rate-books are any evidence at all, Cookworthy was never in occupation. Veale was rated for it down to 1777, when there occurs a gap of some years in the rate-books.

It was years after Cookworthy had anything to do with these premises that they obtained the name of the China House. In the absence of the missing books the exact date cannot be fixed; but the earliest instance of the use of the name I know is in 1786, when Mr. John Hawker is rated for the China House, which is thenceforward for many years, with one remarkable exception, entered under that name. The exception is in 1795, where the entry is "for Chimmo Ho and Gard;" and it is a curious fact that some years previously a certain Benjamin Chimmo did reside in the locality.

But if the "China House" was not the pottery, where was the china made? Mr. Owen assumes, from an entry in the Plymouth rate-books, communicated to him by Mr. F. Fry, of Bristol, that the works were in what was then known as the "Beginning of Old Town Ward." The entry is, that in 1770 Ed. Robinson, Esq., was rated for Mr. Cookworthy's mills; nd Mr. Owen infers thence that in this year the manufactory f Plymouth china at Plymouth ceased to exist. The claims of "Cookworthy's mills," however, are easily settled. An examination of the books shows that they were never in Cookworthy's possession. In 1750 they are mentioned as late Robinson's mills. In 1765 Peter Symons had the millhouse, "now Robinson's." In 1768 Robinson was rated for mills, "late Symons's." In 1769 Robinson still occupied them;

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but they were then said, as in 1770, to be Cookworthy's. In 1771 Robinson was rated for them as his own property. No question has ever been raised that china was made in Plymouth between 1768 and 1770; and here, as in the case of the China House, there is conclusive evidence that the premises were not in Cookworthy's occupation during that period.

And this leads to my own solution of the problem, which is based on an examination of the rate books over the whole period of Cookworthy's residence in Plymouth. Cookworthy resided and carried on business in Notte Street. In 1746 he occupied the "late Mr. Cown's house" in Higher Vintry Ward. In 1750 he was rated in £15 for Thomas Brent's house in the same ward, and his personal estate was rated at £10, the highest assessment in that ward; indeed, there were only ten persons more highly rated on their personal estate in the whole borough. In 1759 Cookworthy had moved to Madame Ilbert's house in Market Street Ward; for which, in the following year, he and his brother Philip were rated jointly. Five years later they occupied also Elias King's house. The pottery however could have been in none of these.

The clue to the mystery I find in an entry in the rate-book of 1765—"W. Cookworthy, for fore and back part of Weeks's house." This was in Higher Vintry Ward. When Cookworthy took possession of these premises I cannot say, in the absence of the records for the intermediate years; but it was after 1760, since in that year Weeks was rated for them. Cookworthy held them until 1776, when they passed into the possession of Peter Swain, who was rated in 1777.

These premises are still standing. They are among the oldest buildings in Plymouth, relics of one of the ancient religious houses of the town, and are on the eastern side of High Street, immediately to the north of Vintry Street. They were well adapted for Cookworthy's purpose. Not only were they roomy and substantial, and conveniently situated as regarded his ordinary business establishment; but they had long been used as a bakehouse, and when he left them returned to their old use. Indeed, it is only within a year or two that the baking business has ceased to be carried on therein.

Mr. Owen denies that perfect facility in manufacturing hard porcelain was ever attained at Plymouth. To hold that it was "is a delusion, and it is time it was dispelled."* The

* *Two Centuries*, p. 77.

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authority for this statement, such as it is, is twofold. Champion, in defending his application for the enlargement of Cookworthy's patent from the attacks of Wedgwood and other Staffordshire potters, states "that his hazard and expense were many times greater than that of the original inventor," and claims that he supported it, "when the inventor declined the undertaking himself, with his time, his labour, and his fortune, and improved it from a very imperfect to an almost perfect manufacture." Then Lord Camelford, writing to Polwhele, the historian, Nov. 30th, 1790, says that the china works at Plymouth were undertaken by Cookworthy "upon a *friend of his* having discovered on an estate of mine, in the parish of St. Stephens, a certain white saponaceous clay, and close by it a species of granite or moorstone, white with greenish spots. . . . . The difficulties found in proportioning properly these materials, so as to give exactly the necessary degree of vitrification and no more, and other niceties with regard to the manipulation, discouraged us from proceeding in this concern, after we had procured a patent for the use of our materials, and expended on it between two and three thousand pounds."

I do not think that either of these statements goes the length that Mr. Owen would have us believe. Champion had to make out a personal case against a very strong opposition, and there is no doubt that he said all he could in his own favour. But if what he had bought was so poor and worthless, why should he have agreed, as he did agree, to allow Cookworthy and his heirs a profit equal to the first cost of the materials? And as to Lord Camelford, he is clearly wrong, on Cookworthy's own authority, in ascribing to a friend, and not to Cookworthy himself, the discovery at St. Stephens; and all that he states further is that they were discouraged from proceeding by certain practical difficulties, which may fairly be interpreted to mean that, while success was achieved in the production of various articles, that success was not always certain; in other words, that a good deal of labour and material were wasted.

But the point does not rest here. There are extant a number of very fine pieces of china bearing the undisputed Plymouth mark. These Mr. Owen claims for Bristol, and assigns to the "W. Cookworthy and Co." period; simply, as it would appear, because of their high quality. Indeed he has no other authority. We have quite as good a right to claim them for Plymouth, while if they were made by "W. Cookworthy and Co.," Cookworthy is certainly entitled to

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some of the credit.* That the pieces which bear both the Plymouth and the Bristol marks are Bristol ware, and of this date, I readily grant.

My general conclusions are:—

1. That Cookworthy discovered the china clay and china stone somewhere between 1745 and 1750.

2. That having made numerous experiments with these materials at Plymouth, he obtained an insight into the details of the potter's art, possibly at Worcester, certainly at Bristol.

3. That having succeeded in making true porcelain at Plymouth, he originated a manufactory at Bristol before January, 1764, which was given up by February, 1766.

4. That china was being manufactured by him at his Plymouth factory prior to the date of the patent, March 17th, 1768.

5. That he was concerned in the manufacture both at Plymouth and at Bristol up to May 6th, 1774; but that the Plymouth works probably did little after 1772.

6. That at Plymouth china was manufactured in large quantities both for home and colonial markets.

7. That although the works were not successful in a pecuniary sense, they were in a manufacturing; and that while in its early days the ware was coarse and rough, it was brought to a very high degree of perfection, alike in body, modelling, and ornament.

8. That the ware bearing the Plymouth mark is really Cookworthy's, and Plymouth made, though in a few instances the mark may have been used at Bristol by W. Cookworthy and Co.

9. That the ware bearing the double mark was made at Bristol during the W. Cookworthy and Co. period.

10. That the Plymouth China Factory was not on the China House premises, but in High Street, near Cookworthy's residence and place of business.

* Pryce in his *Mineralogia* speaks of the manufacture of porcelain at Bristol as being, under Cookworthy's direction, "likely to be rendered not less elegant and durable than the best oriental china." Pryce published in 1778, but his book was written piecemeal during previous years.

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ST. BONIFACE AND HIS CORRESPONDENCE.

BY EDMUND BISHOP.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

FEW historical memorials present greater interest than collections of letters. Written amidst the circumstances of the time whilst the course of events is not as yet fully developed, they convey the liveliest impression of the hopes and fears, aspirations and regrets, of the writers. Mediæval letters form no exception to the rule; indeed, in times when literary activity was mostly confined to the sphere of theology, it is by means of the correspondence which has been preserved that the mere outline of formal documents can be filled in, and the dry and scanty details of the chronicles vivified.

The earliest of these epistolary collections in the middle ages—for those of Cassiodorus and Gregory the Great belong rather to the close of the ancient civilization than to the beginnings of the new—centres round the name of St. Boniface, the greatest and earliest of the Devonshire worthies.* The compiler has not restricted himself to such pieces only as immediately concern the saint, nor confined his attention to documents of direct historical importance. This would appear to have been his first design,† but fortunately the plan was afterwards extended. Letters of all kinds which might illus-

* See Mr. King's vindication of the Devonshire origin of St. Boniface in the *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological Society* for 1874, pp. 58-73. It may be added that the reading of the name on which doubt is thrown is, in the best MSS. of Willibald's life (those of Freisingen and Reichenau), "Adescancastre." The later German MSS., copied, as Mr. Freeman rightly observes, and edited by men who were not likely to know much of English geography, afford some pretty variations, which leave however the name still sufficiently recognizable. In the three MSS due to English scribes which have not been collated for the editions, the readings are: "Adexancestre" in the Gray's Inn MS. 3 (eleventh century), folio 99v°. and Cotton MS. Titus D. iii. (thirteenth century), folio 166v°.; and "Adexanceastre" in Cotton MS. Nero C. vii. (also thirteenth century), folio 60v°.

† See page 8 of *Monumenta Moguntina*, ed. Jaffé, Berlin, 1866, containing the best edition of St. Boniface's letters, with some of the lives; to which volume reference is made throughout this paper.

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trate the labours of the English apostles of Germany were brought together without regard to their relative importance, or to the order of time. By the side of a papal letter of weighty instructions is a complimentary note from a nameless nun. Kings and monks, priests and archbishops, abbots and students, all bear their part in the active correspondence which Boniface and his friends maintained with England and France, with Whitherne and Rome. Wordy, if earnest, exhortations to virtue, requests for prayers for the living and the dead, accounts of visions of heaven or hell, neat little literary exercises, a slave's marriage affairs, letters of introduction for high-born pilgrims, are intermingled with acts of councils, deliberations on missionary work, episcopal reproofs of royal sinners, arrangements for common synodical action in England and Germany, for the settlement of new ecclesiastical provinces across the Rhine, or the reform of those on the hither side. The compiler has not hesitated to gather up everything coming within his reach that might concern St. Boniface and his companions. In his eyes all relics of those venerable men were precious; for they were memorials of the exiles who, not long before, for the love of God, had left parents and relatives, home and country, to bring to his fathers the gospel light. From this point of view documents of great and small, treating of questions of mean import, or of the widest reach, were to him of equal value. Centuries have passed away, and to most people Boniface and Lullus, Burchard and Willibald, Berthgit and Lioba, have become mere names or traditions, if even so much. Their work is done, and the agents have been forgotten. But the simple and undiscriminating devotion of the nameless monk, who brought together this farrago of documents, renders it possible now, after the lapse of eleven centuries, not merely to learn the main outlines of the story of the English mission in Germany as drawn out in set biographies, but to realise the living personalities of the missioners, and to enter into the joys and sorrows of their pilgrimage.

It was by this name that St. Boniface designated his apostolic labours.* The faith had hardly gained a firm footing in England before the minds of men seemed drawn with different intent to Rome and Germany, the sources whence they had derived their spiritual and their national life. Each was a pilgrimage. The visit to the tombs of the apostles was the sacrifice of personal ease, offered as a testimony of thankfulness for a divine gift of the truth which

* p. 238, *et passim.*

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had been preached by the disciples of St. Gregory—a gift of which an adequate recognition was impossible. On the other hand, the debt which was due by the English in the natural order to those from whom they traced their race and origin was early recompensed by a benefit not less than that which they themselves had received from Rome. The missionary spirit, the true test of a living Christianity, soon developed itself in the church of the English, nor did the vastness of the work still to be done at home act as a deterrent. The recent converts surrendered themselves to their vocation, and trusted that He who had inspired them with an eager desire to preach His word to those who had not yet heard it, would provide labourers to cultivate the newly-planted vineyard, which they abandoned in obedience to the divine call. The thoughts of those Englishmen who first meditated on the mission, Egbert and Victberct, Willibrord and Swithbert, turned at once to the shores of Germany. "Have pity on them," cries St. Boniface, asking for the prayers of the whole English nation for the success of his labours, "have pity on these Pagan Saxons, for they themselves entreat you, saying, We are of one blood and of one bone with you."*

From his earliest years St. Boniface had been accustomed to the idea of a missionary life. The clergy in the neighbourhood of his birthplace had no fixed abode, but wandered from village to village, supplying the spiritual needs of the population;† and it can hardly have been by mere accident that a disciple of St. Aldhelm, making one of those little literary presents in which friends then delighted, dedicates to Boniface, some ten or twelve years before he entered on his missionary work, a poem on "The Pilgrimage beyond the Seas."‡ It cannot be doubted but that during the twenty-five or thirty years of his monastic life the idea was constantly before him; and his subsequent career shows with what stedfastness and care he was preparing himself for his mission. During this time of his youth he must have been influenced by the two forces then working powerfully in England—the striving for church order and the love of learning—both of which found their representative in the great Archbishop Theodore, "the Græco-Latin monk, educated at Athens, ordained at Rome, dignified with the pallium, and sent over to judge and rule the island of Britain."§ This task none could be more qualified than Theodore to perform. Endowed with an exceptional capacity for organization, an unbending will, and an unwavering resolution, he consti-

* p. 107. † p. 432. ‡ p. 37. § p. 185.

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tuted into a corporation, a coherent whole, with its due subordinations and degrees, the Christian congregations and communities in England, hitherto almost as divided and independent of each other as the civil states.

From his days dates that "London Synod" to which St. Boniface appeals with an affectionate reverence.* It is clear that this latter shared also to the full that love of learning which, excited by Theodore and his companions, especially distinguishes England in the eighth century. In his quite early years he devoted himself night and day "to the pastime of letters"† in such measure as the little monastery of Exeter, which he had entered when but five years old, could afford; but this was too restricted for the youth, and the want of competent instructors‡ made him desirous to pass on to some monastery nearer the centres of literary activity. It is not improbable that Aldhelm, the great teacher in the western parts, who on one occasion passed through Devonshire into Cornwall,§ may have helped him to the attainment of his wishes.

Every age has its own ambition in its literary efforts. In the time of Aldhelm it would seem that the great objects to be compassed by the English scholar were the composition of verses and a knowledge of Greek. Doubtless every respect is due to the Theodores and the Adrians and to those of their disciples, who in the next generation knew Latin and Greek as well as their own language;‖ nevertheless, if the works of Aldhelm may be taken as a sample of their productions, it can hardly be a subject of regret that these have not been preserved. His books are quite enough to try ordinary patience in the reading, as they probably exercised his own in the composition. As he justly observes, "How the secret elements of the metrical art are combined in letters, words, feet, poetical forms, verses, sounds, measures—how the modulative doctrine of sevenfold division, the acephalos, lagaros, procilos, and the rest, is varied—how monoschemes, how pentaschemes, how decaschemes terminate in a certain measure of feet—and how catalectic, brachi-catalectic or hypercatalectic verses are adjusted with cunning art—all these things, I think," he says, with a pardonable self-complacency, in writing to his friend Bishop Daniel to explain why he cannot write, "all these, I think, and the like of them, can in nowise be grasped in a short interval of time, and in the twinkling of an eye."¶ But more remains behind; there was

* pp. 114, 185. † p. 434. ‡ p. 435. § pp. 37, 38.
‖ Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 1, 2; v. 23. ¶ p. 33.

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summing to be done, be it remembered, without the aid of our expeditious Arabic numerals; and behind that come the processes of astronomical calculation. No wonder if, as Aldhelm says, "impending despair threatened to break the neck of his mind." It is hard to say whether his prose or poetry labours more heavily; ostentation seemed everywhere aimed at. Epithets are piled on epithets for the mere sake of elaboration, and multiplied figures of speech are made to do indiscriminate service.

At Nursling, whither St. Bonifice had retired on leaving Exeter, he carried on with redoubled ardour the study of letters as it was then pursued. From disciple he became master, and not only the brethren of his own monastery received his lessons, but those of other houses flocked to his instructions; and nuns too, who were bound to remain within their enclosure, must needs have some share in his lessons by written tractates. It was not to be expected that he should escape the influence of the prevailing literary fashions. In the earliest letter of his which has been preserved (characteristically enough an exhortation to study), he cannot refrain from employing a few Greek words, unfortunately somewhat to the prejudice of the sense. The style is of a turgidity almost worthy of St. Aldhelm himself; whilst at the end is a tag of verses, the first letters in the lines of which make up the word Nithardus, the name of his correspondent.*

But the progress of his letter-writing shows that he had too much good sense to be long captivated by such trivialities. This practical sense had not escaped the notice of his superiors, who had seen how thoroughly he had mastered the monastic precept† of learning by obedience the way to rule. His tact in dealing with men must have already become matured before King Ine and his West Saxon Synod could have confided to a monk, who had not yet been brought into contact with the world, the delicate duty of a mission to Canterbury for the archbishop's consent to their proceedings. His advancement to the highest dignities in his own country would probably have been only a question of time; but he suffered nothing to interfere with his vocation of a messenger to those yet in pagan darkness.

His zeal was drawn from the purest source. A divine inspiration impelled him forward. "It is the Lord of mercy," he declares, "who is the cause of his pilgrimage."‡ Its aim did not rest in the immediate objects of his charity. "That

* pp. 51–53. † p. 435. ‡ p. 238.

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the word of the Lord, that the gospel of Christ, may run and be glorified," he repeats again and again, is the end of his desires.* On his return from a short and fruitless essay in Frisia, he finds his monastic brethren anxious to elect him on the death of the abbot, their father and pastor. But no entreaties could move him, and the next spring he finally enters on the German mission, to which the rest of his life was devoted.

The prospect before him was dreary enough. It was not merely an apostolate among the heathen, but the Christian populations on the west of the Rhine and their pastors were in a state almost more desperate than the pagans. To be of use in the mission, they must first themselves be reformed. All ecclesiastical rule and discipline had been trodden under foot. The episcopal sees were for the most part in the hands of laymen, whose only care was to draw the revenues, whilst such bishops as there were were fit only to bring discredit on the office to which they had been consecrated. St. Boniface's predecessor in the see of Mentz may serve as an example perhaps of the more creditable sort. His father Geroldus, also a "venerable" bishop of Mentz, rides out against some plundering Saxons, and is killed. The son, Gewilib, a layman, but a favourite in the palace, receives his father's preferment as a consolation for the loss of a parent. He is made a clerk, and receives his see. Shortly after another expedition is undertaken against the Saxons. Gewilib is of the number, and takes advantage of the occasion to seek further and personal consolation for his grief. He sends a servant to the enemy's camp, to ascertain who it was that killed Bishop Gerold. The warrior is discovered, and decoyed apart; the new bishop sets off on his horse, intent on filial duty. Reaching the river's bank he rushes on the man, and with a shout, "There, take the steel with which I avenge my father!" he cuts him down on the spot. The deed is applauded in the Frankish camp, and no one imagines the bishop has done anything incompatible with his episcopal character.† The best of these prelates took credit to themselves for only being neglectful of their sacred duties and drunkards. Such was the condition of the majority of the more respectable of the clergy; as for the bad, they were mighty and strenuous in their sins.‡ What hopes could Boniface have in common with such as these? Two conditions were indispensable for the prosecution of his

* pp. 107, 213, 237, 239, 257. † pp. 471–2, 496–7.
‡ pp. 112–3, 116, 118–9.

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work. The co-operation of men who would give themselves heart and soul to the mission, and a protector, with authority beyond question, on whose effectual assistance and support he could rely in every varied emergency. For the first he looked to his own nation alone. The mission was distinctly an English mission. To the end his fellow-labourers were of his own country. "They are almost all pilgrims" from across the sea, he says, in one of his latest letters.* The second he could not hope to find among the English kinglets; Duke Charles was too indifferent to things not mundane, and too busy in his necessary military expeditions to be relied on for aid in such work. In Rome he sought that *point d'appui*, without which he would probably have laboured in vain; and for the nearly forty years of his pilgrimage, the help he looked for from thence never failed him.

In this step of his lies the secret of the different event of the English and Irish missions in Germany; for it is to be observed that Boniface had already been preceded by wanderers from Ireland, the glory of whose labours his own has eclipsed. To them was wanting that which pre-eminently marked the work of the Englishman—unity of direction, cohesion, system. The Irish formed, here and there, isolated congregations having no common life, and holding apparently but little communication with their own country, or regular intercourse with the source of ecclesiastical life in western Christendom. These communities had no permanent influence of their own, and became absorbed in the more powerful movement of our countryman. He pursued a contrary policy. With him ecclesiastical organization and obedience, and a close dependence on Rome, which was the centre of both, were of primary importance. His success, his very name of Apostle of the Germans, attest the soundness of his judgment. Recent writers tell us that it was Theodore, who really and substantially effected the establishment of Christianity in England. Yet the memory of Theodore has never succeeded in depriving St. Augustine of the special title of Apostle. In Germany, St. Boniface came late into the field, but it is not without justice that he has in the popular mind effaced the remembrance of those who went before.

Once embarked on his missionary career, his activity knew no bounds. Though his fellow-labourers might have a fixed abode, he was ever moving from place to place, and directing the efforts of each: He thus took the most effectual means of inspiring all with his own fervour of zeal, and of maintain-

* p. 231.

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ing a unity of spirit and intention amongst his companions. Once indeed, after twenty years of continuous labour, he expressed a wish to have a settled home;* but at the persuasion of the Pope he resumed his weary pilgrimage, and carried it on to the end. In questions of doctrine and discipline he took his stand on the firm ground of tradition. His first recourse in doubtful matters was to the ancient canons and pontifical decrees,† the holy laws of our fathers.‡ When these gave no sufficient answer, he was not content to rest in his own sense; enquiries were despatched on all sides as occasion served. His letters to Rome are mostly a string of questions; he seeks advice at Canterbury, or York, or Whitherne, and sometimes of those who had been his scholars in England; with painful perseverance he takes every possible measure to obtain light to settle his doubts, and he does not forget to weigh the opinions of his companions, "the servants of God here, versed in the Scriptures."§ In acting thus he was doubtless conscious of a want of mental acumen. He could take in facts, and in practice deal with men; but before causes and reasons he is often powerless. A priest unacquainted with Latin mispronounces the formula of baptism: Boniface decides for re-baptism; and the Pope has to point out to him that a merely ignorant mispronunciation, although of words so weighty, without heretical intent cannot invalidate the sacrament.‖ In such a case as this, it is not improbable that his judgment was further warped by an over-scrupulousness of conscience from which he never thoroughly freed himself. He had been brought up in a school where the rigidity of Celtic and Eastern asceticism had met on common ground. The Eastern monk, who from Canterbury was the guide and teacher of the English church in St. Boniface's younger years, had in his Penitential given no unfitting expression to the spirit of unbending severity which animated the Irish missioners in the north.

Passing from the discipline and regularity of the cloister in those early and fervent days, and brought suddenly face to face with the disordered and corrupt society of the Franks, it is hardly to be wondered at that Boniface found intercourse with the pagans almost more tolerable than with his co-religionists. He writes to Bishop Daniel, of Winchester: "Forced as I am to go to the palace and seek protection for my fellow-labourers in their work, I cannot, in compliance with the holy canons, avoid commerce with this homicidal,

* p. 106. † p. 95. ‡ p. 208.
§ pp. 180, 208. ‖ p. 108; cp. pp. 186, 188.

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this adulterous clergy, to whose ideas our work is utterly foreign; but at least we keep out of their counsel, and do not communicate with them in the holy mysteries. But still I fear to incur a fault, even by my personal intercourse with them; for I remember that at the time of my ordination, in accordance with the pope's command, I swore by the holy body of St. Peter that I would have nothing to do with such men if I could not bring them back to a life in accordance with ecclesiastical rule. On the other hand, I fear still more the loss which may ensue to my mission-work if I do not go to the prince of the Franks; and thus I am in sadness and in doubt."* The bishop was an old and trusted friend, who, when Boniface first set out on the mission, had recommended his designs to the favourable consideration of Rome, and had written to him a letter of instructions how to deal with the heathen, a letter full of good sense, that might be read with advantage by many a missionary† of the present day. His reply to Boniface's complaints is full of kindness and counsel, but he bids him beware of breaking the bonds of ecclesiastical unity in thus seeking to gather round himself a congregation composed only of the perfect; and drily adds, "If you must needs cut yourself off from all intercourse with false brethren, what other advice can I give you but to see about getting out of the world altogether, for people of that sort manage to infiltrate themselves everywhere." He then bids him, by the example and parables of our Lord, and by the precepts of the fathers, exercise a wise condescension.‡ This reasonable advice Boniface could not make up his mind to follow. Even in his last days, unburdening his soul to the pope, he writes: "In spirit I have always observed my oath to turn aside from these false priests, for I have had no counsel with them; but when, for the sake of the churches under my charge, I went to the palace, I could not help coming in contact with them. Nevertheless, in the holy communion of the body of Christ, I have never communicated with them."§

Unyielding as he thus showed himself, even in quarters where it was most his interest to conciliate, and where it might have been thought he would, in deference to the persuasion of those whose sound judgment he had every reason to trust, at least strive, to compound with his conscience, it is singular with what success he could win to himself the confidence and attachment of persons most unlike in character and condition. Few probably could have felt less sympathy with St. Boniface, and his ways and works, than Charles, the

* pp. 158-9. † pp. 158-9. ‡ pp. 163-5. § pp 218-19.

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mayor of the palace. Busily engaged in repelling the invasion of the Saracens in the south, with the German tribes on his hands in the north, and under the necessity of strengthening his own somewhat precarious authority at home, he could be expected to care but little for the strangers who had come to preach the gospel. At best he would regard them, provided they refrained from unduly troubling him, as perhaps of service in softening the nature of the rough people across the Rhine, much as in our commercial days, the idea of a missionary is just tolerable to the minds of many in consideration of the fact that he belongs to a class that is or has been useful in taking the first steps to open up new countries for trade. Yet Boniface must have gained a large share of even Charles's good-will and respect before he commended to the solicitude of the English stranger his youngest son, the headstrong, and unfortunate Gripho;* whilst over the elder sons, Carloman and Pippin, the influence of Boniface was decisive. Such relations were fruitful indeed in great results, which may be read in the broad page of history; but in his private correspondence, where the man himself stands revealed, no characteristic is so prominent as that compassionate and sympathetic nature which evoked the affectionate confidence of the humble and the weak. Though divided by the sea, and without hope that they should ever look on his face again, those whom he had known in former days, but now desolate and bereft, turned to him in their distress. "Cruel death," writes a nun of the convent either of Winburne or of Thanet, probably the latter, where Boniface had been well known, "cruel death has separated me from my brother, whom I was wont to love above all others; and I trust in you that you will not be unmindful of that friendship which I know you had for him, and that you will now be to me both a brother and a father in the Lord. Never day or night passes without my calling to mind your instructions. Believe me then, for God is my witness, how sincere is my affection for you. And now that to my renewed grief my sister Wiethburg has passed away from my sight (seeking a life of seclusion in Rome near the tombs of the apostles†)—a separation more bitter to me than death—I am encompassed by grief and dread, and the vision of death. She has gone forth on the narrow path; for with her the love of Christ is stronger than every tie, and perfect love casts out fear. But I am still a child in spiritual things, and am detained by the fetters of human affection. I still, as is meet for me, weep

* p. 108. † Cp. p. 236.

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over my own sins in the valley of tears, that I am unworthy of such fellowship. But believe me, the tempest-tossed mariner does not so desire the haven, the parched meadows long not so eagerly for the showers, the anxious mother standing on the winding shore yearns not more for the arrival of her son, than I desire to be refreshed with the sight of your presence. My sins have cause that this may not be; but from this distant land my heart calls out to you entreating your prayers; for you are now become my hope, my tower of strength, from the face of the visible and invisible enemy."*

And again the Abbess Eangyth, of Thanet, in the troubles incident to the rule of her house, its poverty and oppression by the powerful, both in Church and State, writes to him in fullest confidence and reliance on the wise counsel of her most faithful friend: "We have lost our friends and relations. We have now neither father nor brother, son nor uncle left. Some have died in our country, and some, leaving their native shores, have sought in other lands the tombs of the apostles Peter and Paul, or of martyrs, or confessors, or virgins, whose names and number God knows. And thus in our necessities and misfortunes we have need of a faithful friend, who would make our perplexities and sorrows and griefs his own; who in his compassion would sustain us by his efforts and his counsels; to whom we could with trust and confidence unburden ourselves of our trials. We have sought long, and in you we are assured that we have found the friend we have hoped for and desired."†

Again his relative, Lioba, the only child of her parents, after her father's death, relies on St. Boniface to take a brother's place; "for in none among men," she says, "have I such confidence and hope as in you." She closes her letter with a little present of verses, to show her progress in the fashionable pursuit, begging him to excuse and correct the rusticity of the style — a formal matter, but one as to which not a few of St. Boniface's correspondents testify much concern. Then with guileless artifice she asks him to send her a letter in reply, "just to serve as a pattern for me."‡

To St. Boniface, the labours and trials of a missionary life appeared no excuse for the neglect of the duties of private friendship. It was not merely that he could not regard the care of his converts as absolving him from earlier ties; but his warmth of heart, and the steadfastness of his affections, rendered the mere fact of separation from home and country a heavy cross. "Not the least weighty tribulation and grief

* pp. 64, 66. † pp. 68, 69. ‡ pp. 83, 84.

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of my pilgrimage," he writes, "is the remembrance of those dear to me, but in a distant land. Oh, my brother, would that I had you near me as a consoler of this my pilgrimage, that I might take counsel with you, rejoice in the sight of your countenance, and be refreshed by your holy exhortations!"*

Nor did his absence from his own country render its interests and honour less dear to him. He never forgot that he was an Englishman born and bred. He rejoiced in what conduced to the glory of his race, and was cast down at its reproach.† It is to be feared that he was but too frequently compelled to listen in silence to just taunts in Italy and France, and even among the pagans, on account of the contempt of the English for the marriage-tie.‡ He notes drunkenness as even in those days a national vice, "the special sin of the heathens and of our nation," he writes;§ but he was hardly a teetotaler, since he could send as far as York, to Archbishop Egbert, two little kegs of wine, begging, "as a pledge of charity between us, that you will have a merry day therewith with your brethren."‖ The scandals moreover attending the frequent pilgrimages of women of all classes made the English name a by-word in every city, from the northern coast of France to Lombardy.¶ Boniface was not content with a mere lament over the failings of his people. Knowing well the influence of the example of the great, he attacked the evil directly in their persons. With episcopal freedom and plain speaking (for bishops in those days did generally speak very plainly), he addresses** Ethelbald, the powerful king of the Mercians, who thirty years before had been the hope of the ecclesiastical party in southern and middle England, and represents to him in words clear and unmistakeable the infamy of his life. Alternating weighty admonition with affectionate entreaty (for he had known him apparently in days long past††), he warns him to desist from his dissolute courses.

In this letter he also remonstrates with Ethelbald for his oppression of the monasteries. It has already been noticed that the abbess of St. Mildred's, in Thanet, complains of the royal exactions, which aggravated the poverty of her community. In Mercia and elsewhere the religious found themselves no longer secure in their enclosure, which was violated without scruple by the king and his officers. The privileges of the monasteries were withdrawn, and the heaviest fiscal

* p. 253. † p. 178. ‡ p. 273. § p. 210.
‖ p. 251. ¶ p. 208. ** pp. 163, 177. †† pp. 35, 37.

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burdens laid on the monks, whilst laymen were violently intruded into the place of the abbots.* It is probable that these circumstances contributed to swell the number of those who joined St. Boniface, and that in this way Zullus, his favourite disciple and successor, with his two brothers, came from Malmesbury.† But perseverance in the mission could be the result only of the truest charity and zeal. "The work here is dangerous and laborious to a degree in almost every way," writes home to his brethren at Glastonbury a priest who had just reached the scene of his labours among the pagan Saxons and Hessians; "we suffer in hunger and thirst, and are in constant dread of inroads from the heathen;" ‡ inroads which involved the destruction of churches, settlements, and monasteries.§ There was no better prospect to hold out than an abundant harvest, and few labourers to gather it in. "And what shall I say for myself," writes a missioner, urging his friend to take part in the work, "I who live subject to the rule and will of others? Possessions are not the fashion for us who dwell here, we have no more than our daily bread, and our poverty is extreme; but for that I grieve not; for the Lord is our consoler." ‖ Such privations must have been hard to endure; but how much heavier the anxieties of those who were pastors of the pastors, and had the charge and conduct of the entire mission! The labour involved in the mere duty of superintendence was a great and increasing demand on the physical powers; "but this fatigue of body," writes St. Boniface, "is less wearing by far than the continual tribulations of mind I have to undergo;" ¶ the solicitude, he might have added, for all the churches. For although as time went on he discharged a portion of his cares on the shoulders of others, whom he raised to the episcopal dignity, he was throughout the whole of his career the life and soul of the undertaking. At first he had devoted his whole personal endeavours to the work of gathering the heathen into the Christian fold. And herein his success would be incredible, had we not similar examples, in the earlier days of the Church, and later in the wonderful labours of a St. Francis Xavier. Within three or four years he could count his converts by thousands; and after twenty years of incessant devotion, the new Christians, even in those sparsely-populated

* pp. 170, 174, 208. † pp. 299, 109. ‡ p. 247.
§ On one occasion St. Boniface states that as many as thirty of his churches were burnt at one time, which he was busy rebuilding. (p. 259.)
‖ p. 312. ¶ p. 237.

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regions, numbered no less than a hundred thousand. His efforts were now directed to securing the permanence of his work, and in the success which attended the measures he took to compass this end lies the best proof of his practical wisdom.

On his return from his third Roman journey he gave fresh vigour to Christianity in Bavaria by reviving the hierarchy, which was now represented by a single member. He established new sees in the regions which he himself had won to the faith, designing, as legate of the apostolic see, to assemble a synod of all these prelates, together with those of southern and western Germany, with a view to re-establishing discipline, which had utterly collapsed. As might be expected, he adopted, and even accentuated, the traditional system of the church. He observed and demanded strict subordination in all degrees and relations of the ecclesiastical order. The priest in his eyes was the father, the pastor of the people, in whose service his whole life must be spent. And his own example was the best encouragement to his disciples to strive after a realization of so lofty an ideal. But the priest, while the servant of his people, in another light could be regarded only as the agent of the bishop, who again was directly subordinate to his metropolitan, whilst one and all were dependent on the supreme pontiff. Thus, by exact observance of due gradations and interdependence, the ecclesiastical body was compacted and knit together in unity.

To one who had so thoroughly made his own the spirit of the Ignatian maxim, "Do nothing without the bishop," the independent and isolated Irish settlements, with their priests owning no supervision, and often, it must be added, preaching strange doctrines, were a source of the keenest dissatisfaction. He looked at them with about the same favour as the "English episcopal chapels" in Scotland are, or at least a few years ago were, regarded by many an ecclesiastical purist on both sides of the Tweed; nor could he be expected to regard with greater affection the Irish regionary bishops, so-called because they had no particular region as a diocese, who would moreover have nothing to say to his authority. They were men, doubtless, of worth and merit; but, as a matter of fact, the direct results of their own unaided labours were small; and as wisdom is justified of her children, so in this world must the actual attainment of the end proposed be the best test of the practical qualifications of the agent. They have left their traces here and there in a monastery of their foundation, or as bare names in the scanty annals of the first half of the

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eighth century, or at most as hindrances to the work of the English missionaries; though in other times they have gained a purer fame as scholars and teachers in St. Gallen and Fulda, or as studious recluses in Ratisbon and Mentz. St. Boniface was able to bring into the field a class of helpers of whose devoted services the Irish missionaries did not avail themselves. The religious houses of women had played a large share in effecting the popularization of Christianity among his own people. Such an experience was not lost upon him. These communities were often founded by royal ladies, who were either counted among their members or undertook their direction. In addition to the study of the Holy Scriptures and to strictly claustral duties, the nuns were content with nothing less than a fair share of the literary culture of their times; and although they did not attack Greek, they aspired to be versifiers. Their letters, abounding in epithets and metaphors, must have passed muster with the most fastidious critic of those days; but even in the pursuit of fine style they could not wholly suppress their native good sense and good feeling.

From the beginning of his exile, St. Boniface had maintained a lively correspondence with the English nunneries, whose inmates showed themselves always ready to minister to his wants, and to testify their interest in his labours. The first to congratulate him on his successes was a nun of Thanet, who did not forget to send a more solid testimony of her regard, in a present of money and altar hangings.* At another time the presents were Lives of the Saints, or some of the canonical epistles written in letters of gold. St. Boniface on his side testified his gratitude by devoting some of his scanty leisure to compiling for his friend the abbess a series of classified extracts from Holy Scripture. It was these nuns, mostly of gentle and noble birth, that he at length called on to share his apostolate. It would be difficult to exaggerate the praises of these valiant and devoted women, who faced the dangers of a distant journey, only to bury themselves in wild and savage regions, exposed to hardships from which even strong men had shrunk.† There was never a nobler band of missionaries than these weak women, who thus left the English shores to soften and subdue by their own gentle example the rude natures of the new converts. Chunihilt and her daughter Berthgit, deeply versed in the liberal arts, were made superiors of the nuns who settled in Thuringia; Chunitrud and her companions were sent to sow

* p. 75; cp. pp. 98–99. † pp. 75, 237.

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the seeds of the word of God in Bavaria; Thecla was placed at Kitzingen, near the river Main; Walpurga, a relative of his own and sister of Willibald, whom he had made Bishop of Eichstädt, was settled at Heidenheim; whilst Lioba, who in her destitution had appealed to him in sisterly confidence, was placed at Bischoffsheim, near Mentz.* Willing as these religious were to complete the sacrifice of their lives to the service of their divine Master, it cost them a bitter effort to separate themselves from their country, their relatives, and their friends; and not infrequently the hope must have arisen in their minds that they might return to pass the remainder of their days in the land of their birth. Few things are more touching than the scanty remnants of correspondence of these exiles with their friends in England. "I have received your message and your presents," writes Berthgit to her only brother Balthard, after the death of her mother and companion Chunihild, "and I am ready and anxious, with the help of our Lord, to fulfil all your requests; but only come to me; for in no other way can I dry up the fountain of my tears. It continually comes back to my mind that, young as I am, I am bereft of my parents, and remain here alone; but our Lord has not abandoned me, and He has shielded me from harm. And now, my brother, I adjure and entreat you to remove sadness from my soul, for it hurts me sore; indeed, though your sojourn be but for the space of a day, and you set forth again whither you will, still sadness will depart from my soul and grief from my heart. But if it should not please you to fulfil my prayer, God knows that my love for you can never become lost. And now, to say the truth, I know not whether it would be better for me to go to you or to remain here. If it is indifferent to you, then in my mind I desire to go back where rest the remains of our friends, and finish there this temporal life, and thence reach the perfect mansion and realm of the living."

This appeal was without effect; and she writes again: "My soul is weary of my life for love of you, my brother; for I am alone and derelict, and destitute of friendly help. There are many gatherings together of the waters between you and me; let us nevertheless be joined together in affection, for true affection cannot be destroyed by distance. For I tell you that sadness has never departed from my soul, nor is my mind at rest even in sleep, for love is strong as death. Now therefore I entreat you, my brother well-beloved, to come to

* pp. 490–91.

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me, or to let me come to you, that I may see you before I die."

But this second time, too, she wrote in vain; and though hope was well-nigh extinct, she strives yet a third time, half-despairingly, to touch his heart: "How is it, my brother," she writes, "that you have allowed so long a time to pass, and that you have thus delayed to come to me? Why will you not think that I am alone in this land, and there is no other brother to visit me, nor any of my kindred to come to me? If it is because I have been as yet unable to do as much for you as I fain would have done, still you should not forget the duties of affection and kinship. Oh, brother! oh, my brother! how can you by your absence thus afflict me day and night with sorrow and grief? Do you not know full well that of all living I care for none more than for you? But I cannot tell you all by letter. And now I know for certain that you have no more care for me."*

St. Boniface was not unmindful of these devoted helpers of his who had particular need of his counsel and support. For Lioba he ever testified a special regard, both as being his kinswoman, and on account of those personal qualities which later secured to her the friendship of Charlemagne himself.

The death of Charles Martel, and the accession to power of his sons Carloman and Pippin, cleared the way for the reform of the Church of the Franks, an object which St. Boniface had held to be of primary importance for the permanence of his own special work. He must have always clearly felt how prejudicial to the life and vigour of the new communities which he had formed was the corrupt state of the neighbouring country, which had so long made profession of the Christian faith. And now that he was far advanced in years, and, as he says, almost ready † to go the way of all flesh, he added to all his other labours and cares the heavy burden of carrying through the reform so urgently called for. The energy which he displayed was natural to his character, but it must have been quickened by a sense of the importance of seizing so favourable a conjuncture. The Pope gave him the fullest powers, the temporal rulers were ready to second all his efforts, whilst the veneration with which he was now universally regarded secured to him personally a commanding authority, which rendered comparatively easy the always invidious task of reform.

The testimony of his success is the great Carolingian age,

* pp. 312, 313; p. 310. † p. 97.

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with its vigorous legislation, its revived ecclesiastical life, its literary activity. And when the outward attributes and name of royalty were transferred from the effete Merovingians to the new line, who already possessed the power, it was fitting that the stranger prelate, who was the unconscious source of the characteristic greatness of the new era, should pour out the royal unction on the first anointed prince of the Franks.

The gratitude and veneration of Pippin could readily have secured to Boniface a dignified retreat for his few remaining days, but his eyes were already fixed on another land; and the only use which he made of the king's good-will was to obtain for those whom he was to leave after him a continuance of the royal protection. "Salute for me our glorious . . . . . king," he says, writing to Fulrad, abbot of St. Denis, and acting prime minister; "thank him for the many deeds of goodness he has done for me; and tell him what seems likely to me and my friends. It seems to us, by my infirmities, that I must soon finish this earthly life, and the course of my days. I pray that he would deign to let me know now in my lifetime what benefits he will confer on my disciples; for they are almost all strangers. Some are priests, scattered about in many places, actively engaged in the mission; some are monks; and some are children being taught and trained in our houses; some again are aged, who for a long time have laboured with me." He writes also to Pippin himself, begging him to assent to the institution of his disciple Lullus in the see of Mentz: "I am anxious," he adds, "about all my companions, that they be not scattered after my death like sheep having no pastor, and that the peoples near the pagan border may not lose the law of Christ; for my priests there lead a life of the greatest poverty. Bread to eat they can indeed get, but raiment they cannot have, unless they can obtain help, as I have helped them hitherto. Deign to let me know by these my messengers, or by your letters, whether you will accord me my petition, that I may live or die glad at heart."

That Pippin assented is clear from St. Boniface's last letter to him. "May Jesus Christ," he says, "give you an eternal reward in heaven for graciously granting my petitions, and consoling me in my old age and infirmity. And now, my glorious son, know that I think that, by God's mercy, I can still do something in your service; and therefore that I may carry out your will, I beg of you to let me know if you wish me to go to your council." *

His last days were approaching, and these he desired

* pp. 231–2, 268.

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to consecrate to what had been the business of his life. Frisia was the first scene of his missionary labours, and thither he seemed impelled to return to finish his course and receive his reward. "I cannot keep myself back from the journey," he said to his successor Lullus, in giving him his last instructions and commands, "for the time of my death is drawing near, the day of my deliverance is at hand." The bitter grief of the friends who had followed him so long could not make him swerve from his purpose. In the spring-time, taking with him a small band of priests and religious, he went down the Rhine, crossed the Zuider-Zee, and passing from island to island, preached through the length and breadth of Friesland. His old successes seemed renewed; thousands flocked to him for baptism; and, like another Martin, he broke down on all sides the temples of the idols, to replace them with churches. Early in June he reached the northern extremity of the country, and fixed his tents on the banks of the little river Bordne, not far from the German Ocean. To this spot he had directed that the recently baptized should come to receive confirmation from his hands. But the neophytes were forestalled. The sun had hardly risen on the appointed day when there rushed down towards the encampment an armed band. The attendants of the missionaries, aroused by the noise, saw at once the object of this hostile visit, and threw themselves before their master's tent. But he was already on foot; and taking the relics which he always carried with him, he advanced, and cried out, "Cease, my children, cease from the conflict, and lay down your arms. Now at last the longed-for day has come; the glad moment of my departure is here." Then turning to the band of clerics, soon to be his companions in martyrdom, "Have courage, my brethren; suffer not yourselves to be affrighted by those who can kill the body only. Place in the Lord the anchor of your hope, and bear with constancy the pain of a moment here, that you may reign with Christ for ever."

The infuriated multitude had now the way open to the objects of their vengeance, who essayed neither flight nor defence; one after another was struck down. Boniface remained the last, and placing on his head the book of the gospels, the reading of which had been the delight of his life, he fell under the fatal blows.*

* pp. 462-5, 479, 506. A wood near the scene of martyrdom was still in the seventeenth century called the wood of the slaughter. (AA. SS. Boll. Jun. i. p. 456.)

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There is no cause for surprise if, even in those times of slow communication, all western Europe was stirred with the news of such an end to such a life. Lullus, at Mentz, whom Boniface had loved before all others,* was inundated with requests for information as to his life and death from Tuscany, from the extreme limits of Gaul, from all parts of Germany, from Britain.† Within the very year of the martyrdom the English synod hastened to decree the observance of the day as a solemn festival; and to mark the more emphatically in what estimation they held him, they associated him with St. Gregory and St. Augustine, the apostles of England, as their special patron.‡ But some who had known Boniface in early days, and did not live to see the full development of his greatness, struck a still higher note in his praise, considering his labours worthy of comparison with nothing less than those of the first preachers of Christianity.§ And there is no reason why they should wish to retract their words as expressing the too partial feelings of friends; for they only anticipated the sentence pronounced alike by the cold voice of history‖ and the unerring judgment of the church.¶

* p. 265. † p. 430. ‡ p. 263.

§ p. 162. "Incœptio gloriosa—quæ est, ut arbitror, apostolicis coequanda certaminibus," says Bishop Daniel of Winchester. (p. 65.)

‖ *e.g.* Maclear, in his *Christian Missions during the Middle Ages*, writing of Boniface: "The roll of missionary heroes since the days of the apostles can point to few more glorious names, to none perhaps that has added to the dominion of the gospel regions of greater extent or value, or that has exerted a more powerful influence on the history of the human race." (p. 208.)

¶ Multas gentes, multa hominum millia Christo acquisivit Beatus Bonifacius, *magnam remunerationem cum sanctis Apostolis vir Apostolicus* in cælo comparavit. (Breviary Office for the feast of St. Boniface.)

FOSSIL FISH OF NORTH DEVON.

BY TOWNSHEND M. HALL, M.A.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

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THE JUSTICES OF THE PEACE FOR THE COUNTY OF DEVON IN THE YEAR 1592.

BY A. H. A. HAMILTON.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

SOME of you may have seen an article which appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* for June last, entitled "Quarter Sessions under Queen Elizabeth," and founded upon the records of this county. I may perhaps be permitted to take this opportunity of bringing forward certain details of local interest, drawn from the same source, which I thought it best to omit in a paper intended for general reading.

Almost at the commencement of the records we find a list of fifty-five justices, probably the whole number in the county. The subject is introduced by a letter from the Lords of the Council to the Lord-Lieutenant (the Earl of Bath), Sir William Courtenay, Sir John Gilbert, and Sir Francis Drake. I venture to quote it at length, as showing the endeavours of the Government of Elizabeth to reform the commission of the peace, and to purge it of those who were called "Popish recusants."

"After our hearty commendations. The Queen's Majesty being lately informed that sundry persons in many of the counties of her realm, being placed to be Justices of the Peace, yet have not taken such oaths as by the laws and statutes of the realm they ought to have taken before they might exercise such office, hath therefore thought very necessary to have speedy remedy hereof. And for that purpose, considering it is uncertain who they are that have not taken the said oath, Her Majesty's pleasure is (without intent to prejudice such as have their oath), that by virtue of these our letters before the 20th day of November next, or within fifteen days after the receipt of these our letters, you shall procure a

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Sessions of the Peace to be holden at such open and accustomed place within that county as is used, and by notice and warning from you to be given, to require and cause that all the Justices of the Peace dwelling in that county be personally present at the same Sessions, after the usual manner of keeping Sessions for the Peace, to the accomplishment of Her Majesty's pleasure and service. At which time and place you occupying the place of Custos Rotulorum, and you the Sheriff, with such others of the said Justices as shall be appointed by Her Majesty's writ of *Dedimus potestatem* that shall be directed unto you and them for that purpose, shall require all and every of the Justices of the Peace there present openly and publicly to take the oath accustomed for the Justices of the Peace, and the oath also of Her Majesty's supremacy, as is prescribed by the statutes, and therein you and as many of the other Commissioners appointed by the said writ of *Dedimus potestatem* as shall be then and there present shall make due return of the said writ under your hands, thereby certifying unto the Chancery how many of the said Justices shall in the said Sessions have taken their said oaths, so as the same may come to me, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, without any unnecessary delay, to be recorded in the Chancery. And if any of the said Justices that shall be there at the said Sessions shall refuse or forbear to take the said oaths, you shall also cause the same to be in like sort certified to me the Lord Keeper. And therewith you shall declare to me every such person so refusing or forbearing, that Her Majesty's pleasure is that he shall from that time forbear to exercise the office of a Justice of Peace until he shall conform himself so to do, and be newly placed in commission and sworn accordingly. And if any Justice dwelling in that county, and being warned to come unto the said particular Sessions, shall not come thither, you shall by your letters declare unto him that Her Majesty will have him forbear from the exercise of that office until he shall have taken those oaths, either in the Chancery before me the Lord Keeper, or upon reasonable excuse of such his absence to be allowed to have a writ of *Dedimus potestatem* to certain persons to give him the said oaths in some open Sessions, and shall cause the same duly to be returned and recorded in the Chancery. Which said oaths, if the Justices so dwelling in that county and absent from the said Sessions, shall not take before me the Lord Keeper or the said special commissioners, and cause to be duly returned and recorded in the Chancery as aforesaid

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within twenty days after the next Sessions of Justice, they so thereof failing shall be removed out of the Commission of the Peace. And because many are commonly in Commission that are not residently dwelling in the county where they are named Commissioners, you shall by your letters signify unto them that so shall reside out of that county and be absent from the so prefixed Sessions of that county, that they shall forbear to execute the office of a Justice of the Peace in that county until they shall certify you credibly that they have by virtue of our letters sent at this time to the county where they shall reside taken those oaths in the said other county where they are Justices and have their dwellings, or before me the Lord Keeper in manner aforesaid.

"Furthermore, Her Majesty is informed that divers persons do occupy the offices of Justice of the Peace, who do not repair to their church or chapel accustomed, or upon reasonable lett thereof to some other place where common prayer is used and accustomed for divine service, or whose wives living with their husbands, or sons and heirs living in their houses, or within that county where their fathers do dwell, are known to refuse to come to the church, contrary to the statutes in that behalf made. A matter not agreeable with the vocation of any that ought to inquire of such offenders, and to reform the same. For which purpose also Her Majesty willeth you to certify her pleasure to all persons being justices in that county; that if any of them do forbear to resort commonly to the church, or that their wives remaining and living in house with them, or their sons and heirs being above the age of 16 years, and living in their fathers' houses, or dwelling in the county where their fathers do dwell, do not usually come to the church to divine service, as by the laws and statutes they are bound to do, the fathers understanding or knowing of their sons' recusancy, that the persons being themselves recusants, or husbands or fathers of such recusants, shall forbear to exercise the offices of Justice of the Peace, and shall be left out of the commission of peace during the time of such recusancy of themselves, their wives, or sons and heirs. And to the intent that this Her Majesty's determination may take effect without delay, we will that you shall forthwith give notice to every such justice within that county of this Her Majesty's last determination for their forbearing from exercise of their offices upon the causes next here above alleged, so as they may be withdrawn out of the commission for that county. So, nothing doubting of your good care in the accom-

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plishment hereof, according to Her Majesty's pleasure and expectation, we bid you heartily farewell.

"From Hampton Court, the 20th of October, 1592.

"Your very loving friends,

"Jo. Puckeringe, c.s.	T. Buckhurst.
"W. Burgleighe (*sic*).	Ro. Cecyll.
"C. Hawarde (*sic*).	J. Wolley.
"J. Hunsdon.	J. Fortescue.

"*Postscript.* We require you all that are named in the writ of *Dedimus potestatem*, that yourselves will first openly in the sessions take the oath, one of you ministering to the other, saving that the Lords of Parliament are excepted by the act from taking the oath of supremacy."

With this letter were sent copies of the writ of *Dedimus potestatem*, of the oath of a justice, and of the oath of supremacy.

The four commissioners executed their office, and returned the following letter:

"Our humble duties to your good lordships remembered. These may be to advertise you that, according to the tenor of your lordships' letters to us directed, bearing date the 20th of October last, for the administration of the oaths to the Justices of the Peace in this county of Devon, annexed to Her Majesty's writ of *Dedimus potestatem* in like sort to us addressed for the same cause, we (in open sessions, held at the Castle of Exeter, the 24th day of this present November) have thoroughly accomplished our duties in that behalf, and made return of the said writ of *Dedimus potestatem* unto the Chancery, as to you our very good Lord the Lord Keeper shall by the same return more at large appear, the which we humbly leave to your honourable considerations, and ourselves to your accustomed favours, praying God long to preserve your lordships in all honour.

"From Exeter, the 25th day of November, 1592.

"Your lordships' humble to command,

"W. Bathon.
"W. Courtney (*sic*).
"John Gilberte.
"Fra. Drake."

The return referred to is in Latin, and contains, as I said before, fifty-five names. Thirty-four justices appeared, and took the oaths in open court. Two were sworn before the Lord Keeper at Hampton Court; five, being justices for Cornwall also, were sworn at Bodmin; nine, most of whom seem to have been lawyers, were absent from the county;

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two were prevented from coming by age and infirmity; one was not living in the county; one, being sheriff, could not act as a justice, and the administration of the oath to him was therefore deferred; and one of those named in the commission had recently died.

I propose now to run rapidly over the names of these fifty-five justices, and I shall be obliged for any information that may be given me respecting those of whom I know nothing.

WILLIAM BOURCHIER, EARL OF BATH, was for many years Lord-lieutenant of Devon. He died in 1623, and was succeeded by his son Edward, at whose death, in 1636, the title became extinct. His estates at Tawstock and elsewhere passed to his daughter Anne, who married, first the Earl of Middlesex, and secondly Sir Chichester Wrey, ancestor of the present Sir Bourchier Palk Wrey. I may mention that the editor of the *Calendar of State Papers* for the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., never having heard of Tawstock, enters all the numerous letters of the Earl of Bath as dated from *Tavistock*. The Countess is one of the characters in Kingsley's *Westward Ho!*

JOHN WOLTON, a native of Lincolnshire, was bishop of Exeter from 1578 to 1593. He lies buried on the south side of the choir of the cathedral, in a tomb adorned with a punning epitaph.

EDWARD, DOMINUS SEYMOUR, as he is here called, was probably Sir Edward Seymour, of Berry Pomeroy, eldest son of the Protector Somerset, whose honours were forfeited on his attainder. He sat in Parliament for the county of Devon, and was sheriff in 1583.

SIR WILLIAM COURTENAY, I need hardly say, was an ancestor of the present Earl of Devon. He served the office of sheriff in 1581, and acquired the estates in Ireland still enjoyed by his descendants. He died in 1630.

SIR JOHN GILBERT, who was knighted in 1570, lived at Greenway, near Dartmouth. He was brother of Sir Humphrey and Adrian Gilbert, and half-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh. He was sheriff in 1572.

Of SIR FRANCIS DRAKE I need say nothing. His seat was Buckland Abbey; but his real home was on the deep.

EDWARD SEYMOUR was probably the son of Sir Edward, and was created a baronet in 1611. He was sheriff in 1606.

HUGH FORTESCUE, of Filleigh and Wear Gifford, an ancestor of Earl Fortescue, married Elizabeth, sister of Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord-Deputy of Ireland.

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WILLIAM ABBOTT, of Hartland Abbey, was sheriff in 1607; died in 1609. He left no son, and one of his co-heiresses married a Luttrell.

TRISTRAM GORGES, probably of Budokshed, in the parish of St. Budeaux. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, whose name lives discreditably in history in connection with the trial of Essex, was a regular attendant at many subsequent sessions.

GEORGE WYOTT, probably of Braunton.

RICHARD SPARRY. He had a "house in St. Peter's Churchyard," Exeter, as we find by a subsequent entry.

RICHARD BAMPFIELD, sheriff in 1576, an ancestor of Lord Poltimore; died 1594.

THOMAS WYSE, probably of Sydenham, or of Mount Wise, near Plymouth, was sheriff in 1612.

EDWARD AMEREDITH, of Crediton and Slapton.

EDMUND PARKER, probably of North Molton, who married Amy, daughter of Sir E. Seymour, and was an ancestor of Lord Morley. He was sheriff in 1600.

ROBERT DRAKE appears to have been of Wiscombe Park, in the parish of South Leigh. He was brother of Sir Bernard Drake, of Ash, who objected to Sir Francis Drake assuming the arms of that ancient family. The great Duke of Marlborough was born at Ash, his mother being a daughter of that house.

HUGH ACKLAND (*sic*) was the head of the family of Columb John, now represented by Sir T. D. Acland, Bart.

JOHN ACKLAND, knighted in 1603, sheriff in 1609, was brother of the preceding. He founded charities in the city of Exeter, and was a great benefactor of Exeter College, Oxford. He is one of Prince's "Worthies of Devon."

GEORGE GALE, of Crediton.

ANTONY MOUNCKE (*sic*), of Potheridge, in the parish of Merton, grandfather of George Monk, Duke of Albemarle.

THOMAS HEALE (*sic*), of Exeter, afterwards of Fleet, sheriff of Devon in 1601.

WILLIAM WALROND, of Bradfield, sheriff in 1596, ancestor of the present Sir J. W. Walrond.

WILLIAM KIRKEHAM, of Blagdon and Pinhoe, afterwards knighted, sheriff in 1586; married Mary Tichborne, of Hampshire.

EDWARD WHIDDON, probably of Chagford, son of Sir John Whyddon, justice of the King's Bench, who is one of Prince's "Worthies."

ROBERT DILLON, probably of Chimwell, in Bratton Fleming.

HUMPHREY SPECCOTT, of Speccott, in Merton, sheriff in 1585.

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GEORGE CARY, of Clovelly, sheriff in 1587. He is introduced into *Westward Ho!*

WILLIAM CRYMES, may perhaps be the same who is called by Risdon Sir William Grymes, and who was sheriff in 1610. One of this family was the original grantee of Buckland Monachorum at the Reformation.

ROGER GIFFARD, probably of Tiverton, son of Sir Roger Giffard of Brightleigh. He died in 1603, aged 70, and was buried at Tiverton. His epitaph is quoted by Prince.

ARTHUR HARRIES (*sic*), probably Harris of Hayne, in the parish of Lifton.

THOMAS REYNELL, of Ogwell, knighted at the coronation of James I.

WILLIAM STRODE, of Newnham, afterwards knighted, sheriff in 1593; died 1637, aged 76. He was father of William Strode, the celebrated parliamentary leader, and one of the five members seized by Charles I.

WILLIAM POLE, of Colcombe and Shute, a distinguished lawyer and antiquary, author of the *Description of Devonshire*, &c., and one of Prince's "Worthies." He was sheriff at the time of the accession of James I., and was knighted in 1606.

The next two were sworn in at Hampton Court.

SIR THOMAS DENYS (*sic*), of Bicton and Holcombe Burnell, sheriff in 1594, knighted in Holland by the Earl of Leicester in 1586. His daughter and co-heiress married Sir Henry Rolle. His grandfather, Sir Thomas, one of Prince's "Worthies," acquired large estates at the dissolution of the monasteries, and was eight times sheriff of the county.

GEORGE CARY, of Cockington, the celebrated soldier and statesman, afterwards knighted and appointed lord-deputy of Ireland. He was head of the great family of Cary, which acquired Tor Abbey in 1662. He is one of Prince's "Worthies," and his life has also been written by Mr. Dymond.

PETER EDGCOMBE (*sic*), was son of Sir Richard Edgcombe, who built Mount Edgcumbe, and is one of Prince's "Worthies." He was M.P. for Cornwall, and sheriff of Devon in 1565. He died in 1607.

RICHARD CAREW, of Antony, where the family are still seated. This was probably the well-known author of the *Survey of Cornwall.*

ANTHONY ROUS, of Modbury, Devon, and Halton, Cornwall.

CHRISTOPHER HARRIS, of Radford, in Devon, and of Trecarrell, in Cornwall, was M.P. for Plymouth, was knighted in 1607, and died in 1624.

JOHN WREY, of Wrey, in Devon, and Trebitch, in Cornwall,

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was sheriff of Cornwall in 1586. He was ancestor of Sir B. P. Wrey.

The last five were also justices for Cornwall, and took the oaths there before Sir Francis Godolphin, Sir William Bevill, and George Kekewiche.

The next nine were those returned as absent from the county.

WILLIAM PERYAM, one of the justices of the Common Pleas, and appointed chief baron about this time. His father was mayor of Exeter, and he himself bought the estate of Little Fulford, near Crediton. His third wife was sister of Lord Bacon. He died in 1604, aged 70. I need hardly add that his life has been written by Prince.

EDWARD DREWE, serjeant-at-law, is also one of the "Worthies." He was recorder of Exeter and of London, and acquired the large estates of Killerton, in Broad Clyst (now Sir T. D. Acland's), and the Grange, in Broadhembury, where his descendants still reside. He died in 1622, and was honoured by a sumptuous monument in the church of Broad Clyst.

THOMAS HARRIS, serjeant-at-law, another of the "Worthies," was knighted at the coronation of James I. He died in 1610, and was buried at Cornworthy.

JOHN GLANVYLE, also a serjeant-at-law, and one of the "Worthies," was made a justice of the Common Pleas in 1598, and knighted. He died at Tavistock in 1600, and was buried in the parish church.

JOHN HELE, of Wemberry, near Plymouth, recorder of Exeter in 1593, made serjeant-at-law in 1594, and knighted at the coronation of James I. He too is one of the "Worthies."

EDMUND PRIDEAUX, also one of the "Worthies," and a distinguished lawyer, founded the family of Prideaux of Netherton. He was created a baronet in 1622, and died in 1628.

HUGH POLLARD, of King's Nympton, afterwards knighted, was son of Sir Lewis Pollard, the judge, who is one of the "Worthies." Hugh had the honour of being sheriff of Devon in 1588, and is therefore the one commemorated by Macaulay in his ballad of "The Armada:"

> "With his white hair unbonneted, the stout old sheriff comes;
> Behind him march the halberdiers, before him sound the drums.
> His yeomen round the market cross make clear an ample space;
> For there behoves him to set up the standard of Her Grace."

His daughter married an ancestor of Sir Stafford Northcote.

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THOMAS RIDGEWAY, of Tor Abbey, sheriff in 1590 and 1599, knighted in the latter year, was commander-general and treasurer of the wars in Ireland under James I., created a baronet in 1612, and afterwards Earl of Londonderry. He died in 1620. I need hardly say that his biography is to be found in Prince.

THOMAS PRIDEAUX, probably of Orcharton, in the parish of Modbury.

The next two justices were prevented by age and infirmity from coming to the sessions.

SIR JOHN ST. LEGER, of Annery, near Bideford, a name familiar to the readers of *Westward Ho!* He was sheriff in 1560.

THOMAS SOUTHCOTT, probably of Mohun's Ottery; sheriff in 1557 and 1569.

Of ROBERT CROSSE the commissioners reported that he was not living in the county, and had no lands in it to their knowledge. I do not pretend to know more about him than they did.

SIR ROBERT DENYS was reported to have recently departed this life. He was father of Sir Thomas, whom I have already mentioned. He was sheriff in 1556 and 1567. He built the mansion and made the park of Bicton, where had formerly been the prison of the county.

RICHARD CHAMPERNOWNE, whose swearing in was postponed on account of his being sheriff for the year 1592, was no doubt of the ancient family of Champernowne of Modbury, now of Dartington. He was probably the elder brother of Sir Arthur Champernowne, who was knighted by Essex in the Irish war, and who occupies a place among the "Worthies" of Devon, like so many others whom I have had occasion to mention.

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TWO ASHBURTON SCHOLARS.

BY REV. TREASURER HAWKER, M.A.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

It is not because each is not deserving of a separate notice that I take Gifford and Ireland, both natives of Ashburton, together. Neither the time nor my ability would be sufficient to do them justice, even if their distinguished names were dwelt on severally and at much length. The wont too of our Association, speaking generally, and without any prohibition of more exhaustive records of honoured persons in any place we are visiting, is to give merely a sketch of the painter, the poet, the philosopher, or the celebrity of any sort. We do not profess to write full biographies; we do not wish to pass over any salient points or remarkable events in their career.

Ashburton must not think itself lightly treated if two eminent sons are, in proportion to their merits, noticed somewhat briefly and insufficiently. I put Gifford first, because he fought a harder fight than his schoolfellow. Few have struggled against early difficulties and discouragement with more resolution or energy than he did. If there is any young person listening to me now who feels, or seems to feel, a capacity for higher things than an ordinary occupation, or a distasteful trade, let such read the simple, touching autobiography of the facile writer of sweet effective verses, the first editor of the *Quarterly*, the translator of *Juvenal and Persius*, the able critic of his day, and he will learn what road he must travel to win distinction. Perseverance under determined opposition, steady drudgery, self-denial and self-improvement, were the steps then as now, and always, to success, fame, and intellectual eminence.

> "There is a history in all men's lives,
> Figuring the nature of the times deceas'd:
> The which observ'd, a man may prophesy,
> With a near aim, of the main chance of things
> As yet not come to life; which in their seeds,
> And weak beginnings, lie intreasured."
>
> *King Henry IV.*, part ii. act iii. sc. i.

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Born in 1775, Gifford was left a penniless orphan—a weakly, diminutive boy, when barely thirteen, without, as he tells us, a relation, save a brother many years younger, or a friend in the world. It would be tedious to go into details of Gifford's life for a year in a small Brixham coaster, rough and solitary, under an ignorant captain, with now and then an additional hand; of his unexpected removal, and a few happy months at an Ashburton school, under a Mr. Furlong, too soon exchanged for a long apprenticeship to a less than tolerant, a directly hostile, tyrannical master, a shoemaker.

What his straits were in seeking after knowledge we may gather from his beating out pieces of leather as smooth as he could, and working algebraic problems (his only books for a long time were an Algebra, and an introduction to it) upon them with a blunted awl, having no money to buy pen, ink, and paper. He does not excuse his indifference to his trade, which naturally provoked his employer to use him harshly; yet he certainly was for long one of the forlorn and oppressed of the earth.

There is a touching anecdote of a negress kindly succouring Mungo Park in great extremity on one of his African journeys; and Gifford was raised out of the depths of misery by the cheery notice of a young woman, a neighbour, who day by day gave the sullen lad, as he passed her door, a smile and pleasant greeting.

Perhaps out of this early incident, a turning-point evidently in his life, came Gifford's curious custom in his declining years of always having his elderly housekeeper to sit in his study whilst he was writing.*

Valuable, however, as this feminine sympathy was to him in dispelling his gloomy apathy, "the ministering angel" of Ashburton was not in a position to help him except by those "little, nameless, unremembered acts of kindness," which are balm to an aching heart.

Pecuniary help and active interest at last appeared from an unlooked-for quarter. Mr. William Cookesley, a surgeon of the town, a large-hearted, open-handed man, like so many of his profession, heard of the intellectual efforts of the lad, enquired about him, made his acquaintance, and—what is far more than giving out of one's own purse—begged help from neighbours to cancel his apprenticeship and further his education.

The hard life, the starvation of his early days, mentally, and to some extent no doubt physically, seems for a while to

* See Lockhart's *Life of Scott*.

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have stunted his faculties, so that he did not at first get on *pari passu* with those of his own age, or even with boys younger, as Ireland was by four or five years, and his master talked of putting him into a lower class; on which he wrote the following lines, adopting playfully his somewhat significant nickname. Chancellor Harington, who told the story to me, heard it from a school-fellow of Gifford's, Mr. White:

"Tho' my name is Cloudy,
Yet cast me not away;
For many a cloudy morning
Brings forth a shining day."

The youth who could make his way against all these discouragements, justified, although in a different sense, Falstaff's choice of a warrior: "Will you tell me, master Shallow, how to choose a man? Care I for the limb, the thewes, the stature, bulk, and big assemblance of a man! Give me the spirit, master Shallow."—*King Henry IV.*, part ii. act iii. sc. ii.

Sir Walter Scott says of his appearance: "He was a little man, dumpled up together, and so ill made as to seem almost deformed, but with a singular expression of talent in his countenance."

From Ticknor's Journal—quoted in *The Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor*, 2 vols., Boston, 1876. Ticknor died in 1871—my attention has also been drawn by the ex-president to the following interesting notice of Gifford's personal appearance:

"June 19th, 1814. Among other persons," Mr. Ticknor writes, "I brought letters to Gifford, the satirist, but never saw him till yesterday. Never was I so mistaken in my anticipations. Instead of a tall and handsome man, as I had supposed him from his picture, a man of severe and bitter remarks in conversation, such as I had good reason to believe him from his books, I found him a short, deformed, and ugly little man, with a large head sunk between his shoulders, and one of his eyes turned outward, but withal one of the best natured, most open, and well-bred gentlemen I have met."

Gifford indeed did not spare himself as to his personal qualities, for he thus describes them in an "imitation" of Horace's *Ode*, ii. 16, addressed to Dean Ireland in early years. It is printed in the notes to the *Mæviad*. Speaking of the distribution of fortune's gifts, and their early circumstances, he playfully allows that she gave

"To *me* one eye, not over good,
Two sides that, to their cost, have stood
A ten years' hectic cough,—

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Aches, stitches, all the numerous ills
That swell the direful doctor's bills,
And sweep poor mortals off."

Yet he claims as his gift the moral qualities set forth in the next fine stanza—

"A coat more bare than thine, a soul
That spurns the crowd's malign controul;
A fixed contempt of wrong;
Spirits above affliction's power,
And skill to charm the lonely hour
With no inglorious song."

H. Tozer, Esq., of this town, has a portrait of Gifford, a pleasing, gentlemanly likeness, long thought to be by Sir Joshua Reynolds; but really by Hoppner, a follower and admirer of Reynolds's principles of taste and painting. Hoppner was a bosom friend of Gifford's, who addressed him with some touching lines in the *Mœviad*, beginning—

"Thou too, my Hoppner, if my wish avail'd,
Should'st praise the strain that but for thee had fail'd;
Thou know'st, when indolence possess'd me all,
How oft I roused at thy inspiring call,
Burst from the Syren's fascinating power,
And gave the Muse thou lov'st one studious hour."

Gifford soon justified the self-confidence of his appeal to his Ashburton master; for within two years (hear and ponder it, ye Etonians and others, with the prolonged curriculum wrung of necessity or custom from the paternal pelican-breast) he was sufficiently advanced to enter upon his university course as a Bible clerk of Exeter College, Oxford.

Mr. Cookesley's active benevolence was cut short by his untimely death. He did not live long enough to do more than start his young friend on the road to fame and affluence. But Gifford had gained friends, not more kindly, but able to serve him even more substantially. He was sustained to the end of his Oxford career by their aid and his own meritorious exertions. Then, having won a scholar's name, he travelled abroad with Lord Belgrave, Earl Grosvenor's son, who had taken him by the hand. Under his auspices he entered upon London life, and gradually rose to his eminent position among men of letters, being honoured by a last resting-place in Westminster Abbey. His schoolfellow and lifelong friend, Dean Ireland, was afterwards buried in the same grave, as Grote and Thirlwall were.

This fact alone would be an answer to the scurrilous insinuations of Peter Pindar, who spared none when he quarrelled with them. Sir Walter Scott speaks of the personal attack on Gifford in a way he never would have

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done, had there been a shadow of truth in the vile accusations. He says that Gifford came out of the affray triumphantly, and after his death laments him as "a man of rare attainments and many excellent qualities."

It must have been strange to the shoemaker's penniless apprentice to find himself in pecuniary ease and comfort, if he ever recalled the days when his stationery consisted of thin bits of leather and an awl.

Besides an annuity from Lord Grosvenor, he held for some time one of those sinecure posts, more common then than now. He was Controller of the Lottery—once quite a national institution—which gave him £600 a year; and he held for life the paymastership of a band of gentlemen pensioners, worth £300 a year. His writings must have realized handsome sums, even at the rate of payments to authors then. His editions of *Massinger* appeared in 1805, that of *Ben Jonson* in 1816; his editions of *Ford* and of *Shirley* were published after his death. The editorship of the *Quarterly*, which began at a salary of £200, was gradually raised to £900 a year.

No one will find fault, rather the reverse, with Gifford, sharp as his pen was, for his exposure and demolition of what was called the Della Crusca School.* This he did by the *Baviad*, a paraphrastic imitation of the first satire of Persius in 1791; and in 1794 he wrote the *Maviad*, a satire directed against the extravagance of the modern drama.

Gifford relates himself how the Della Crusca School began in his introduction to the *Baviad* and *Mæviad*.† Inflated claims deserve to be laughed out of court, and literature would have suffered if such absurd pretensions to a supremacy of taste had not been reduced to their true value by the Ithuriel spear of severe criticism.

Nor is anything to be said against Gifford's brief editorship of the *Anti-Jacobin*, in 1798, which brought him into close intercourse with Canning, Pitt, Lord Liverpool, Frere, and the like. Every scholar too will hold in reverence his translation of *Juvenal and Persius*, finally published, after having been long in hand, in 1802, as every one with a heart will hold in still deeper reverence the touching auto-

* "The name 'Della Crusca' means 'of the Bran.' It was given to a literary society established at Florence about 300 years, which is still in existence. They adopted the name of 'Crusca-bran,' because they undertook the duty of sifting metaphorically the bran from the fine flour, and of maintaining the purity of the Italian language."—From Mr. Hamilton's Lecture. Exeter, 1867.

† Bavius and Mævius were two bad poets, alluded to by Virgil in *Eclogue* iii. 90: "Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina, Mævi."

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biography prefixed to it, written moreover in such choice English that Mr. Knight has given a large portion of it in his *Half-hours with the Best Authors.*

Gifford's warmest admirers however must lament the unscrupulous bigotry and partisanship which so seriously marred his other great qualifications for the editorship of the *Quarterly* from its origin to two years before his death (1809 to 1824), when he resigned the post. He had learning, industry, and cultivated discrimination.

Those who remember Sir Walter Scott's letters, as recorded in Lockhart's *Life* (vol. iii. Oct. 25th, 1808), when the scheme was first mooted to counteract the influence of the *Edinburgh Review*, will regret that the tone and principles of conduct he advocated were so widely departed from. "Gifford," he writes, "will be admirable at service; but will require, or I mistake him much, both a spur and a bridle—a spur on account of habits of literary indolence, induced by weak health, and a bridle because, having renounced in some degree general society, he cannot be supposed to have the habitual and distinctive feeling enabling him to judge at once and decidedly on the mode of letting his shafts fly down the breeze of popular opinion. But he has worth, wit, learning, and extensive information."

Readers of Byron's life and letters will also find notice upon notice, proof upon proof, of his deep respect for Gifford's critical powers and personal kindliness.

That his bark was often worse than his bite we may believe from an instance known to myself. A late Devonshire worthy, Sir John Taylor Coleridge, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, himself for about two years editor of the *Quarterly*—the space between Gifford's resignation and Lockhart's succession—was treated by him with most considerate kindness. It is on his authority that I have been careful to pronounce the initial letter of his name, the G hard, Gifford being most anxious that he should not be confounded with the Lord Gifford of the time.

Perhaps, to draw this slight notice to a close—and charity here may be the truth—we may find excuse in the buffetings of his early life for the man who, genial and gentle to personal friends, was fierce and satirical; "so savage and Tartarly," to adopt Byron's coinage, to political opponents and the outside public. Men cannot pass through a heady fight without becoming rough and stern. Their old wounds will smart with change of weather; their scars will make their outward semblance grim and rugged, whilst within there is a fountain of tenderness ever welling up.

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"He crept along unpromising of mien.
Gross he who judges so. His soul was fair,
Bright as the children of yon azure sheen;
True comeliness, which nothing can impair,
Dwells in the mind: all else is vanity and glare."
Castle of Indolence, ii. 32.

"Dura" was a significant epithet of Horace's for "paupertas." Penury and isolation in a man's early life are apt to chill and harden the affections. And Gifford had been sorely stricken in the most sensitive part of the human heart by the loss of one to whom he evidently was deeply attached, over whose grave, in Ashburton churchyard, he uttered the pathetic lament, beginning—

"I wish I was where Anna lies;
For I am sick of lingering here;
And every hour affection cries,
'Go and partake her humble bier.'
I wish I could! For, when she died,
I lost my all; and life has proved,
Since that sad hour, a dreary void,
A waste unlovely and unloved." *

Let us, without disguising his blemishes and foibles, accept the good points of the resolute man, the self-made scholar, the well-informed, if sometimes prejudiced, critic, of whom Ashburton may be proud, summing up the answer to his detractors and censors in the old expressive phrase—"Eò immitior quià toleraverat" ("rough because of past tribulation").

This character of harshness and combativeness cannot be applied to his schoolfellow; but much that has been said about the early life and ultimate prosperity of Gifford, may be said, *mutatis mutandis*, of Ireland. His father was a butcher in the town, and he was born five years after Gifford. He also went from the Ashburton school to Oxford, where he was a Bible clerk at Oriel; and after his degree, having taken holy orders, he was for a short time curate at Kingsteignton, near Newton Abbot. There was living then in that parish Sir James Wright, and with his son Ireland travelled on the Continent, as Gifford did with Lord Belgrave.

Quite a young man he became vicar of Croydon, in Surrey, and married a Devonshire lady, Miss Short, of Bickham, by whom he had no issue, and whom he survived. Within five years he was made a prebendary of Westminster Abbey, and fourteen years later, on the death of Dr. Vincent, he succeeded to the deanery. This distinguished post—as (I may

* It has been said that Gifford was privately married to a Johanna Someone, and that she was the Anna of his poem. There is a corroboration of this story in the fact that in the register of Ashburton is the following entry, for which I am indebted to the active research of Robert Dymond, Esq.: "27 Dec., 1789, Johanna, the wife of Mr. Wm. Gifford."

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be allowed to say) distinguished now, and as scholarly filled—he occupied for twenty-six years, dying at eighty years of age; so that the industry of a great scholar did not injure him. Another instance, if another be needed, that more are injured in health and longevity by doing too little than by doing too much; for his treatises and general writings were full and numerous, both before and after his elevation to the deanery of Westminster.

Among them we may name, *Five Discourses containing certain Arguments for and against the Reception of Christianity by the ancient Jews and Greeks; Vindicia Regiæ, a Defence of the Kingly Office; Paganism and Christianity compared; Nuptiæ Sacræ; an Inquiry into the Scriptural Doctrine of Marriage and Divorce.*

There is a curious story of the appropriation of the last treatise, which had been published anonymously by an unscrupulous person, who won with it a prize of fifty guineas. The plagiarism is exposed at length in No. 55 of the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1823, vol. xxviii. p. 179. Dr. Ireland gives a succinct account of it in the preface to his edition of 1830, and consoles himself with Jortin's humorous advice to an author under such circumstances—"He should think and say of his writings, as well as of all his other goods and chattels, 'These things I have collected for myself, for my meighbours, for friends, *and for thieves.*'"

There is also a spirited letter to Brougham, who as chairman of an education committee had been, he considered, unfair to him and the Archbishop of Canterbury about a Croydon charity. His refutation of the charges has a manly sound about it, which makes one think the metal must have been good to ring so smartly.

"For a considerable part of my life," he says, "character was almost my only possession. By the blessing of Providence it has raised me to affluence and honour; but valuing them highly as I do, I would cast them from me, and return to any station of privacy or humbleness, rather than wear them with such stains as you seek to throw upon me."

Dean Ireland also printed, but did not publish, in 1832 and 1834, two papers, read before the College of Physicians —he was then nearly seventy-three years of age—"The Plague of Athens, compared with the Plague of the Levant and the Plague of Milan in 1630," and "The Plague of Marseilles in 1720." He is credited, although there is no direct evidence on the point, with having assisted Gifford in the early volumes of the *Quarterly Review.* He certainly gave him most efficient help in editing *Massinger* and *Ben*

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Jonson, and indeed in most of his publications. Gifford speaks thus of him, in his "introduction to *Massinger*," as "the companion of my youth, the friend of my maturer years, the inseparable and affectionate associate of my pleasures and my pains, my graver and my lighter studies;" and in the *Mæviad* addresses him with touching and flowing verses—

> "O Ireland! if the verse, which thus essays
> To trace our lives 'e'en from our boyish days,'
> Delight thy ear, the world beside may rail.
> I care not—at the uninteresting tale;
> I only seek, in language void of art,
> To ope my breast, and pour out all my heart;
> And, boastful of thy various worth, to tell
> How long we loved, and thou canst add, how *well*."

Arcades ambo! so far. Alike in high self-cultivation and ripe scholarship and honourable feelings, they differed widely in their temperaments.

Gifford in his public capacity certainly was frequently harsh and discouraging to young, struggling authors. Keats to wit. Ireland was a Mæcenas whilst living, and a munificent endower of learning for youth after his decease. The princely fortune he—a widower in the latter part of his life, and childless—accumulated was nobly dispensed. Naturally mindful of his old school, he founded a scholarship for boys' free education at Ashburton. He gave £10,000 to establish a professorship at Oxford for the exegesis of Holy Scripture, first held by the Venerable Provost of Oriel, to whom my thanks are due for his inaugural lecture and an interesting notice of Ireland. Besides other liberal bequests for various purposes in the same direction, he founded in his lifetime (1825) a scholarship, now called by his name, "for the promotion of classical learning and taste," at Oxford, open to the whole university without exception—a wise liberality, which has made its possessor the acknowledged scholar of the year. It will not be out of place for me to mention that the present Dean of Westminster won this proud distinction in his time, and that the present bishop of our diocese was second on another occasion.

Past days, with their early hardships and struggles, must have recurred to the good dean's mind when, according to usage, he carried the cushion at three coronations amidst the pomp of State. By the kindness of H. Tozer, Esq., of this town, I have seen a print of him in his robes thus carrying the cushion; judging from which, he was a kindly, resolute, dignified ecclesiastic.

The night before George IV.'s coronation the regalia were sent to him for safe custody, and a trusty servant kept watch

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and ward outside his bedroom, where he had them in custody. I may in closing draw a short moral from his and Gifford's history. Both help to prove men's power to overcome adverse circumstances by probity, energy, and industry. Both may be quoted as illustrations of those fine lines of Wordsworth's in *The Excursion*—

> "Within the soul a faculty abides,
> That with interpositions, which would hide
> And darken, so can deal that they become
> Contingencies of pomp, and serve to exalt
> Her native brightness."

JAR FOUND AT MUSBURY.

BY P. O. HUTCHINSON,
Local Secretary Society of Antiquaries of London.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

TOWARDS the latter part of the year 1874, and during great part of 1875, extensive additions and restorations were carried out at Musbury Church, in this county. The whole church was taken in hand from one end to the other; and in carrying out the works, it was found necessary to lower the ground in the south aisle. This aisle is ancient, even if it is not part and parcel of the original design with the nave and tower, which show features of decorated character. There are six kneeling figures of the Drake family in the south-east corner, with inscriptions bearing dates from 1558 to 1643. To carry out the intention, the floor-boards were taken up and cleared away, and then men were set to work with spades and pick-axes to excavate the earth. When about one foot of the soil had been removed, one of the men, called Whakeley, who was wielding a pickaxe, struck the point of that tool into the bottom of an earthen vessel, and broke it to pieces. On perceiving that a discovery had been made, the workmen who were present, according to the common but stupid idea, raised a cry that a crock of gold had been found; so they made a rush and a scramble,

and not only rendered the fragments more fragmentary, but scattered the contents of the urn beyond the power of subsequent collection or examination. Mr. Stretchley Churchill, a stonemason, of Sidmouth, who has done a good deal of work for me at various times, was at work in Musbury Church when this occurred. On returning to his home on the

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Saturday afterwards, he brought me some of the pieces; but on his returning to his work on the Monday morning, I charged him to bring me all the remains he could collect, and even some of the earth, if he thought he could identify the spot where the vase had been buried. I have been told that there appeared to have been some soft brown earth under it; but I confess that I have but little reliance in anything like details, inasmuch as the confusion and the ignorance displayed on the occasion precluded the possibility of careful observation. Since then I have myself been over to Musbury, but I have not obtained any very satisfactory particulars even on the spot.

Under these adverse circumstances I am obliged to confine myself to the vessel itself, being unable to give any account of what may have been within it. I have not been able to hear that either coins or bones or charcoal were noticed in the scramble; in short, no note was taken of anything. It is in such a fragmentary condition that I am only able to put portions of it together; but these, at all events, will suffice to inform us as to its size and shape. The pieces of the top ring when fitted together show that the mouth was nearly seven inches and a half across, and the circle of the bottom was seven inches in diameter. In height it is believed to have been one foot or thereabout, as the finders testify. It was made on the wheel of red earthenware commonly called "clome" in Devonshire, to which a brownish or greenish glaze had been applied both inside and out. The spot where it was met with was near the middle of the south aisle, and at about three yards eastward from the south door. When I was told that it was found with the bottom upwards, and the mouth downwards, I was rather sceptical, because that implied ancient British and pagan, or perhaps Roman burial by cremation; but the men assured me that it certainly was so, and in support of this assertion, they drew my attention to the hole on the under side made by the point of the pick when it struck it. But if so great an age or so remote a period of antiquity cannot be assigned to a jar of this finish, I would suggest whether it may have been of mediæval date, and whether it may have been an acoustic jar, accidentally buried in the position indicated? We have not forgotten the interesting account of the acoustic jars found in Ashburton Church laid before the members of this Association at Sidmouth in 1873 by Mr. John Amery. I merely throw it out as a suggestion, and shall be glad to profit by any remarks or any opinions which any of the members may be pleased to pass upon the case which I have laid before them.

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JAR FOUND IN MUSBURY CHURCH, DEVON.

ONE QUARTER THE FULL SIZE.

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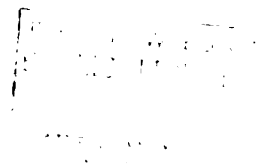

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DEVONSHIRE GLEANINGS FROM "NOTES AND QUERIES."

Part I.

GLEANED AND ARRANGED * BY W. PENGELLY, F.R.S., F.G.S., ETC.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

Section I.

INTRODUCTORY AND EXPLANATORY.

Devonshire, it will be admitted, has contributed very largely to the list of British Celebrities; the line which divided the Celt and the Saxon passed through it during a protracted period, and thus gave it an opportunity of possessing two Folk-Lores, even if the Phœnicians left no relic of this kind behind them; and the great uplands of Dartmoor and Exmoor afforded shelters to beliefs, and usages, and verbal provincialisms, and megalicthic erections which otherwise would no doubt have perished. It is not surprising, therefore, that *Devoniana* abound in *Notes and Queries*. Indeed, the faithful disciples of the famous Captain Cuttle, acting on the well-known maxim of their master—"When found make a note of"—lead a somewhat active life in our county.

Having been a reader of the publication just named from its commencement, on 3rd November, 1849, I have often felt that the matter appertaining to, and illustrative of, the History of Devonshire with which it may be said to teem, could not fail to interest the members of our Association, some of whom probably get but occasional glimpses of the work; and having access to all the volumes yet published, I have employed such "odds and ends" of time as have fallen to me during the last twelve months in noting, transcribing, and arranging all that can be said to belong to our county,

* [Were I to employ the language used about Looe, in East Cornwall, in my boyhood, I should say "Leazed and made up in Sangs."]

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in the first twelve volumes, that is the "First Series," of the publication; and I now venture to offer it, with the most cordial concurrence of the Editor and Publisher of "*N. & Q.*," under the title of *Devonshire Gleanings from 'Notes and Queries,' Part I.*, as a contribution to the present meeting.

When commencing the compilation I was fully prepared to find it reach a considerable bulk; but the size it has actually attained exceeds very far the limits which I had thought probable. Indeed, it has so often appalled me by its dimensions as to cause me again and again to forbid it to go beyond my own study.

My "Gleanings" include everything I could find written, by any one, on any person or topic belonging to our county, as well as, at least, the title of any thing written by a Devonian on any topic whatever; and the term "Devonian" as used here includes not only natives of the county, but those connected with it by residence or by office. For example, though neither Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, nor the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, Rector of Clyst St. George, was (I believe) a native of Devonshire, they belong to the list of Devonians as the term is here employed; not, however, to one and the same category. The Bishop may be said to be a topic on which it will be found that much has been written; whilst the Rector is a frequent and valued contributor to the pages of *Notes and Queries*, but not very often on Devonshire themes. The "Gleanings" include everything written *on* the Bishop, but only the contributions of the Rector since he commenced residence in Devonshire. The same rules have been observed in all other cases.

It is far from improbable that some "Devonians" have been omitted, since many contributors shelter themselves under mere initials, or feigned names, and give no clue to their localities. I cannot but agree with Mr. Ellacombe that "It would greatly enhance the value of contributions to '*N. & Q.*,' save much trouble, and often lead to a more direct intercourse between persons of similar pursuits, if contributors would drop initials, and sign their own proper name and *habitat*." ("*N. & Q.*," 1st S. viii. 15). Nevertheless, it is useless to deny that writers must be allowed to please themselves. The initials, however, in some cases scarcely amount to a shelter. There can be no doubt, for example, to whom "R. J. K." and "H. T. E." belong; but since their owners prefer to use them I have only to respect their semi-privacy.

Whilst speaking of modes of contributing which would enhance the value of contributions, I may add that it would

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be more definite and much more useful if writers, instead of stating that they had met with a noteworthy usage, or verbal provincialism, or legend, or tradition "in Devonshire," would specify the particular part or parts of the county in which they had found it.

Devonshire first entered *Notes and Queries*, in the form of a Query respecting Samuel Taylor Coleridge, on page 55, vol. i. series i. November 24th, 1849; and it is not too much to say that no person or thing connected with this county, or probably with any other, has been so productive of Note and Query, Reply and Discussion, as the famous author of the *Ancient Mariner*.

The present compilation consists of four "Sections":—The First being Introductory and Explanatory; the Second contains the contributions on Devonshire topics; the Third is a list of the writers who have contributed them; and the Fourth is a list of the "Devonian" contributors on topics unconnected with this county.

In each *Section*, excepting the First, the arrangement is strictly alphabetical. In the Second, the "Gleanings" are divided into "Heads," beginning with "ABEL" and ending with "YONGE," and numbered from 1 to 558. Wherever it is necessary or desirable the *Heads* are divided into "Sub-Heads," each distinguished by a prefixed Roman capital letter, commencing, of course, with (A) and proceeding in alphabetical order. When, as in the case of "COLERIDGE, Samuel Taylor," the *Sub-Heads* are more numerous than the letters of the alphabet, Z is followed by (A*), and so on in the order of the letters a second time. Finally, the *Gleanings* belonging to each *Sub-Head* are distinguished with small Italic letters, and arranged chronologically, that is in the order in which they occur in *Notes and Queries*, so as to show the lines followed in the various discussions.

In many cases the Name or Title of a *Head* is followed by nothing but a number, and, perhaps, a letter or letters. For example, the first entry in the list is simply "1 ABLE. 498, B." The prefixed numeral shows, of course, that "Able" is the first *Head* in the *Section*, whilst the affixed "498, B" are intended to convey the information that something respecting the word "Able" will be found under the *Sub-head* (B) of the 498th *Head*. Again, the 9th Head, "ANSTEY" is followed by 498, A, *a*, denoting that the Contribution (*a*.) of the *Sub-head* (A.) of the 498th *Head* contains some information respecting the word or name "ANSTEY;" and so on in other cases.

In the Third *Section*, the numerals following the real or

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assumed names of the Contributors show under what *Heads* the contributions are to be found in the Second *Section*. For example, "A. 116" denotes that "A," the first writer in the list, contributed something to be found under the 116th *Head* in the Second *Section;* and the *single* numeral denotes also that he contributed nothing more on a Devonshire topic.

The entire number of distinct signatures composing the list in the Third Section is 308, without counting the Editor of *Notes and Queries*, to whom the unsigned contributions are supposed to belong. The actual number of writers, however, is certainly less than this, as some of them, having from time to time made variations in the mode of writing their names, have been counted more than once. Of the 308, however, a considerable number appear each under one *Head* only, whilst others have laid us under more numerous obligations. The most liberal contributor on the list signs with the initials "R. J. K.," which appear under twenty-seven distinct *Heads;* and, unless I am in error in supposing that the same writer occasionally uses other signatures, his total contributions amount to thirty-one.

The Fourth *Section* is probably the most unsatisfactory one of the series. As authors not unfrequently use fictitious names, or content themselves with initials, or omit to state whence they write, it is extremely probable that many "Devonians" entitled to a place in the list have been omitted; whilst, on the other hand, mere "Birds of Passage," resting in Devonshire for a brief space only, have been included simply because the name of their resting-place is appended to their signatures. Thus, neither "A. B." nor "T. B." may be really a "Devonian." I know only that the former sent a contribution on "The House of Coburg," which appeared in the 1st Series of *Notes and Queries*, vol. v. p. 232, and that the latter has something to say in the same volume, p. 488, respecting a "Poem on the Burning of the Houses of Parliament," that they dated from "Torquay" and "Exeter" respectively, and have thus found a place in the list of "Devonian" Contributors on topics unconnected with this county.

Everything within inverted commas is from *Notes and Queries*. All else, including all words and phrases within square brackets, is editorial.

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SECTION II.

CONTRIBUTIONS ON DEVONSHIRE TOPICS.

1. ABLE. 498. B.
2. ACTON. 429 *a*.
3. ADIN'S HOLE. 418.
4. ADLAM. 187. D.

5. "AGAINST."

"*Against* is used" [in Devonshire] "like the classical *adversùm*, in the sense of *towards* or *meeting*. I have heard, both in Devonshire and in Ireland, the expression to send *against*, that is, to send to *meet* a person, &c. J. M. B., Tunbridge Wells." 1st S. vii. 544. 1853.

6. AGATE. 191. B. *b*.
7. ALMANAC. 257. F.
8. ANIST. 167. A.
9. ANSTEY. 498. A. *a*.

10. APPLE PIE ORDER.

(*a*) "Mrs. Glasse's (or rather Dr. Hill's) volume of cookery . . . . . [contains] a receipt for making a Devonshire squab pie. This is to be formed 'by *alternate layers* of sliced pippins and mutton steaks,' to be adjusted in the most orderly manner. Now, from the nicety and care requisite in this arrangement, may we not 'surmise' . . . . . that the expression 'Apple pie order' has sprung from the dish in question? J. H. M." 1st S. iii. 468. 1851.

(*b*) " . . . . 'Alternate layers of sliced pippins and mutton steaks' might indeed make a pie, but not an apple-pie, therefore this puzzling phrase must have some other origin . . . . A. N." 1st S. iii. 485. 1851.

11. APPLES. 333. A.

12. APPLE TREES.

(A.) "*Offerings to the Apple-trees*":—(*a*) "It was a custom Devonshire, and probably in some of the adjoining counties also, to perform the following ceremonial on Old Christmas Eve, or Twelfth Day, namely: In the evening the farmer's family and friends being assembled, hot wheat-flour cakes were introduced, with cider; and this was served round to the company, the cake being dipped in the cider, and then eaten. As the evening wore on, the assembled company

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adjourned into the orchard, some one bearing hot cakes and cider as an offering to the principal tree in the orchard; the cake was deposited on a fork of the tree, and the cider was then thrown over it, the men firing off muskets, fowling-pieces, pistols, &c., the women, girls, and boys shouting and screaming to the trees with all the excitement of young Indians the following rhyme:—

'Bear blue, apples and pear enoug;
Barn fulls, bag fulls, sack fulls. Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!'

Query, do these customs prevail to this day either in Devonshire or in other European countries? R. R." 1st S. iv. 309. 1851.

(*b*) "The custom is still very prevalent in Devonshire of 'hollowing to the apple-trees' on Old Christmas Eve. Toasted bread and sugar is soaked in new cider made hot for the farmer's family, and the boys take some out to pour on the oldest tree, and sing—

'Here 's to thee,
Old apple-tree,
From every bough
Give us apples enough,
Hat fulls, cap fulls
Bushel, bushel boss* fulls.
Hurrah, hurrah!'

The village boys go round also for the purpose, and get some halfpence given them for their 'hollering,' as they call it. I believe this to be derived from a Pagan custom of offering to Ceres. WILLIAM COLLYNS, M.R.C.S., Kenton." 1st S. v. 148. 1852.

(*c*) " . . . . . This custom is alluded to in Herrick's *Hesperides*, p. 311.

'Wassail the trees that they may beare
You, many a plum, and many a peare,
For more or less fruits they will bring,
As you do give them *wassailing*.' R. W. B."
1st S. v. 293. 1852.

13. ARCHPRIEST.

(*a*) "I am informed that there is, in the diocese of Exeter, a dignitary who is called the Arch-priest, and that he has the privilege of wearing lawn sleeves (that is of course, properly, of wearing a lawn alb), and also precedence in all cases next after the Bishop.

[* Is "boss" a misprint for "bags"? See *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, vol. vi. pp. 266–8.]

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Can any of your Devonian readers give additional particulars of his office or his duties? They would be useful and interesting. W. FRASER, Tor-Mohun." 1st S. ix. 105. 1854.

(*b*) "Haccombe is doubtless the parish in the diocese of Exeter, where Mr. W. FRASER will find the arch-priest about whom he is inquiring. Haccombe is a small parish, having two houses in it, the manor-house of the Carew family and the parsonage. It is said that, by a grant from the crown, in consequence of services done by an ancestor of the Carews, this parish received certain privileges and exemptions, one of which was that the priest of Haccombe should be exempt from all ordinary spiritual jurisdiction. Hence the title of arch-priest, and that of chorepiscopus, which the priests of Haccombe have claimed, and perhaps sometimes received. . . . . J. SANSOM." 1st S. ix. 185. 1854.

(*c*) "Since sending my Query on this subject, I have obtained the following information. The Rectory of Haccombe, which is a peculiar one, in the diocese of Exeter, gives to its incumbent for the time being the dignity of arch-priest of the diocese. The arch-priest wears lawn sleeves, and on all occasions takes precedence after the bishop. The late rector, the Rev. T. C. Carew, I am told, constantly officiated in lawn sleeves attached to an A.M. gown, and took the precedence due to his spiritual rank as arch-priest of the diocese. The present arch-priest and rector of Haccombe is the Rev. Fitz-william J. Taylor. Does such an office, or rather dignity, exist in any other case in the Anglican Church? WILLIAM FRASER, B.C.L., Tor-Mohun." 1st S. ix. 185. 1854.

(*d*) "Besides the archpriest of Haccombe, there were others in the same diocese; but, to quote the words of Dr. Oliver, in his *Monasticon, Dioc. Exon.*, p. 287,

'He would claim no peculiar exemption from the jurisdiction of his ordinary, nor of his archdeacon; he was precisely on the same footing as the superiors of the archpresbyteries at Penkivell, Beerferris, and Whitchurch, which were instituted in this diocese in the early part of the fourteenth century. The foundation deed of the last was the model in founding that of Haccombe.'

In the same work copies of the foundation deeds of the archipresbytery of Haccombe and Beer are printed.

One would suppose that wherever there was a collegiate

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body of clergymen established for the purposes of the daily and nightly offices of the church, as chantry priests, that one of them would be considered the superior, or archipresbyter.

Godolphin, in *Rep. Can.*, 56, says that by the canon law, he that is archipresbyter is also called *dean*. Query, Would he then be other than 'Primus inter pares'?

Prince, in his *Worthies*, calls the Rector of Haccombe 'a kind of chorepiscopus;' and in a note refers to Dr. Field *Of the Church*, lib. v. c. 37. . . . . .
H. T. ELLACOMBE, Clyst St. George." 1st S. ix. 312. 1854.

14. ARMADA. 488. A.

15. ARMORIAL.

(A.) "The following may chance to be of use. . . .
Vert, a griffin segreant or. Collins.
Azure, a griffin segreant or. Poltimore.
Gules, a griffin segreant or. Redvers.
Or, a griffin segreant sable. Morgan.
Argent, a chevron azure between three bugle-horns sable. Basset and Cornu.
The families all Devonshire. J. D. S." 1st S. xi. 213. 1855.

(B.) For *Armorial*, see also, 192. A., 283., 300., *a*, *b*, *c*, 527.

16. ARRISH. 242. *a*. *b*.
17. ARTHUR. 418.
18. ASHBURTON. 507.

19. ASHTON FAGGOT.

"*Ashton* Faggot: a Devonshire Custom*:—The ashton faggot is burned on Christmas eve. The faggot is composed entirely of ash timber, and the separate sticks or branches are securely bound together with ash bands. The faggot is made as large as can conveniently be burned in the fire-place, or rather upon the floor, grates not being in use. A numerous company is generally assembled to spend the evening in games and amusement, the diversion being heightened as the faggot blazes on the hearth, as a quart of cider is considered due, and is called for, and served upon the bursting of every hoop or band bound round the faggot. The timber being green and elastic, each band generally bursts open with a smart report when the individual stick or hoop has been partially burned through. R. R." 1st S. iv. 309. 1851.

* [I have always heard it called "Ashen." See *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, vol. vi. pp. 268–9.]

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20. ASPEN.

[The following proverb is used in Devonshire]:—

"'When the aspen leaves are no bigger than your nail
Is the time to look out for bruff and peel.' R. J. K."
1st S. ii. 511. 1850.

21. ATHERINGTON. 332, *a*, 416, B.
22. ATKINSON. 429, *b*.
23. AUMERLE. 228, *c*.
24. AWLISCOMBE. 369.
25. AXMINSTER. 104, 441.
26. BAMPTON. 209.
27. BARETTI. 412. B. *a*. *b*.

28. BARNSTAPLE.

(A.) [*Name*]:—[In a list of "Mispronounced Names of Places," the following is given]:—

"Spelling — Pronunciation
'Barnstaple' — 'Barum'.
C." 1st S. v. 285. 1852.

(B.) "*Gloves at Fairs*":—"At Barnstaple, North Devon, the evening previous to the proclamation of the fair, a large glove, decked with dahlias, is protruded on a pole from a window of the Quay Hall, the most ancient building in the town, which remains during the fair, and is removed at its termination. May not the outstretched glove signify the consent of the authorities to the commencement and continuance of the festivities, &c., and its withdrawal a hint for their cessation? . . . . DROFSNIAG." 1st S. viii. 421. 1853.

(C.) For *Barnstaple* see also 30. *a*. *b*.

29. BARTHOLOMEUS, Bishop of Exeter.

(*a*) "Among the names of the bishops who signed the Constitutions of Clarendon I see 'Bartholomeus Oxoniensis Episcopus.' How is this signature accounted for? . . . . . W. FRASER, Tor-Mohun." 1st S. vii. 409. 1853.

(*b*) [To this query the following editorial reply is appended]:—

"Clearly a misprint for Bartholomeus *Exoniensis* Episcopus, the celebrated Bartholomew Iscanus, the opponent of Thomas à Becket. Our correspondent should have given the title of the work where he found the signatures, as they are not appended to the 'Constitutions' in Matthew Paris, Spelman, or Wilkins." 1st S. vii. 409. 1853.

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(*c*) "The misprint . . . . . of *Oxoniensis* for *Exoniensis*, occurred in the Appendix to Wake's *State of the Church and Clergy of England*, p. 4. W. FRASER, Tor-Mohun." 1st S. vii. 502. 1853.

30. BARUM and Sarum.

(*a*) "By what theory, rule, or analogy, if any, can the contractions be accounted for of two names so dissimilar, into words terminating so much alike, as those of Salisbury into Sarum—Barnstaple into Barum? S. S. S." 1st S. ii. 21. 1850.

(*b*) "The formation of the first of these words has not yet been accounted for. I must premise my attempt to supply an explanation by admitting that I was not aware it was in common use as a contraction for Barnstaple. I think it will be found that the contracted form of that name is more usually 'Berdeſt,' 'Barnſt.' In trying further to contract the word, the two last letters would be omitted and it would then be 'Barñ,' with the circumflex showing the omission of several letters. Having reduced it to this state, an illiterate clerk would easily misread the circumflex for the plain stroke '–,' expressing merely the omission of the letter 'm,' and, perhaps ignorant of the name intended, think it as well to write at full length 'Barum.' J. B. T." 1st S. ii. 186. 1850.

(*c*) For *Barum* see also 28. A.

31. BASSET. 15. A.; 332. A. 33. BEERFERRIS. 13. *d*.
32. BEDFORD. 245. A. *b*.

34. BEES.

(A). "If they swarm in May,
They 're worth a pound next day.
If they swarm in July,
They 're not worth a fly. R. J. K."
1st S. ii. 512. 1850.

(B.) "Bees must never be bought. It is best to give a sack of wheat for a hive. R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 512. 1850.

(C.) "The superstition concerning the bees is common among the smaller farmers in the rural districts of Devon. I once knew an apprentice boy *sent back* from the funeral *cortége* by the nurse, to tell the bees of it, as it had been forgotten. They usually put some wine and honey for them before the hives on that day. WILLIAM COLLYNS, M.R.C.S., Kenton." 1st S. v. 148. 1852.

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(D.) "A man whose ideas have been confused frequently says his 'head has been among the bees' (buzzing).
WILLIAM COLLYNS, M.R.C.S., Kenton." 1st S. vi. 148. 1852.

35. BEGGAR'S OPERA. 211. B.

36. BELLS.

(A.) "*Ancient modes of hanging*:— . . . . In a paper on Bells, read before the Bristol and West of England Architectural Society, Dec. 10, 1849, by the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, and which has since been published in that Society's Report, I observe that two interesting plates of the bell-wheels are given: one being the old half-wheel, as still to be seen at Dunchideock in Devonshire; and the other the present whole wheel, which Mr. Ellacombe considers was a new thing in 1677. . . . . ALFRED GATTY." 1st. S. iii. 494. 1851.

(B.) [*Inscriptions on*]:—(*a*) " . . . . I beg to forward the following inscription on one of the bells in the tower of St. Nicholas Church, Sidmouth. I have not met with it elsewhere. . . . . .

'✠ Est michi collatum
Ihc istud nomen amatum.'

There is no date, but the characters may indicate the commencement of the fifteenth century as the period when the bell was cast. G. J. R. GORDON." 1st S. ix. 109. 1854.

(*b*) "Having, on October 21, 1850, taken intaglios in pressing-wax of the inscription forwarded by Mr. GORDON, from which plaster casts were made, the writer is able to speak of it with some degree of confidence. The inscription, however, is not peculiar to Sidmouth: it is found at other places in the county of Devon, and perhaps elsewhere. In Harvey's *Sidmouth Directory* for March, 1851, there is an article descriptive of all the six bells at this place, in which there is a fac-simile, engraved on wood, of the inscription in question. The words run all round the bell; and each word is placed on a cartouche. The Rev. Dr. Oliver of Exeter, in his communication to the writer on this subject, calls the bell the 'Jesus Bell.' The *Directory* observes:

'It was formerly the practice to christen bells with ceremonies similar to, but even more solemn than, those attending the naming of children; and they were frequently dedicated to Christ (as this is), to the Virgin, or some saint.'

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Dr. Oliver to the writer says:

'I have met with it at Whitstone near this city (Exeter), at East Teignmouth, &c.; *michi* for *mihi*; ihc, the abbreviation for Jesus. Very often the word *veneratum* occurs instead of *amatum*, and *illud* instead of *istud*.'

The ihc stands thus: ihc̄. The *Directory*, on this abbreviated word, remarks,—

"The IHS, as an abbreviation for Jesus, is a blunder. Casley, in his *Catalogue of the King's MSS.*, observes, p. 23, that 'in Latin MSS. the Greek letters of the word Christus, as also Jesus, are always retained, except that the terminations are changed according to the Latin language. Jesus is written IHS, or in small characters ihs, which is the Greek IHΣ or ιης, an abbreviation for ιησους. However, the scribes knew nothing of this for a thousand years before the invention of printing, for if they had they would not have written ihs for ιησους; but they ignorantly copied after one another such letters as they found put for these words. Nay, at length they pretended to find *Jesus Hominum Salvator* comprehended in the word IHS, which is another proof that they took the middle letter for *h*, not η. The dash also over the word, which is a sign of abbreviation, some have changed to the sign of the cross' [Hone's *Mysteries*, p. 282]. The old way of spelling Jhesus with an *h* may perhaps be referred to the same mistake. The inscription, then, runs thus: Est mihi collatum Jesus istud nomen amatum, which may be rendered, Jesus, that beloved name, is given to me. The bell bears no date, but is of course older than the period of the Reformation. But it remains to be observed that the last letter of the three is not an *s* but a *c*. It seems that in the old Greek inscriptions the substitution of the *c* for the *s* was common. Several examples are given in Horne's Introduction, vol. ii. pt. i. ch. iii. sect. 2, but we have not room to quote them. Suffice it to say that at p. 100, in speaking of the MSS. of the Codex Vaticanus, he says, 'The abbreviations are few, being confined chiefly to those words which are in general abbreviated, such as ΘC, KC, IC, XC, for Θεος, Κυριος, Ιησους, Χριστος, *God, Lord, Jesus, Christ*.' At the end of these words in the abbreviations, the *c* is used for the *s*.—*Peter*.

This fourth bell is the oldest in the tower. The third, dated 1667, has quite a modern appearance as compared with it. The second, fifth, and sixth are all dated 1708, and the first, or smallest, was added in 1824. PETER ORLANDO HUTCHINSON, Sidmouth." 1st. S. ix. 592. 1854.

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(*c*) "Here is a modern achievement in this kind of literature. It exists on one of the eight bells belonging to the church tower of Pilton, Devon:

> 'Recast by John Taylor and Son,
> Who the best prize for church bells won
> At the Great Ex-hi-bi-ti-on
> In London, 1-8-5 and 1.' R. W. C."
> 1st S. ix. 593. 1854.

(*d*) "The legend noted from a bell at Sidmouth (vol. ix. p. 109), namely,—

> 'Est michi collatum
> Ihc istud nomen amatum,'

is not an unusual inscription on mediæval black-letter bells, if I may use the expression. The characters are small. It is on two bells at Teignmouth, and is on one of the bells in this tower.

1. '✠ Voce mea viva depello cuncta nociva.'
2. '✠ Est michi collatum Ihc istud nomen amatum.'
3. 'Embrace trew museck.'

". . . . Dates on mediæval bells are, I believe, very rare in England. I have but few notes of any. My impression is that such bells are as old as the towers which contain them, judging from the character of the letter, the wear and tear of the iron work, aye, of the bell itself. Many old bells have been recast, and on *such* there is often a record of the date of its prototype. For instance, at St. Peter's, Exeter:
'Ex dono Petri Courtenay,' &c., '1484'; 'renovat,' &c., '1676.' H. T. ELLACOMBE, Rectory, Clyst St. George." 1st S. ix. 595. 1854.

(C.) [*On Horses' necks*]:—"The custom of hanging bells on the necks of horses . . . . . obtains in most of the counties of England. I have notes of having observed it in . . . . . Devonshire. . . . . The form of the bell is much the same in most of the counties; . . . and . . bells of similar form have been found on Roman sites during the progress of excavations. L. JEWITT." 1st. S. vi. 135. 1852.

(D.) For *Bells* see also 498. A. *a. b.*

37. BELSTONE. 418.

38. BELTANE.

. . . . . "At the village of Holne, situated on one of the spurs of Dartmoor, is a field of about two acres, the property

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of the parish, and called the Ploy (*Play*) Field. In the centre of this stands a granite pillar (Menhir) six or seven feet high. On May morning, before daybreak, the young men of the village assemble there, and then proceed to the Moor, where they select a ram lamb (doubtless with the consent of the owner), and after running it down, bring it in triumph to the Ploy Field, fasten it to the pillar, cut its throat, and then roast it whole, skin, wool, &c. At midday a struggle takes place, at the risk of cut hands, for a slice, it being supposed to confer luck for the ensuing year on the fortunate devourer. As an act of gallantry, in high esteem among the females, the young men sometimes fight their way through the crowd to get a slice for their chosen amongst the young women, all of whom, in their best dresses, attend the *Ram Feast*, as it is called. Dancing, wrestling, and other games, assisted by copious libations of cider during the afternoon, prolong the festivity till nightfall.

The time, the place (looking east), the mystic pillar, and the ram, surely bear some evidence in favour of the Ram Feast being a sacrifice to Baal. AN OLD HOLNE CURATE." 1st S. vii. 353. 1853.

39. BENNET. 192. B. *a.*
40. BERRY. 505. C. *c.*
41. BIDEFORD. 187. F.
42. BIGBURY. 332. *a.*
43. BILBIE. 498. A. *b.*

44. BISHOP.

(A.) "*Bishops deprived by Queen Elizabeth in June*, 1599:—*James Turbervyle*, Bishop of Exeter, is said by R. Izacke, in his *Antiquities of the City of Exeter*, 8vo., 1677, to have died Nov. 1, 1559. Wood's *Ath. Oxon.*, vol. ii. c. 795.

. . . . . .

Gilbert Bourne, Bishop of Bath and Wells, died at Silverton, in Devonshire, Sept. 10, 1569. Cassan's *Bishops of Bath and Wells*, 8vo. 1829, Part I. pp. 462–467. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 33. JOHN I. DREDGE." 1st. S. vi. 203. 1852.

(B.) For *Bishop*, see also 90. *a.*

45. BITUMEN. 57.
46. BLACK HOUND. 392.

47. BLOOD.

[*Devonshire charm for stopping Blood*]:—"Our Blessed Saviour was born in Bethlehem and baptized in the river Jordan.

'The waters were wild and rude,
The child Jesus was meek, mild, and good.'

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He put His foot into the waters, and the waters stopped, and so shall thy blood, in the Name, &c. H. G. T., Launceston." 1st S. iii. 259. 1851.

48. Bodley, John.

(*a*) "Among the Parker MSS. in Corpus Library at Cambridge is a patent of Queen Elizabeth to John Bodeleigh to print the English Bible for seven years.

In the list of translators of the Bible in 1611, as given in the Introduction to Jameson's *Glossary of the Holy Scriptures*, appears the name 'Burleigh, M.A.,' but without any biographical notice, as in the other instances.

In Burn's *Livre des Anglois à Génève* it is stated that John Bodleigh, the father of the celebrated Sir Thomas Bodley, was one of the translators of the Bible.

Can any of your readers throw light on the history of either of these men, or kindly point to any sources of information respecting them? . . . S. S. S." 1st S. iv., 59. 1851.

(*b*) "John Bodley is a name that ought not to be passed over without due reverence. He not only fostered the translation of the Genevan Bible, but was specially interested in its circulation throughout England. Neither Fox, Burnet, or Strype, Mr. Todd, or Mr. Whittaker give us any particular information respecting him. Lewis glances at him as *one* John Bodley; and Mr. Townley, in his valuable *Biblical Literature*, after some notice of Whittingham, Gilby, Sampson, &c., closes by saying, 'Of John Bodleigh no account has been obtained.'

This good and pious man was the father of the celebrated Sir Thomas Bodley. He was born at Exeter, and, according to the statement of his son (*Autobiography*, 4to., Oxf. 1647),—

'In the time of Queen Mary, after being cruelly threatened and narrowly observed by those that maliced his religion, for the safety of himself and my mother (formerly Miss Joan Hone, an heiress in the hundred of Ottery St. Mary), who was wholly affected as my father, knew no way so secure as to fly into Germany; where, after a while, he found means to call over my mother, with all his children and family, when he settled for a while at Wesel, in Cleveland, and from thence we removed to the town of Frankfort. Howbeit, we made no long tarriance in either of these towns, for that my father had resolved to fix his abode in the city of Geneva, where, as far as I remember, the English Church consisted of some hundred members.'

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John Bodley returned to England in 1559, and on the 8th of January, 1560–61, a patent was granted to him by Queen Elizabeth, 'to imprint, or cause to be imprinted, the English Bible, with annotations.' This privilege was to last for the space of seven years. In 1565 Bodley was preparing for a new impression; and by March the next year, a careful review and correction being finished, this zealous reformer wished to *renew* his patent beyond the seven years first granted. It does not appear, however, that his application to the authorities had the desired effect; for it will be remembered that Archbishop Parker's Bible was now in the field, and the Queen's Secretary, Sir William Cecil, was compelled to act with caution. A curious letter, addressed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London to Sir William Cecil, concerning the extension of Bodley's privilege, is printed from the Lansdown MS. No. 8 (Art. 82), in *Letters of Eminent Literary Men*, edited by Sir Henry Ellis for the Camden Society.

For a full history of the Geneva Bible, I beg to refer S. S. S. to the second volume of Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*. London. 2 vols. 8vo. 1845. EDWARD F. RIMBAULT." 1st S. iv. 117. 1851.

(*c*) "In the notice of Sir Thomas Bodley contained in Prince's *Worthies of Devon*, S. S. S. will find some particulars relating to his father John Bodley. Prince's account of Sir Thomas is 'from a MS. on probable grounds supposed to be his own handwriting, now in the custody of a neighbour gentleman,' (Walter Bogan, of Gatcombe, near Totnes). From this it appears that John Bodley was long resident at Geneva—

'Where [says Sir Thomas], as far as I remember, the English church consisted of some hundred persons. I was at that time of twelve years of age, but through my father's cost and care sufficiently instructed to become an auditor of Chevalerius in Hebrew, of Beraldus in Greek, of Calvin and Beza in divinity, and of some other professors in the university, which was then newly erected; besides my domestical teachers in the house of Philibertus Saracenus, a famous physician in that city, with whom I was boarded, where Robertus Constantinus, that made the Greek Lexicon, read Homer unto me.'

There is, however, no mention of John Bodley's having been one of the translators of the Bible. R. J. KING." 1st S. iv. 117. 1851.

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(*d*) "—— 'Burleigh, M.A.' . . . must have been a different person to John Bodley, the father of the celebrated Sir Thomas Bodley. In the very interesting 'History of English Translations and Translators' prefixed to Bagster's *English Hexapla*, 'Mr. Burgley of Stretford' is mentioned as one, with this note:—

'In the Lambeth MS. it is 'Mr. Henry Burleigh.' It is added, one of that name was B.D. in 1594, and D.D. in 1607. P. 104.'

Townley, however, in his *Illustrations of Biblical Literature*, 1821, vol. iii. p. 293, supposes him to have been the Francis Burleigh, D.D., who, according to Newcourt, became vicar of Stortford, in 1590. See *Reportorium*, vol. i. p. 896. JOHN I. DREDGE." 1st S. iv. 240. 1851.

(*e*) "Among my matches in and about London (which I shall always be glad to search for your correspondents) is the following:—'23 July, 1608, *John Bodleigh*, Aldgate, printer, B. 34, free of the stationers and a freeman; and *Elizabeth Hemp*, of Paul's Wharf, Sp. 30. St. Brides. J. S. B." 1st S. iv. 240. 1851.

49. BODLEY, SIR JOSIAS.

(*a*) "Was Sir Josias Bodley, as stated by Harris in Ware's *Writers of Ireland*, a younger brother of Sir Thomas Bodley, the founder of the Bodleian Library? Who did Sir Josias Bodley marry; where did he live after his employment in Ireland ceased, and where did he die? Any information relating to him and his descendants will be most gratefully received. Y. L." 1st S. vii. 357. 1853.

(*b*) "Your correspondent . . . . will find some account of the family of Bodley in Prince's *Worthies of Devon*, edit. 1810, pp. 92–105, and in Moore's *History of Devon*, vol. ii. pp. 220–27. . . . J. D. S." 1st S. vii. 561. 1853.

50. BODLEY, SIR THOMAS.

(*a*) "*Sir Thomas Bodley's Life*:—I have in my possession a MS. autobiography of Sir Thomas Bodley, with a copy of his will, &c. (p. 110, 8vo.), and apparently in the handwriting of the early part of the seventeenth century. Can you give me any information respecting this interesting memoir of one to whom scholars are so deeply indebted, besides what has been recorded by Lowndes? ABIIBA." 1st S. xi. 125. 1855.

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(*b*) "Prince, in his *Worthies of Devon*, ed. 1810, p. 92, mentions a MS. autobiography of Sir T. Bodley, as belonging to Walter Bogan, Esq., of Gatcombe, in the county of Devon, which may perhaps be that now the property of AHBHA. The library of the British Museum has two MS. lives of Sir T. Bodley; viz., Harl. Coll. 852, and Sloane Coll. 1786; also some notes relating to his life from his own autograph, Cotton Coll., Titus, c. vii. It is to be regretted that a life of Sir T. Bodley has not been published by some competent writer, highly interesting as it would be in connexion with the literature, and indeed in some degree with the politics of his period, and as relates to his magnificent foundation at Oxford. Materials for such a work, with particulars relating to his family, exist to a considerable extent in the libraries of the British Museum and of Oxford. J. D. S." 1st S. xi. 251. 1855.

(*c*) "An autobiography of Sir Thomas Bodley was published in London in the year 1703, in an octavo volume entitled—

'*Reliquiæ Bodleianæ: or some genuine Remains of Sir Thomas Bodley.* Containing his Life, the first draught of the Statutes of the Public Library at Oxford (in English), and a Collection of Letters to Dr. James, &c., published from the Originals in the said Library.'

In Oldy's *Brit. Libr.*, pp. 239–250, there is a copious account of the contents and value of the work, and the following remark:

'These remains of that famous founder of the Public Library at Oxford, are pretty well known to have been published (though their editor's name appears not to them) by the late Mr. Hearne.' The book is, I believe, scarce; my copy appears to have belonged to Archdeacon Nares. The editor in his preface says:

'It was for the sake of this noble library, that lately in my searches in it, finding Sir Thomas Bodley's Life, the first draught of its Statutes, and a Collection of Letters to Dr. James (first keeper of it), &c., all written by Sir Thomas Bodley's own hand, I immediately took a transcript of them and sent them to the press. . . . . The life of Sir Thomas, it is true, was printed some years ago, and the two letters written to Sir Francis Bacon, not long since at the end of the Collection of Letters of Archbishop Usher; but the copies of the former being all dispersed, and the latter containing in them things of more than ordinary moment, it was thought fit to reprint them.'

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The *Life* begins thus, 'I was born at Exeter, in Devonshire, the 2nd of March, in the year 1544;' and it ends with these words: 'Written with mine own hand, anno 1609, December 11th.' It occupies fifteen pages; the whole volume consists of 383 pages. The letters afford a striking proof of the unwearied zeal and labour with which this second Ptolemy (as he has been called) prosecuted the magnificent work of founding his noble library, which he terms his Cabinet of the Muses. WM. SIDNEY GIBSON, Newcastle-upon-Tyne." 1st S. xi. 316. 1855.

50. BOGAN. 50. *b.*

51. BOOKS.

(A.) "*Books chained to Desks in Churches:*"—(*a*) "Rutter, in his *Somersetshire*, speaks of some old reading-desks, which were still remaining in 1829 in Wrington Church, on which were several books. . . . . There was one about the same time at Chew Magna Church, Somersetshire; with a copy of Bishop Jewel's *Defence of the Church* chained to it. . . . . R. W. ELLIOTT." 1st S. viii. 206. 1853.

(*b*) "'At the desire of Archbishop Parker, a copy of [Jewel's] *Defence* was set up soon after Jewel's death, in almost every parish church in England; and fragments of it are still to be seen in some churches, together with the chain by which it was attached to the reading-desk provided for it.' This extract is taken from the life of *Bishop Jewel*, prefixed to the English translation of the *Apology*, edited by Dr. Jelf for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. (8vo. 1849,) p. xx. W. SPARROW SIMPSON." 1st S. viii. 206. 1853.

(*c*) "At Bowness Church, on Windermere Lake, there is (or at least was, in 1842) a copy of Erasmus's *Paraphrase* chained. If I am not mistaken, some of Jewel's works will also be found there. E. H. A." 1st S. viii. 206. 1853.

(*d*) "In Prestwich Church, the desk yet remains, together with the 'Book of Articles,' bound up as prescribed with Jewel's *Apology* (black-letter, 1611), but the chain has disappeared. . . . . JOHN BOOKER, Prestwich." 1st S. viii. 273. 1853.

(*e*) "In the chancel of Leyland Church, Lancashire, are four folio books chained to a window seat which makes a

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sloping desk for them: They are Foxe's *Martyrs* and Jewel's *Apology*, both in black-letter, title-pages torn, and much worn. . . . . P. P." 1st S. viii. 453. 1853.

(*f*) "At Bromsgrove Church, Worcestershire, a copy of Bishop Jewel's Sermon on 1 Cor. ix. 16 (1609) is chained to a small lectern. . . . CUTHBERT BEDE, B.A." 1st S. viii. 596. 1853.

(*g*) "In Frampton Cotterell Church, near Bristol, there is a copy of Bishop Jewel's works chained to a desk in the south aisle. It is sadly mutilated by the tearing out of leaves. . . . . J. L. S., Sen." 1st S, x. 174. 1854.

(*h*) " . . . . At Bridlington, Yorkshire, . . . the following books are chained: Bishop's Jewel's *Works*; Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*; Heylin's *Works*; Comber's *Companion to the Temple*. C. MANSFIELD INGLEBY, Birmingham." 1st S. xii. 312. 1855.

(*i*) "The following is an extract quoted from the registers of the parish church of Tavistock, Devon:

'Item. Paide for a chayne and settinge in thereof, for the fastenynge of the Dictionarrie in the Schole Howse ix^{d}'

Appended to the above is a foot-note, which remarks:

'This is an amusing charge, and shows the scarcity of lexicographic tomes in that day (1588).'

The black-letter, *Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs*, are also spoken of as being similarly attached (in many parish churches), *pro bono publico*, 'to a chayne.' Erasmus's *Paraphrase on the Gospels* is so secured in Tavistock Church, the original cost of which was fifteen shillings. The date of this parochial document appears thus worded:

'Ffrom the thirde of Maye, in the yere of our Lorde Godd one thousande ffyve hundred ffower schore and eight, until the third day of Maye, in the yere of our Lorde Godd one thousande ffyve hundred ffower score and nyne, that is to weete, for one whole yere' F. PHILLOTT." 1st S. xii. 479. 1855.

(B.) [*Devonshire Dealers in Second-Hand*]: "Exeter. Holden, 60 High Street." [Ed. *N. & Q.*] 1st S. xii. 97. 1855.

(C.) [*Murray's Hand-Book for Devon and Cornwall*]: "The author does not mention Haccombe Chapel or

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Oswell* Rocks, both near Newton; the latter is a most picturesque spot, and the view near and far most interesting! A notice of the tiles, and the 2-ft. 2-in. effigy at Haccombe, appears in the *Arch. Journal*, iii. 151, 237.—The monuments are in fine preservation up to the last of the 'Haccombes' *ante* 1342, which is *perfect*.—The chapel would be improved by the removal of the two pews, and of the family arms from the velvet cloth on the communion-table!—Tavistock Church has an east window by Williment; pattern, and our Saviour in the centre.—The church by Dartmouth Castle contains a brass, and armorial gallery; the visitor should sail round the rock at the harbour entrance, its appearance from seaward is fine.—Littleham Church has a decorated wooden screen, very elegant.—A work on the Devonshire pulpits and screens would be valuable. A. C." 1st S. iii. 4. 1851.

52. BOTANICAL TOUR. 280. *a. b.*

53. BOUNDARIES.

"*Antiquity of County Boundaries*:—In the loop of Devonshire, on the western side of the Tamar, formed by the parishes of Werrington and North Petherwyn, none of the names of places are Cornish, but end in the Saxon termination of *cot*, whilst in all other parts the Cornish names are used up to the banks of the river. . . . S. R. P. Launceston." 1st S. v. 197. 1852.

54. BOURCHIER FAMILY.

"Monuments, with inscriptions, to William Bourchier, Earl of Bath; Many of the family of Bourchier-Wrey, and others allied to them, are in the Church of Tavistock,* in the county of Devon; and the whole of them have been carefully transcribed with notes of the heraldry. S. S. S." 1st iv. 329. 1851.

55. BOURNE. 44.

56. BOUTELL. 332. *a.*

57. BOVEY HEATHFIELD.

"*Fir-trees found in Bogs*:—. . . . Dr. Croker of South Bovey, Devon, has *cones* of the Scotch fir (*P. Sylv.*) carbonized, taken from the coal-pits of Bovey Heathfield, originally an

* [Probably a misprint for "Ogwell."]
† [Probably a misprint for "Tawstock."]

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immense lake and bog below the level of the sea, in which had floated the aboriginal drift-wood from the forests of Dartmoor, brought down by the river Teign, and which during the lapse of ages has been carbonized, and is now the substance called 'Bovey coal,' which supplies the fuel for the extensive potteries there. The form of the trees, their bark, and internal laminæ, are very perceptible; and there are large lumps of what they call there *Bitumy* or *Bitumen*, which burn like a candle, and are no doubt inspissated turpentine. WM. COLLYNS, M.R.C.S., Drewsteignton." 1st S. xi. 275. 1855.

58. BOWRING, Sir John.

(*a*) "I must make a query here with regard to Dr. Bowring's delightful and highly interesting *Anthologies*. I have his Russian, Dutch, and Spanish *Anthologies*. *Did he ever publish any others?* I have not met with them. I know he contemplated writing translations from Polish, Servian, Hungarian, Finnish, Lithonian, and other poets. JARLTZBERG." 1st. S. ii. 152. 1850.

(*b*) "Besides the anthologies mentioned by JARLTZBERG, Dr. Bowring has published *Poets of the Magyars*, 8vo., London, 1830; *Specimens of Polish Poets*, 1827; *Servian popular Poetry*, 1827; and a *Cheskian Anthology*, 1832. H. H. W." 1st. S. ii. 219. 1850.

(*c*) ". . . . . Dr. Bowring, in his *Russian Anthology*, states as a remarkable fact, that the first Russian grammar ever published was published in England. It was entitled *H. W. Ludolfi Grammatica Russica quæ continet et Manuductionem quandum ad Grammaticam Slavonicam*. Oxon. 1696. . . . . Jappe's grammar, Dr. Bowring says, is the best he ever met with. . . . . JARLTZBERG." 1st S. ii. 152. 1850.

59. BOYCE. 90. *b*
60. BRASSES. 332.
61. BRATTON FLEMING. 195. A.
62. BRAUNTON. 332. *a*.

63. "BREASTILLS."

[*Devonshire charm for*]: "An inhabitant of this parish told me that his father went into Lydford Church, at twelve o'clock at night, and cut off some lead from every diamond pane in the windows; with which he made a heart, to be worn by his wife afflicted with *breastills, i. e.* sore breasts. H. G. T., Launceston." 1st. S. iii. 259. 1851.

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64. BRIDGEMAN, Bishop of Chester.

(*a*) "*Bishop Bridgeman*:—Will you direct me to the best means of obtaining answers to the following questions:—

John Bridgeman, fellow and tutor of Magdalen Coll., Camb., was admitted *ad eundem* at Oxford, July 4, 1600; and consecrated Bishop of Chester, May, 1619. The points of inquiry are—

1. When was the said John Bridgeman entered at Cambridge?
2. When and where was he born?
3. Who and what were his parents?

C. J. CLAY, B.A. (Trin. Coll. Camb.)." 1st S. v. 80. 1852.

(*b*) [The following is the editor's reply to the foregoing query]:—"Leycester, in his *Cheshire*, says, 'Bishop Bridgeman was the son of Thomas Bridgeman of Greenaway in Devonshire,' but other authorities make him a native of Exeter. Prince (*Worthies of Devon*, p. 99) says, 'He was born in the city of Exeter, not far from the palace gate there, of honest and gentile parentage. His father was Edmund Bridgeman, sometime high-sheriff of that city and county, A.D. 1578. Who his mother was I do not find. In Wood's *Fasti*, vol. i. p. 286, Mr. Bliss has the following note: 'John Bridgman, natus erat Exoniæ. Vid. Izaak's *Antiq. of Exeter*, p. 156; S. T. P. Cant. Coll. Magd. an. 1612. Vid. Prynne's *Antipathy*, p. 290; and *Worthies of Devon*, BAKER.' Ormerod (*Hist. of Cheshire*, i. 79) says 'He was the compiler of a valuable work relating to the ecclesiastical history of the diocese, now deposited in the episcopal registry, and usually denominated Bishop Bridgeman's *Leger*.' For other particulars respecting him, consult Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part ii. p. 10; Ackerman's *Cambridge*, vol. ii. p. 160; Prynne's *New Discovery of the Prelate's Tyranny*, pp. 91, 108, 218; and Cole's MSS. vol. xxvii. p. 218." 1st S. v. 80. 1852.

65. BRIXHAM. 315. *c.*
66. BRONESCOMBE. 174.
67. BROOKE. 332. *b.*

68. BROWNE, William.

(A.) "*The Badger's Legs*:—In answer to one of your correspondents, who inquires whether there is any allusion to the inequalities of the badger's legs previous to that made by Sir T. Browne:—

> 'And as that beast hath legs (which shepherds fear,
> Yclept a badger, which our lambs doth tear),

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One long, the other short, that when he runs
Upon the plain, he halts, but when he runs
On craggy rocks, or steepy hills, we see
None runs more swift or easier than he.'
Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*, B. i. Song 5. A.D. 1613.

J. F. BOYES." 1st S. ii. 12. 1850.

(B.) "*Britannia's Pastorals*:—I have lately been amusing myself by reading the small volume with this title published in Clarke's *Cabinet Series*, 1845.

Among the many pleasing passages that I met with in its pages, *two* in particular struck me as being remarkable for their beauty; but I find that neither of them is cited by either Ellis or Campbell. (See Ellis, *Specimens of the Early English Poets*, 4th edition, corrected, 1811; and Campbell, *Specimens of the British Poets*, 1819.)

Indeed Campbell says of Browne:

'His poetry is not without beauty; but it is the beauty of mere landscape and allegory, without the manners and passions that constitute human interest'—Vol. iii. p. 323.

Qualified by some expression as—*too often—generally—in almost every instance*,—the last clause might have passed,—standing as it does, it appears to me to give anything but a fair idea of the poetry of the *Pastorals*. My two favourites are the 'Description of Night'—

'Now great Hyperion left his golden throne,' &c.,

(consisting of twenty-six lines)—book ii. song 1 (Clarke, p. 186); and the 'Lament of the Little Shepherd for his friend Philocel'—

'With that the little shepherd left his task,' &c.,

(forty-four lines)—book ii. song 4. (Clarke, p. 278.)

If you will allow me to quote a short extract from each passage, it may enable the reader to see how far I am justified in protesting against Campbell's criticism; and I will then try to support the pretensions of the last, by showing that much of the very same imagery that it contains is to be found in other writings of aknowledged merit:—

I. FROM THE 'DESCRIPTION OF NIGHT.'

'And as Night's chariot through the air was driven,
Clamour grew dumb, unheard was shepherd's song,
And silence girt the woods: no warbling tongue
Talk'd to the echo; satyrs broke their dance,
And all the upper world lay in a trance.
Only the curlèd streams soft chidings kept,
And little gales that from the green leaf swept
Dry summer's dust, in fearful whisp'rings stirred,
As loath to waken any singing bird.'

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II. FROM THE 'LAMENT OF THE LITTLE SHEPHERD.'

'See! yonder hill where he was wont to sit,
A cloud doth keep the golden sun from it,
And for his seat (as teaching us) hath made
A mourning covering with a scowling shade.
The dew in every flower, this morn, hath lain,
Longer than it was wont this side the plain,
Belike they mean, since my best friend must die
To shed their silver drops as he goes by.
Not all this day here, nor in coming hither,
Heard I the sweet birds tune their songs together,
Except one nightingale in yonder dell
Sighed a sad elegy for Philocel.
Near whom a wood-dove kept no small ado,
To bid me, in her language, '*Do so too.*'—
The wether's bell, that leads our flock around,
Yields, as methinks, this day a deader sound.
The little sparrows which in hedges creep,
Ere I was up did seem to bid me weep.
If these do so, can I have feeling less,
That am more apt to take and to express?
No—let my own tunes be the mandrake's groan,
If now they tend to mirth when all have none.'

Both these passages may have been quoted by some of Campbell's predecessors. This might justify him in not repeating them, but *not* in writing the criticism to which I have ventured to object. His work holds a high place in English literature—it is taken as a text-book by *the generality of readers;* for which reasons I think that every dictum it lays down ought to be examined with more than usual care and attention.

Compare with different parts of the 'Lament:'—

'And Ardennes waves above them her green leaves,
Dewy with nature's tear-drops, as they pass,
Grieving, if aught inanimate o'er grieves,
Over the unreturning brave,—alas!
Ere evening to be trodden like the grass,' &c.
Childe Harold, canto iii. st. 27.

'The morning of the day on which the farmer was to be buried was rendered remarkable by the uncommon denseness of an autumnal fog. To Mrs. Mason's eye, it threw a gloom over the face of nature; nor, when it gradually yielded to the influence of the sun, and slowly retiring from the valley, hung, as if rolled into masses, midway upon the mountains, did the changes thus produced excite any admiration. Still, wherever she looked, all seemed to wear the aspect of sadness. As she passed from Morrison's to the house of mourning, the shocks of yellow corn, spangled with dew-drops, appeared to her to stand as mementos of the vanity of human hopes, and the inutility of human labours. The cattle,

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as they went forth to pasture, lowing as they went, seemed as if lamenting that the hand which fed them was at rest; and even the Robin-red-breast, whose cheerful notes she had so often listened to with pleasure, now seemed to send forth a song of sorrow, expressive of dejection and woe.'—

Miss Hamilton's *Cottagers of Glenburnie*, chap. xii.

C. FORBES, Temple." 1st S. iii. 274. 1851.

(C) "*Odour from the Rainbow*" (*a*) "What English poet is it that embodies the idea contained in the following passage in Bacon's *Sylva?*

'It hath been observed by the Ancients, that when a Raine Bow seemeth to hang over or to touch, there breaketh forth a sweet smell.' . . . Bacon's *Sylva*, by Rawley, 6th ed., 1651, p. 176. JARLTZBERG." 1st S. iii. 224. 1851.

(*b*) "I hope that I have found JARLTZBERG'S note in the following lines:—

'Like to that smell which oft our sense descries
Within a field which long unploughëd lies,
Somewhat before the setting of the sun;
And where the rainbow in the horizon
Doth pitch her tips; or as when in the prime,
The earth being troublëd with a drought long time,
The hand of heaven his spongy clouds doth strain,
And throws into her lap a shower of rain;
She sendeth up (conceived from the sun)
A sweet perfume and exhalation.'

Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals*, book i. song 2.
[Clarke's Cabinet Series, 1845, p. 70.]

C. FORBES." 1st S. iii. 310. 1851.

69. BRUTUS. 505. A. *a. b.*

70. BRYANT.

(*a*) "Can any of your correspondents direct me where to find any account of the Bryant family? Is there any work of *Commoners* besides Burke's? What are the arms of Bryant (I believe) of Tiverton?—also crest? Burke gives the arms in his *Heraldic Dictionary*, but does not state from whence. Any information about the family will be thankfully received. A FRIEND OF THE FAMILY." 1st S. x. 385. 1854.

(*b*) [The following is given as a foot-note to the foregoing.] "Burke's *Armory* contains the following notice: 'BRYANT. Az. on a cross or, a cinquefoil between four lozenges gu. Crest, a flag az. charged with saltire ar.'" 1st S. x. 385. 1854.

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71. BUCKFASTLEIGH. 418. 72. BUCKYATT. 505. C. *c.*

73. BULL FROG.

"A creature of enormous size, called a 'bull frog,' is believed to live under the foundation-stones of old houses, hedges, &c. I remember having heard it spoken of with great awe. R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 512. 1850.

74. BURN. 250, 430.

75. BUTTERFLY.

"In Devonshire it is thought unlucky not to catch the first butterfly. M. A. BALLIOL." 1st S. ix. 536. 1854.

76. CALMADY FAMILY.

(*a*) "Would . . . any of your correspondents kindly give any information they may possess as to the families of Calmady and Wescombe, with any account of their alliances with each other?

Also, who Sir Martin Wescombe, Bart., married. He was consul at Cadiz in the middle or latter end of the seventeenth century; and his son Sir Anthony Wescombe, married the daughter and heiress of — Calmady, Esq. . . . Is there not a family of Calmady now residing near Plymouth who are descendants of this ancient house? . . . INVESTIGATOR." 1st S. xii. 285. 1855.

(*b*) "The ancient house of Calmady is now represented by Vincent Calmady, Esq., only son and heir of Charles Biggs Calmady, and Emily, daughter of William Greenwood, of Brookwood, Hants. Their seat is Langdon Hall, near Plymouth. There is an elaborate pedigree in the possession of the family. . . . ANON." 1st S. xii. 461. 1855.

(*c*) "The only family residing in the neighbourhood of Plymouth, and bearing this name, assumed it, I believe, a generation or two ago. As far as the west of England is concerned the male line is extinct, and the female is represented by others than those to whom I have referred. The names of Hamlyn and Hotchkys, both of Devonshire, are the only two that occur to me at present. CONTRIBUTOR." 1st S. xii. 461. 1855.

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77. CANN FAMILY.

"Can any of your correspondents enlighten me as to the origin of this family name; and if of foreign origin, . . . in what county of England they first settled? . . . . . Burke informs us that William Cann, Esq., was Mayor of Bristol in 1648, and that his son, Sir Robert Cann, also Mayor, and afterwards M.P. for that city, was knighted by Charles II. in 1662, and created a Baronet, September 13th in the same year. The title became extinct in 1765, by the death of Sir Robert Cann, the sixth Baronet. The first Baronet had several brothers, some of whom probably left issue, as I find a respectable family of that name now, and for many years past, located in Devonshire; but I am not aware if they are descended from the same stock. DOMINI-CANN, Canada."

1st S. vii. 330. 1853.

78. CARDS. 284.

79. CARPENTER, Dr. W. B.

"*The Physiology of Temperance and Total Abstinence, being an Examination of the Effects of the Excessive, Moderate, and Occasional Use of Alcoholic Liquors on the Healthy Human System*, by Dr. Carpenter: a shilling pamphlet, temperately written and closely argued, and well deserving the attention of all, even of the most temperate."

Editorial Notice. 1st S. viii. 282. 1853.

80. CAREW. 13. *b. c.*

81. CARY. 332. *a.*

82. CATS.

(A.) [It is believed in Devonshire that] "a cat will not remain in a house with an unburied corpse; and rooks will leave the place until after the funeral, if the rookery be near the house. R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 512. 1850.

(B.) "*May Cats:*—In Wilts, and also in Devon, it is believed that cats born in the month of May will catch no mice nor rats, but will, contrary to the wont of all other cats, bring in snakes and slow-worms. Such cats are called 'May cats,' and are held in contempt. H. G. T." 1st S. iii. 20. 1851.

83. CELTIC LANGUAGE.

"When was the Celtic language obsolete in the South Hams of Devon? G. R. L." 1st S. ix. 373. 1854.

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84. CHAGFORD. 382. *b.*
85. CHAMPERNOWNE. 434. *a. b. c. d.*
86. CHARADE. 396. *a. b.*
87. CHARM. 430. 530.
88. CHICHESTER. 332. *a.*
89. CHIEL. 167.

90. CHILCOT, Rev. William.

(*a*) "As I am about to reprint . . . . . *A Practical Treatise concerning Evil Thoughts*, by William Chilcot, can any of your readers give me any account of his life? The work was originally, I believe, printed in Exeter, 1698, or thereabouts, as I find it in a catalogue of 'Books printed for and sold by Philip Bishop, over against the Guildhall in Exon, 1702.' It was reprinted, 'London, 1734,' for 'Edward Score, over against the Guildhall in Exeter.' And again (*privately*), a few years ago. Of the *first* edition I have never seen a copy, although I am not aware that it is particularly scarce; of the second, copies are not uncommon.

If any of your readers could communicate any information regarding the author, I should feel much obliged. RICHARD HOOPER, University Club, Suffolk Street." 1st S. iii. 38. 1851.

(*b*) "Mr. HOOPER is referred to the *History of Tiverton*, by Lieut. Col. Harding, ed. Boyce, Tiverton; Whittaker, London; 1847, vol. ii., b. iii., p. 167, for an account of the family of Chilcot *alias* Comyn; to which most likely the author belonged, and was probably a native of Tiverton. . . . . I send the substance of an extract. Robert Chilcot *alias* Comyn, born at Tiverton, com. Devon, merchant, and who died, it is supposed, at Isleworth, com. Middlesex, about A.D. 1609, 'married Ann, d. of Walter Cade of London, Haberdasher, by whom he had one son, *William*, who married Catherine, d. of Thomas Billingsly of London, merchant, and had issue.' Certain lands also in Tiverton, A.D. 1680–90 are described as 'now or late of William Comyns *alias* Chilcott.' —*Ibid.* p. 61.

If the first edition of the work were in 1698, most likely the author was a grandson of the above-named William Chilcot and Catherine his wife, which the Tiverton registers might show. If the search prove unsuccessful there, try that of Watford, Herts, where a branch of the same family was settled, and to which there are monuments in Watford churchyard. E. A. D." 1st S. iii. 73. 1851.

(*c*) "William Chilcott, M.A., was rector of St. George's, Exeter, where he died on May 30, 1711, at the age of forty-

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eight. The coat of arms on the tablet to his memory indicates that he married a Coplestone. His daughter Catherine died in August, 1695. The first edition of the *Practical Treatise concerning Evil Thoughts* was printed at Exeter in 1690, and was dedicated to his parishioners. Robert Chilcott, whom I take to be the brother of William, was rector of St. Mary Major in Exeter, and died Feb. 7, 1689.

There does not appear to be any evidence that the persons above mentioned were descended from the Chilcotts of Tiverton, though the identity of the Christian names renders it probable. If the object were to trace their ancestors or their descendants, much might be added to the suggestions of E. A. D. by searching the registers at Tiverton, and by comparing Prince's *Worthies of Devon*, ed. 1810, p. 213, and Polwhele's *Devon*, vol. iii. p. 351., with Harding's *Tiverton*; in various parts of which eight or nine individuals of the same name are mentioned; especially vol. i. book ii. p. 114; vol. ii. book iii. pp. 101, 102, 167, 183, and book iv., p. 20; where the connexion of the Chilcotts with the families of Blundell, Hooper, Collamore, Crossing, Slee, and Hill, is set forth. Failing these, the object might be attained by reference to the registers at Stogumber, co. Somerset, and of Northam, near Bideford, with the inscribed floorstones in the church there. Something might perhaps be learned of their descendants by reference to the registers at Exeter, and those at Morchard-Bishop, where a John Chilcott resided in 1700; Nympton St. George, where a family of the same name lived about 1740; North Molton, where C. Chilcott was vicar in 1786; and Dean Prior, where Joseph Chilcott was vicar about 1830. A Mr. Thomas Chilcott, who was an organist at Bath, married Ann, daughter of the Rev. Chichester Wrey. This lady died in 1758, and was buried at Tavistock,* near Barnstaple. The coat of arms on the tablet to her memory is almost identical with the coat of the Rev. William Chilcott of Exeter first above mentioned. J. D. S." 1st S. iii. 212. 1851.

91. CHILDREN.

(A.) [*Imps*]:— . . . . . "In *Moral and Sacred Poetry*, selected and arranged by the Rev. T. Wilcocks and the Rev. T. Horton (Devonport, W. Byers, 1834), there is at p. 254 a piece by Baillie, addressed 'To a Child,' the first line of which runs thus:

'Whose *imp* art thou, with dimpled cheek!'

* ["No doubt a misprint for Tawstock."]

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And in a poem by Rogers, on the following page, the children of a gipsy are called *imps*. I. W. N. KEYS, Plymouth." 1st S. viii. 623. 1853.

(B.) [*Still-born*]:—"One of the Commissioners of Devonport, complaining last week that a charge of one shilling and sixpence should have been made upon the parish authorities for the grave and interment of a still-born child, said, 'When I was a young man it was thought lucky to have a still-born child put into any open grave, as it was considered to be a sure passport to heaven for the next person buried there. Query, Is this prejudice still common? R. R." 1st S. v. 77. 1852.

92. CHITTLEHAMPTON. 195. A. 95. CHUDLEIGH. 382. *a*. 332. *a*.
93. CHOREPISCOPUS. 13. *b. d.* 96. CHUFF. 167.
94. CHRISTMAS. 19.

97. CHUMLEIGH.

"Chumleigh in Devonshire has preserved a version of an old Teutonic 'saga,' thus recorded by Westcote (*View of Devon*, 1630):

'A poor labouring man inhabiting this town had many children, and thinking himself overburdened by such a multiplied blessing of God in that kind, absented himself from his wife and home seven years. At the end whereof he returned, and in due course of time his wife was well delivered of a very fruitful birth, viz., seven sons: which, being so secretly kept as but known to himself and his wife, he, despairing of Divine Providence, resolveth to let them swim in our river; and to that purpose puts them all into a large basket, and takes his way towards the river. But the Countess of Devon, having been somewhere abroad to take the air, or doing rather some pious work, meets him with his basket; and by some, no doubt Divine inspiration, demands what he carried? The silly man, stricken dead, well near, with that question, answered they were whelps. 'Let me see them,' quoth the lady. 'They are puppies,' replied he again, 'not worth the rearing.' 'I will see,' quoth the good Countess; and the loather he was to show them, the more earnest was she to see them: which he perceiving, fell on his knees and discovered his purpose, with all further circumstances; which understood, she hasteth home with them, provides nurses and all things necessary. They all live, are bred in learning;

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and being come to man's estate, she gives each a prebend in this parish. Which I think are vanished not to be seen; but the seven crosses near Tiverton, set up on this occasion, keep it yet in memory.'—P. 273.

Westcote proceeds to quote Camerarius, who gives a similar origin 'to the noble race of Welfes' (Guelphs, *whelps*). . . . . RICHARD JOHN KING." 1st S. vi. 189. 1852.

98. CHURCH STILE.

"At Exminster, near Exeter, there is a path through the churchyard, and an old stone church stile; the house and lands adjoining are called Church Stile, belonging to Phil. Lardner, Esq. W. C. Harlow." 1st S. vi. 568. 1852.

99. CHURCH CHARMS.

(*a*) " . . . . . I forward you a copy of a paragraph which appeared in *The Times* of March 7, 1854. . . . .

'The following gross case of superstition, which occurred as late as Sunday se'nnight, in one of the largest market towns in the north of Devon, is related by an eye-witness:—A young woman, living in the neighbourhood of Holsworthy, having for some time past been subject to periodical fits of illness, endeavoured to effect a cure by attendance at the afternoon service at the parish church, accompanied by thirty young men, her near neighbours. Service over, she sat in the porch of the church, and each of the young men, as they passed out in succession, dropped a penny into her lap; but the last, instead of a penny, gave her half-a-crown, taking from her the twenty-nine pennies. With this half-crown in her hand, she walked three times round the communion table, and afterwards had it made into a ring, by the wearing of which she believes she will recover her health.' HAUGHMOND ST. CLAIR." 1st S. ix. 344. 1854.

(*b*) "On Sunday last another specimen of deep-rooted superstition was presented within the porch of the western door at Exeter Cathedral. As the congregation were leaving the church, a decrepit old woman took up a position within the porch, bearing a begging petition, setting forth that she had been attacked by a paralytic seizure, and had been recommended by 'the wise woman' to get a penny each from forty single men on leaving the church, and her infirmity would by this charm be banished for ever.' *Exeter Paper.* S. R. P." 1st S. x. 321. 1854.

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100. CIRCLES. 418.

101. CLAM.

[A rustic foot-bridge] "is called a *clam* in Devonshire, being a rough tree thrown across a river or brook for a foot-bridge. I find *clamber* (in Johnson), to climb up, pronounced, in Devonshire, to *climm*. W. C. HARLOW." 1st. S. vi. 566. 1852.

102. CLAPPER.

"Clapper is used in Devon . . . for a single plank raised on piles as a foot-bridge over a running stream. . . . . W. DURANT COOPER." 1st S. vi. 542. 1852.

103. CLAYFIELD. 284.

104. CLERGY.

"*Letters to the Clergy*:—In the *Diary of Walter Yonge* (published by the Camden Society), p. 24, is the following:—

'16 Dec. 1604. This day the Ministers of this Diocese (Exon) were called before the bishop of Exon, who read letters from the Archbishop, the effects of which were, that every minister should exhort his parishioners to continue together the Sabbath Day, and not to wander to other preachers who have better gifts than their own pastors, but should content themselves with the Word of God read and Homilies. 2. That all should kneel at receiving of the Sacrament. 3. To declare unto their parishioners that it is not necessary to have the word preached at the Sacraments.—Dictu Magistri Knowles, Vicarii de Axminster at that time present.'

Query. Can any of your readers say to what letter, and on what occasion such orders were issued by the archbishop, and also whether they have been published in any volume on ecclesiastical matters? H. T. E." 1st S. v. 177. 1852.

105. CLERICAL. 116.

106. CLOAM. 167.

107. CLOCK. 192. C. *a*.

108. CLOVELLY.

(A.) "*Fishermen's Superstition*": (*a*) ". . . . It may be well to put on record in '*N. & Q.*' the custom at Clovelly . . . . . for obtaining a successful supply of herrings when the fishing season begins.

The fishermen all attend a special service at the church. The 107th Psalm is substituted for the Psalms of the day. The Gospel for the Fifth Sunday after Trinity is read. The

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Old Hundredth Psalm is sung by all the fishermen, before the general thanksgiving; after it, the following prayer:

The Clovelly Fishermen's Prayer.

'Almighty and loving Father, thou rulest in heaven, in the earth, in the sea, and in all deep places; there is no creature but hears, understands and obeys Thy voice. Thou speakest the word, and there ariseth the stormy wind and tempest. Again, Thou speakest the word, and there follows a great calm. And be Thou pleased to speak a word of mercy and comfort to Thy servants in their honest calling: still the winds—smoothe the waves; and let them go forth and come in in safety. Protect their persons, secure their vessels, and all that appertains unto them; and let not a hair of any man's head perish. They may with Thy Disciples fish day and night, and catch nothing; but if Thou pleasest to speak such a word as Thou didst then, they shall encompass so great a multitude as neither their nets nor vessels shall contain. Let all be done according to the good pleasure of our God, whether many or whether few—blessed be God for all. Only, we beseech Thee, let not our sins withhold good things from us; and therefore pardon our sins of what kind soever: especially our murmurings and our presumings; our profanation of Thy Holy Day, and Thy Holy Name; our covetousness and unthankfulness; our intemperance, and our hatred, and variance with each other. And let us make such just, wise, and holy improvements of these Thy blessings, that we may have the comfort of them while we have to live; and we, and all others, may rejoice in the loving-kindness of the soul. And do thou make us, O Lord, to consider that we prosper more by Thy Providence than by our own industry; and that Thou canst, by one word speaking, send all these blessings to another shore, and to another people that shall serve Thee better, and be more thankful than we have been. Make us, Gracious Lord, to consider the utter uncertainty of all our lives; and how easy it is for Thee, O Mighty God, to raise a blast, or commission a wave, and dash us against a rock, and throw us from this to an ocean of endless misery. Let us therefore always have upon our minds an awful regard of the great and terrible God, in and by whom we must live; that while we do live, we may live in His fear: and when we come to die, we may die in His favour, and then partake of His glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.'

Such was the use twenty years ago, and I was told 'It

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always had been so.' However praiseworthy, it could not of course have ever had the sanction of authority. H. T. ELLACOMBE, Rectory, Clyst St. George." 1st S. xi. 228. 1855.

(*b*) "Is your valued correspondent H. T. Ellacombe right when he states that the custom of the fishermen of Clovelly '*could* not of course have ever had the sanction of authority'? If he is right, would it not follow as a direct inference that the clergyman who officiated at the service he describes would render himself liable to ecclesiastical censure? But is it quite impossible that, in years gone by, the ordinary for the time being may have sanctioned such a service by his authority?

I am aware that the fees that would be demanded by those about the bishop, render such authority unlikely, but I trust not absolutely impossible.

Perhaps some correspondent at Clovelly may kindly inform us whether this old custom, praiseworthy as it is, is still kept up. I ask not the minister 'by what authority doest thou these things'? GEO. E. FRERE." 1st S. xi. 291. 1855.

(B.) For *Clovelly* see also 332. *a*.

109. CLUNK.

(*a*) "This word is used by the common people, more especially the peasantry, to denote the swallowing of masses of unmasticated food; and of morsels that may not be particularly relished, such as fat. What is the origin of the word? ISAIAH W. N. KEYS, Plymouth, Devon." 1st S. viii. 65. 1853.

(*b*) "As to the word *clunk*, it is in use throughout Cornwall in the sense of 'to swallow,' and is undoubtedly Celtic. On referring to Le Gonidec's *Dictionaire Celto-Breton*, I find '*Lonka*, or *Lounka*, v. a. *avaler*.'

I have neither a Welsh Dictionary nor one of the ancient Cornish language at hand, but I have no doubt that the same word, with the same signification, will be found in both these dialects of the Celtic, probably with some difference of spelling, which would bring it nearer to the word *clunk*. EDGAR MAC CULLOCH, Guernsey." 1st. S. viii. 654. 1853.

110. CLYST. 174., 228. c., 332. *a*. 111. COBLEIGH, 332. *a*.

112. COB-WALL.

(*a*) "Why do the inhabitants of Devonshire call a wall made of tempered earth, straw, and small pebbles mixed

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together a *cob-wall?* Walls so constructed require a foundation of stone or bricks, which is commonly continued to the height of about two feet from the surface of the ground. Has the term *cob* reference to the fact that such a wall is a superstructure on the foundation of stone or brick? A. B. C." 1st S. viii. 151. 1853.

(*b*) "A 'cob' is not an unusual word in the midland counties, meaning a lump or small hard mass of anything: it also means a blow; and a good 'cobbing' is no unfamiliar expression to the generality of school boys. A 'cob-wall,' I imagine, is so called from its having been made of heavy lumps of clay, beaten one upon another into the form of a wall. I would ask, if 'gob,' used also in Devonshire for the stone of any fruit which contains a kernel, is not a cognate word? W. FRASER, Tor-Mohun." 1st S. viii. 279. 1853.

113. COCK.

"*Cock scares the Fiend:*—Mr. N. was a Devonshire squire who had been so unfortunate as to sell his soul to the devil, with the condition that after his funeral the fiend should take possession of his skin. He had also persuaded a neighbour to undertake to be present on the occasion of the flaying. On the death of Mr. N., this man went in a state of great alarm to the parson of the parish, and asked his advice. By him he was told to fulfil his engagement, but he must be sure and carry a cock into the church with him. On the night after the funeral, the man proceeded to the church armed with the cock; and, as an additional security, took up his position in the parson's pew. At twelve o'clock the devil arrived, opened the grave, took the corpse from the coffin and flayed it. When the operation was concluded, he held up the skin before him, and remarked: 'Well! 'twas not worth coming for after all, for it is all full of holes.' As he said this, the cock crew; whereupon the fiend, turning round to the man, exclaimed: 'If it had not been for the bird you have got there under your arm, I would have your skin too.' But, thanks to the cock, the man got home safe again. J. M. (4), St. Mary Tavy." 1st S. iii. 404. 1851.

114. COCKINGTON. 434. *a. b.*

115. COFFINS.

"*Shape of Coffin:*— . . . . In Devonshire, particularly among the farmers and poorer classes, the *ridged* coffin is

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very general, the end being gabled. The top, instead of being flat with one board, is made of two boards, like the double roof of a house; in other respects the shape is of the common form. The idea is, that such coffins resist much longer the weight of the superincumbent earth; but there can be no doubt that it is a very ancient shape. Many years ago I heard that in some parish in this county the coffin was shaped like a flat-bottomed boat; the boat shape is known to have been an old form. H. T. ELLACOMBE, Clyst St. George." 1st S. viii. 104. 1853.

116. COLE, The Rev. Potter.

"*Clerical Incumbency*:—A question having been started in conversation, for an instance of a clergyman of the Church of England who had for the longest time held a single benefice, ... I could not refrain from mentioning an individual case. . . . . .

The Messrs. Lysons, in their *History of Devon*, Part ii. p. 570, speak of the Rev. Potter Cole having been lord of the manor of Woolfardisworthy, near Bideford; and state that he died at the age of ninety-seven, having been vicar of Hawkesbury, Gloucestershire, seventy-three years. This is perfectly correct, and it is confirmed . . . in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1802, p. 376. A., Tetbury." 1st S. xi. 407. 1855.

117. [The Gleanings forming No. 117 have been cancelled, but it has been deemed best not to disturb the numbering.]

118. COLERIDGE, Samuel Taylor.

(A.) "*Achilles and the Tortoise*:—S. T. Coleridge has explained this paradox in *The Friend*, vol. iii. p. 88, ed. 1850; a note is subjoined regarding Aristotle's attempted solution, with a quotation from Mr. de Quincy, in *Tate's* Mag.*, Sept., 1834, p. 514. C. P. PH***." 1st S. iii. 484. 1851.

(B.) [*Aids to Reflection*]:—"(2nd Edition, 1831.) Introductory Aphorisms, No. xii., p. 7.

'Tertullian had good reason for his assertion, that the simplest Christian (if indeed a Christian) knows more than the most accomplished irreligious philosopher.'

The passage referred to is in the Apology, c. 46:

* [Is this a misprint for "Tait's"?]

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'Deum quilibet opifex Christianus et invenit et ostendit et exinde totum, quod in Deo quæritur, re quoque assignat; licet Plato affirmet factitatorem universitatis neque inveniri facilem et inventum enarrari in omnes difficilem.'

Note to Aphorism xxxi., p. 30:

'To which he [Plato] may possibly have referred in his phrase θεοπαραδότος σοφία.'

Possibly Coleridge may have borrowed this from Berkeley's *Siris*, § 301, where θεοπαράδοτος φιλοσοφία is cited from 'a heathen writer.' The word θεοπαράδοτος occurs in Proclus and Marinus (See Valpy's *Stephani Thesaurus*) but not in Plato.

The motto from Seneca, prefixed to the Aphorisms on Spiritual Religion, is from the forty-first Epistle of that writer.

The quotation from Tertullian in the Comment on the eighth of those Aphorisms,—

'Certum est quia impossibile est.'—p. 199.

is from the *De Carne Christi*, cap. v.

Aphorism iv., p. 227:

'In wonder all philosophy began.'

See Plato's *Theætetus*, § 32., p. 155. Gataker on Antonin. i. 15. Plutarch *de* EI *Delph.* cap. 2. p. 385 B. Sympos, v. 7., p. 680 C. Aristot. *Metaph.* 1. 2. 9.

In the 'Sequelæ' annexed to this Aphorism, it is said of Simonides (p. 230), that—

'*In the fortieth day* of his meditation the sage and philosophic poet abandoned the problem (of the nature of God) in despair.'

Cicero (*de Nat. Deor.* i. 22. § 60.) and Minucius Felix (*Octav.* 13.) do not specify the number of days during which Simonides deferred his answer to Hiero.

Aphorism x. On Original Sin (note, p. 252) συνετοῖς φωνᾶν, &c., from Pindar, *Olymp.* ii. 85 (152).

Conclusion, p. 399:

'*Evidences* of Christianity! I am weary of the word,' &c.

See the remarks on this passage in Archbishop Whately's *Logic*, Appendix iii., near the end.

The quotation from Apuleius, at the end of the book (p. 403.), is from the *Metamorphos.*, i. 3. J. E. B. MAYOR, Marlborough College." 1st S. ii. 228. 1850.

(C.) [*Annotations*]:—"Among the essays of *Elia*, and at the conclusion of that very fine one on The 'Two Races of Men,' will be found the following passage:—

'Reader, if haply thou art blessed with a moderate collec-

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tion, be shy of showing it; or, if thy heart overfloweth to lend them, lend thy books, but let it be to such a one as S. T. C. He will return them (generally anticipating the time appointed) with usury; enriched with annotations tripling their value. I have had experience. Many are those precious MSS. of his (in *matter* oftentimes, and almost in quantity not unfrequently, vying with the originals), in no very clerkly hand, legible in 'my' *Daniel*, in *Old Burton*, in *Sir Thomas Browne*, and in those abstruser cogitations of the Greville, now, alas! wandering in Pagan lands (the book wandering, not Greville). I counsel thee, shut not thy heart nor thy library against S. T. C.'

Now, can any of your correspondents inform me in whose custody those 'preciously enriched tomes' are now reposing? Surely the *Anatomy*, *Urn Burial*, and the lucubrations of *Fulke Greville*, once the property of the author of *Elia*, and enriched with the annotations of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, are no common literary treasures, and I, for one, should like to know where they are. R. B., Headingly." 1st S. x. 463. 1854.

(D.) [*Beauty*]:—(*a*) "At pp. 300, 301, of this writer's *Table Talk* (3rd edition) there is the following paragraph:—

'I exceedingly regret the loss of those essays on beauty, which I wrote in a British newspaper. I would give much to recover them.'

Can any of your readers afford information on this point? The publication of the essays in question (supposing that they have not yet been published) would be a most welcome addition to the works of so eminent and original an author as S. T. Coleridge. J. H. KERSHAW." 1st S. iv. 175. 1851.

(*b*) "I have copies of the *Essays* referred to. They were republished about 1836 in Fraser's *Literary Chronicle*. MORTIMER COLLINS, Guernsey." 1st S. iv. 214. 1851.

(E.) [*Behmen*]:—"As old Behmen is but little known in this country, save by ill-repute, as having led astray William Law in his old age, and, through him, having tinctured the religious philosophy of Coleridge, it may be worth noting, that no less a philosopher than Schelling (to whom, as we know, Coleridge stood so greatly indebted) stole from the Lusatian shoemaker the corner stones of his *Philosophy of Nature*. C. MANSFIELD INGLEBY, Birmingham." 1st S. viii. 14. 1853.

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(F.) [*Biographia Literaria*]:—"Coleridge, in his *Biographia Literaria*, 1st ed., vol. i. p. 28, relates a story of some one who desired to be introduced to him, but hesitated because he asserted that he had written an epigram on *The Ancient Mariner*, which Coleridge had himself written and inserted in the *Morning Post*, to this effect:—

'Your poem must eternal be,
Dear Sir! it cannot fail;
For 'tis incomprehensible,
And without head or tail.'

This was, however, only . . . . . stealing stolen goods. The following epigram is said to be by Mr. Hole, in a MS. collection made by Spence (penes me), and it appeared first in print in *Terræ Filius*, from whence Dr. Salter copied it in his *Confusion worse Confounded*, p. 88:—

'Thy verses are eternal, O my friend!
For he who reads them, reads them to no end.'

. . . . . S. W. SINGER." 1st S. ii. 83. 1850.

(G.) "*Bulls and Blunders: English and Irish*:—Coleridge, in a paper contributed by him to his friend Southey's *Omniana*, or *Horæ Otiosiores*, furnishes (vol. i. p. 220) an exemplification and definition of *bulls*, which he asserts,—'Will be found always to contain in them a confusion of (what the schoolmen would have called) *objectivety* with *subjectivety*; in plain English, the impression of a thing as it exists in itself and extrinsically, with the idea which the mind abstracts from the impression,'

And defines farther that—

'A *bull* consists in a mental juxtaposition of incongruous ideas, with the sensation, but without the sense of connexion, . . . WILLIAM BATES, Birmingham." 1st S. xii. 180. 1855.

(H.) [*Christabel*]:—(*a*) ". . . . What did Coleridge really mean to represent or imply in his tale of *Christabel*? Who or what was Geraldine? What did Christabel see in her, at times, so unutterably horrible? What is meant by the 'ladye strange' making Christabel *carry* her over the sill of the portal? &c. &c. EMDEE." *Athenæum*, 1st S. i. 262. 1850.

(*b*) "What Christabel saw is plain enough. The lady was a being like Duessa, in Spenser; a horrible-looking witch, who could, to a certain degree, put on an appearance of beauty. The difference is, that this lady had both forms at

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once; the one in her face, the other concealed. This is quite plain from the very words of Coleridge.

The lifting her over the sill seems to be something like the same superstition that we have in Scott's *Eve of St. John.*:—

'But I had not had pow'r to come to thy bow'r,
If thou had'st not charmed me so.'

. . . . . C. B." 1st S. i. 324. 1850.

(*c*) ". . . . . I have just found that the passage I was in search of belongs to 'The Debateable Land.' 'Reverend Father,' replied Magdalen, 'hast thou never heard that there are spirits powerful to rend the walls of a castle asunder when once admitted, which yet *cannot enter the house unless they are invited, nay, dragged over the threshold?* Twice hath Roland Græme been thus drawn into the household of Avenel by those who now hold the title. Let them look to the issue'—*The Abbot*, chap. 15, ad fin., *and note.* C. FORBES." 1st S. ii. 47. 1850.

(*d*) "Can any one familiar with the *Coleridge Papers* inform me whether the following is a veritable fragment of the poet's own continuation of *Christabel*, or perhaps of one of those conclusions (some serious, some jocose) which we owe to Tupper, Moir, and Maginn?

'This was the lovely lady's cry—
Holy One, who camest to die,
Camest, yea, to die for me
Who have despite done to Thee—
And didst feel the proud man's scorn,
And the woe of one forlorn—
Whose heavenly eyes were brimmed with tears
For the sorrows of human years;
Whose holy hands were pierced through,
Whose feet long toil and travel knew,
Who felt all grief, all wild despair,
That the race of man may ever bear.
O look down from thy placid sky,
Upon a maiden worn with woe,
Who in snowy chastity
Has passed the years of life below!
O let no spirit of affright,
Visit me this ghastly night!'

So she prayed: and listening,
Stood beside the magic spring,
But only heard the brookless plash,
And the berries fall from the mountain ash,
And the cry of birds in the woods away,
And the step of the roe over lichens gray.

MORTIMER COLLINS." 1st S. iv. 316. 1851.

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(*e*) "I am not familiar with the Coleridge Papers, under that title, nor indeed am I quite sure that I know at all to what papers Mr. MORTIMER COLLINS refers in his question. .... If I may be allowed, however, to hazard a judgment, as one to whom most of the great poet-philosopher's works have long and affectionally been known, I would venture to express an opinion against the right of these lines to admission as one of his productions. I do it with diffidence; but with the hope that I may aid in eliciting the truth concerning them.

I presume 'brookless plash' is a misprint for 'brooklet's plash.'

The expressions 'the sorrow of human years,' 'wild despair,' 'the years of life below,' of a person who is not yet dead and in heaven, do not seem to me, *as they stand in the lines*, to be in Coleridge's manner; but especially I do not think the couplet—

> 'Who felt all grief, all wild despair,
> That the race of man may ever bear,'

is one which Coleridge would have penned, reading as I do in the *Aids to Reflection*, vol. i. p. 255 (edit. Pickering, 1843) his protest against the doctrine

'holden by more than one of these divines, that the agonies suffered by Christ were equal in amount to the sum total of the torments of all mankind here and hereafter, or to the infinite debt which in an endless succession of instalments we should have been paying to the divine justice, had it not been paid in full by the Son of God incarnate!'

There are one or two other expressions of which I entertain doubt, but not in sufficient degree to make it worth while to dwell upon them. .... THEOPHYLACT." 1st S. iv. 410. 1852.

(*f*) " ..... As a fair sample of what English poetry is able to offer in the way of difficulty, I would refer to the 'conclusion' of Coleridge's unfinished poem of *Christabel*. How many persons, and they of no mean abilities, read it over and over again, and, after all, confess that they can make nothing of it! How many are there who have come to regard it in the light of a quaint enigma, and 'give it up!' The passage certainly seems to possess one property of the enigma, inasmuch as it requires a key to elucidate it; but, as soon as this is obtained, it becomes not only perfectly plain, but, I think, forces an acknowledgment from the reader, that it could hardly have been more clearly or more justly expressed.

To say that this conclusion is the most beautiful and most

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valuable portion of the poem of *Christabel*, may appear to savour a little of extravagance; still, I cannot but think that it is, and that the author intended to convey by it far more than is usually contained in the common-place 'moral.' In support of this opinion I will briefly discuss these two-and-twenty lines.

Of the first six lines I will only remark, where shall we find, in the whole range of English poetry, a more exquisite picture than is here contained in this small compass?

> 'A little child, a limber elf,
> Singing, dancing to itself,
> A fairy thing with red round cheeks,
> *That always finds, and never seeks*,
> Makes such a vision to the sight
> As fills a father's eyes with light.'

The poet then proceeds to unite, in a manner true in nature and in fact, yet equally strange and startling, two opposite and contending feelings:

> 'And pleasures flow in so thick and fast
> Upon his heart, that he at last
> Must needs express his love's excess
> With words of unmeant bitterness.'

The habit, if it may be so called, alluded to in these lines, must be more or less familiar to most persons as an anomaly in our nature; the habit, I mean, ridiculous as it may appear, of applying evil, though 'unmeant' names to children in a transport of affection. This is a trait in the human character which, slight, and faint, and trifling as it may seem, the acute mind of Coleridge has seized, and analysed, and exhibited in its legitimate development. Whether the propensity, thus delicately described, be really innocent in itself, or whether it be only παρεκβασις, or excess, which the poet held to be the guilty state, it is hardly worth while stopping to inquire; still we cannot avoid his own startling suggestion,

> 'What, if in a world of sin
> (O sorrow and shame should this be true!)
> Such giddiness of heart and brain'

springs generally from some evil source, implies the existence of some evil principle. Familiar as this habit, this instance of 'giddiness of heart and brain,' is to most of us, I am not aware that it has ever been expressed in poetry, or even in prose, by any other writer; if so, this passage is a rarity, similar to those four stanzas in Gray's Elegy, beginning, 'Yet e'en these bones,' &c., of which Dr. Johnson says, 'they are to me original; I have never seen the notions in any other

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place; yet he that reads them here persuades himself that he has always felt them.'

The author then endeavours to offer some explanation of this phenomenon, and carries out the germ of ill to its full extent, as exemplified in *Sir Leoline:*

> 'Perhaps 'tis pretty to force together
> Thoughts so all unlike each other;
> To mutter and mock a broken charm,
> To dally with wrong that does no harm;
> Perhaps 'tis tender too and pretty,
> *At each wild word to feel within*
> *A sweet recoil of love and pity.*'

It appears to me that the third line in this passage, from its being introduced too early (if I may venture to say so), on this account unnecessarily increases the difficulty; it occurs before the idea has been sufficiently developed; while it belongs rather to the result of this evil leaven than to the explanation of it, with which the poet is here engaged. The 'charm' to which he alludes is, of course, the tie that binds us to the object of affection, and which forbids us to speak any but words of love and tenderness.

The poet, then, from the aspect of this strange anomaly, as exemplified in *Sir Leoline*, is forced to the following conclusion:

> 'And what, if in a world of sin
> (O sorrow and shame should this be true!)
> Such giddiness of heart and brain
> Comes seldom save from rage and pain,
> So talks as it 's most used to do.'

If we turn now to the last two paragraphs of the poem, we find all this illustrated; in these two paragraphs the poet has

> 'Forced together
> Thoughts so all unlike each other.'

In the former are enumerated all those memorials which could move the Baron to 'love and pity;' in the latter we are told of the 'rage and pain' of his heart; and on this strange union the poet soliloquises in the conclusion.

A full discussion of this subject would be perhaps unsuited to the pages of '*N. & Q.*;' . . . . I will conclude, therefore, with the following suggestion, viz., that the delicacy, the acuteness, and the truth evinced in this last scene of *Christabel* and its conclusion, tell of a deeper mind than has, perhaps, fallen to the lot of any English poet since the days of William Shakspeare. H. C. K., Rectory, Hereford." 1st S. v. 339. 1852.

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(*g*) "In the original edition of this poem, the following lines are to be found at the beginning of Part ii.:—

'Let it rain, however fast,
Rest from rain will come at last;
And the blaze that strongest flushes,
Links at last, and ends in ashes!
But sorrow from the human heart,
And mists of care, will they depart?'

Now these lines, and a great many more which I cannot remember, as I have not the original edition, are to be found in an old volume of *Blackwood's Magazine*, in a review upon the poem. The poem, as published in the edition of Coleridge's *Poems* edited by D. and S. Coleridge (Moxon, 1852), does not contain these lines, and no notice is taken of the fact by the editors. Either Coleridge did or did not cancel the lines mentioned; if he did, can any of your readers inform me in which of his works this fact is mentioned? If he did not, then one of the most beautiful poems in the English language has been edited in a manner that no one, I trust, will imitate. S. Y." 1st S. vii. 206. 1853.

(*h*) "Your correspondent S. Y. ought not to have charged the editors of Coleridge's *Poems* with negligence, until he had shown that the lines he quotes were inserted in the original edition of *Christabel*. They have not the musical flow of Coleridge's versification, but rather the dash and vivacity of Scott. At all events, they are not to be found in the second edition of *Christabel* (1816), nor in any subsequent edition. Indeed, I do not think that Coleridge made any alteration in the poem since its composition in 1797 and 1800. I referred to two reviews of Coleridge's *Poems* published in Blackwood in 1819 and 1834; but found no trace of S. Y.'s lines. 'An old volume of Blackwood' is rather a vague mode of reference. It is somewhat curious that, previous to the publication of *Christabel*, there appeared a *conclusion* to that splendid fragment. It was entitled 'Christobell, a Gothic Tale,' and was published in the *European Magazine* for April, 1815. It is dated 'March, 1815,' and signed 'V.;' and was reprinted in *Fraser's Magazine* for January, 1835. It is stated to be 'written as a sequel to a beautiful legend of a fair lady and her father, deceived by a witch in the guise of a noble knight's daughter.' It commences thus:

'Whence comes the wavering light which falls
On Langdale's lonely chapel-walls?
The noble mother of Christobell
Lies in that lone and drear chapelle.'

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The writer of the review in Blackwood (Dec. 1839) of Mr. Tupper's lame and impotent conclusion to *Christabel*, remarks that—

'Mr Tupper does not seem to know that *Christabel* was continued many years ago, in a style that perplexed the public, and pleased even Coleridge. The ingenious writer meant it for a mere *jeu d'esprit*.'

Query: Who was this 'ingenious writer'?

While on the subject of *Christabel* I may note a parallelism in reference to a line in Part i.:

> 'Her face, oh call it fair, not pale!'
> 'E smarorisce il bel *volto in un colore*,
> *Che non è pallidezza, ma candore*.'
>
> *Tasso, G. Lib.* c. ii. st. 26.

J. M. B." 1st S. vii. 292. 1853.

(*i*) "S. Y. is 'severe *over* much' and *under* informed, in his strictures on the editors of Coleridge's *Works* (1852), when he blames them for not giving Coleridge the credit of lines which *did not belong to him*. The lines which S. Y. quotes, and a 'great many more'—in fact, a 'third part of *Christabel*'—were sent to *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1820, by the late Dr. William Maginn, as a first fruits of those *imitations* and *parodies* for which he afterwards became so famous. The success of his imitation of Coleridge's style is proved by the indignation of your correspondent. It is no small honour to the memory and talents of the gifted but erratic Maginn, that the want of his lines should be deemed a defect or omission in 'one of the most beautiful poems in the English language.' But in future, before he condemns editors for carelessness, S. Y. should be sure that he himself is correct. A. B. R. Belmont." 1st S. vii. 293. 1853.

(*j*) "It is difficult to believe that the third part of *Christabel*, published in Blackwood for June, 1819, vol. v. p. 286, could have either 'perplexed the public,' or 'pleased Coleridge.' In the first place, it was avowedly written by 'Morgan Odoherty;' and in the next, it is too palpable a parody to have pleased the original author, who could hardly have been satisfied with the raving rhapsodies put into his mouth, or with the treatment of his innocent and virtuous heroine. . . . . .

Is your correspondent A. B. R. correct in stating this parody to have been the composition of Dr. Maginn? . . . . . J. S. WARDEN, Paternoster Row." 1st S. viii. 11. 1853.

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(*k*) "Mr. J. S. WARDEN asks if I am correct in stating the 3rd part of *Christabel* to be the composition of Dr. Maginn. I can but '*give my authority*' in a reference to a sketch of Maginn's life, in . . . . *The Irish Quarterly Review*, which, in the number for September, 1852, after giving a most humorous account of a first interview between *Blackwood* and his wild Irish contributor . . . . proceeds thus:—

'A few days before the first interview with Blackwood, Maginn had sent in his famous 'Third part of Christabel.' It is only to be found in the Magazine. . . . . A. B. R., Belmont." 1st S. viii. 111. 1853.

(*l*) "Has the *Irish Quarterly Review* any other reason for ascribing this poem to Maginn than the common belief which makes him the sole and original Morgan Odoherty? If not, its evidence is of little value, as, exclusive of some pieces under that name which have been avowed by other writers, many of the Odoherty papers contain palpable internal evidence of having been written by a Scotchman, or at least one very familiar with Scotland, which at that time he was not; even the letter accompanying the third part of *Christabel* is dated from Glasgow, and though this would in itself prove nothing, the circumstances above mentioned, as well as Dr. Moir's evidence as to the time when Maginn's contributions to *Blackwood* commenced, seems strongly presumptive against his claim. Some of the earliest and most distinguished writers in *Blackwood* are still alive, and could, no doubt, clear up this point at once, if so inclined. J. S. WARDEN." 1st S. ix. 18. 1854.

(*m*) "MR. J. S. WARDEN might well express astonishment at the rash and groundless statement in *Blackwood* (Dec., 1839), that the third part of *Christabel* which Dr. Maginn sent to that Magazine in 1820 'perplexed the public, and *pleased even Coleridge*.' How far the 'discerning public' were imposed upon I know not; the following extract will show how far the poet-philosopher was 'pleased' with the parody.

'If I should finish *Christabel* I shall certainly extend, and give new characters, and a greater number of incidents. This the 'reading public' require, and this is the reason that Sir Walter Scott's poems, though so loosely written, are pleasing, and interest us by their picturesqueness. If a genial recurrence of the ray divine should occur for a few weeks, I shall certainly attempt it. I had the whole of the two cantos in my mind before I began it; certainly the first canto is

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more perfect, has more of the true wild weird spirit than the last. I laughed heartily at the continuation in *Blackwood*, which I have been told is by Maginn. It is in appearance, and in appearance only, a good imitation. I do not doubt that it gave more pleasure, and to a greater number, than a continuation by myself in the spirit of the two first cantos (*qu.* would give).' *Letters*, &c., Moxon, 1836, vol. i. pp. 94–5. C. MANSFIELD INGLEBY, Birmingham." 1st. S. ix. 455. 1854.

(*n*) "My Query relative to *Christabel* (vol. vii. p. 292) seems to have been lost sight of, and has not as yet received a reply. Will you kindly permit me to renew it?

In the *European Magazine* for April, 1815, there appeared a poem entitled 'Christobell: a Gothic tale. Written as a sequel to a beautiful legend of a fair lady and her father, deceived by a witch in the guise of a noble knight's daughter.' It is dated 'March, 1815,' and signed 'V.,' and was reprinted in *Fraser's Magazine* for January, 1835. It commences thus:

> 'Whence comes the wavering light which falls
> On Langdale's lonely Chapel-walls?
> The noble mother of Christobell
> Lies in that lone and drear chapelle.'

Query: What is known of the history and authorship of this poem?

It will be observed from the dates, that the *sequel* appeared in print before *Christabel* was published by Coleridge. J. M. B." 1st S. ix. 529. 1854.

(I.) [*Constancy to an Ideal Object*]:—(*a*) "De Quincy, in his 'Suspiria de Profundis,' Blackwood's *Magazine*, June, 1845, p. 748, speaking of the spectre of the Brocken, and of the conditions under which that striking phenomenon is manifested, observes that

'Coleridge ascended the Brocken on the Whitsunday of 1799 with a party of English students from Gottingen, but failed to see the phantom; afterwards in England (and under the same three conditions) he saw a much rarer phenomenon, which he described in the following eight lines. I give them from a corrected copy. The apostrophe in the beginning must be understood as addressed to an ideal conception:—

> 'And art thou nothing? Such thou art as when
> The woodman winding westward up the glen
> At wintry dawn, when o'er the sheep-track's maze
> The viewless snow-mist weaves a glist'ning haze,

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Sees full before him, gliding without tread,
An image with a glory round its head:
This shade he worships for its golden hues,
And makes (not knowing) that which he pursues.'

These lines are from 'Constancy to an ideal Object;' but in the usual editions of Coleridge's *Poems*, the last two lines are printed thus:—

'The enamour'd rustic worships its fair hues,
Nor knows he makes the shadow he pursues.'

Query: Which reading is the correct one? Coleridge refers to the *Manchester Philosophical Transactions* for a description of this phenomenon . . . . . perhaps some of your correspondents would copy the description. . . . . J. M. B." 1st S. vii. 330. 1853.

(*b*) "The paper referred to by Coleridge will be found in the *Transactions of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*, vol. iii. p. 463. It is the 'Description of a Glory,' witnessed by Dr. Haygarth on Feb. 13th, 1780, when 'returning to Chester, and ascending the mountain which forms the eastern boundary of the Vale of Clwyd':—'I was struck with the peculiar appearance of a very white shining cloud, that lay remarkably close to the ground. The sun was nearly setting, but shone extremely bright. I walked up to the cloud, and my shadow was projected into it; when a very unexpected and beautiful scene was presented to my view. The head of my shadow was surrounded, at some distance, by a circle of various colours; whose centre appeared to be near the situation of the eye, and whose circumference extended to the shoulders. The circle was complete except what the shadow of my body interrupted. It resembled, very exactly, what in pictures is termed a *glory* . . . . . not, indeed, that luminous radiance which is painted close to the head, but an arch of concentric colours. As I walked forward, this *glory* approached or retired, just as the inequality of the ground shortened or lengthened my shadow. . . . . I. H. M." 1st S. vii. 393. 1853.

(J.) "*Conversations with Wordsworth, &c.*": (*a*) "Some years ago I read portions of a small volume (12mo, I think) containing short records of visits to Wordsworth, Coleridge, &c. I may add that the book was not De Quincy's *Autobiographic Sketches*. Can you, or any of your correspondents, give me a clue to finding out the work in question? The title was similar to that above given. C. MANSFIELD INGLEBY, Birmingham." 1st S. xii. 346. 1855.

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(*b*) "The title of the book is *Conversations at Cambridge*, published by Parker, Strand, 1836. S. MACKIES." 1st S. xii. 413. 1855.

(K.) [*Daniel*]:—"(We are indebted to the kindness of Mr. William Hazlitt for the loan of a copy of *The Poetical Works of Mr. Samuel Daniel, Author of the English History* (2 vols. 12mo. 1718), which had formerly belonged to Charles Lamb: and from the second volume of which we transcribe the following characteristic Letters from Coleridge to Lamb; and his admirable and interesting notes upon a poet who is not nearly so well known as he deserves to be.)

The first is written on the first fly-leaf of vol. ii.:

'Tuesday, Feb. 10th, 1808 (10th or 9th).

Dear Charles,

I think more highly, far more, of the 'Civil Wars' than you seemed to do on Monday night, Feb. 9th, 1808. The verse does not tease me; and all the while I am reading it, I cannot but fancy a plain England-loving English Country Gentleman, with only some dozen books in his whole library, and at a time when a 'Mercury' or 'Intelligencer' was seen by him once in a month or two, making this his newspaper and political Bible at the same time, and reading it so often as to store his memory with its aphorisms. Conceive a good man of that kind, diffident and passive, yet *rather* inclined to Jacobitism; seeing the reasons of the Revolutionary Party, yet by disposition and old principles leaning, in quiet nods and sighs, at his own parlour fire, to the hereditary right—(and of these characters there must have been many)—and then read this poem, assuming in your heart his character—conceive how grave he would look, and what pleasure there would be, what unconscious, harmless, humble self-conceit, self-compliment in his gravity: how wise he would feel himself, and yet after all how forbearing. How much calmed by that most calming reflection (when it is really the mind's own reflection). Ay, it was just so in Henry VI.'s time, always the same passions at work, &c. Have I improved thy Book—or wilt thou like it the better there*fore?* But I have done as I would gladly be done by—thee at least. S. T. Coleridge.'

On second fly-leaf Coleridge has noted, 'vol. v. p. 217., a fine stanza.' The following is the stanza referred to:

'Whilst Talbot (whose fresh Ardor having got
A marvellous advantage of his Years),
Carries his unfelt Age as if forgot,
Whirling about where any Need appears.

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His Hand, his Eye, his Wits all present, wrought
The Function of the Glorious Part he bears:
Now urging here, now cheering there, he flies:
Unlocks the thickest Troops, where most force lies.'

And to it Coleridge has appended the following note:—

'What is there in description superior even in Shakspeare? Only that Shakspeare would have given one of his *Glows* to the first line, and flattered the mountain Top with his surer Eye—instead of that poor—

'A marvellous advantage of his years.'

But this, however, is Daniel—and he must not be read piecemeal. Even by leaving off, and looking at a stanza by itself, I find the loss. S. T. Coleridge.'

'O Charles! I am *very*, very ill. Vixi.'

'Second Letter—five hours after the first.

Dear Charles,

You must read over these 'Civil Wars' again. We both know what a *mood* is. And the genial mood will, it shall, come for my sober-minded Daniel. He was a Tutor and a sort of Steward in a noble Family in which Form was religiously observed, and Religion formally; and yet there was such warm blood and mighty muscle of substance within, that the moulding Irons did not dispel, tho' they stiffened the vital man within. Daniel caught and recommunicated the Spirit of the great Countess of Pembroke, the glory of the North; he formed her mind, and her mind inspirited him. Gravely sober in all ordinary affairs, and not easily excited by any—yet there is one, on which his Blood boils—whenever he speaks of English valour exerted against a foreign Enemy. Do read over—but some evening when we are quite comfortable at your fire-side—and oh! where shall I ever be, if I am not so there—that is the Altar on the horns of which my old Feelings hang, but alas! listen and tremble. Nonsense!—well! I will read it to You and Mary. The 205, 206 and 207th page; and above all, that 93rd stanza, p. 208.; and in a different style the 98th stanza, p. 208.; and what an image in 107, p. 211. Thousands even of educated men would become more sensible, fitter to be members of Parliament or ministers, by reading Daniel—and even those few who, *quoad intellectum*, only gain refreshment of notions already their own, must become better Englishmen. O, if it be not too late, write a kind note about him.

S. T. COLERIDGE.'

On the fourth fly-leaf he has written—

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'Is it from any hobby-horsical love of our old writers (and of such a passion respecting Chaucer, Spenser, and Ben Jonson, I have occasionlly seen glaring proofs in one the string of whose shoe I am not worthy to unloose), or is it a real Beauty, the interspersion I mean (in stanza poems) of rhymes from polysyllables—such as Eminence, Obedience, Reverence. To my ear they convey not only a relief from variety, but a sweetness as of repose—and the Understanding they gratify by reconciling Verse with the whole wide extent of good Sense. Without being distinctly conscious of such a notion, having it rather than reflecting it, (for one may think in the same way as one may see and hear), I seem to be made to know that I need have no fear; that there is nothing excellent in itself which the Poet cannot express accurately and naturally, nay no good word." 1st S. vi. 117. 1852.

(L.) [*Defoe*]:—"Wilson, in his *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Defoe*, vol. ii. p. 205, having quoted the opinion of the Editor of Cadell's edition of *Robinson Crusoe*,—'that Defoe wanted many of those qualities, both of mind and manner, which fitted Steele and Addison to be the inimitable *arbitri elegantiarum* of English society, there can be no doubt,'—Coleridge wrote in the margin of his copy, 'I doubt this, particularly in respect to Addison, and think I could select from Defoe's writings a volume equal in size to Addison's collected papers, little inferior in wit and humour, and greatly superior in vigour of style and thought. Ts." 1st S. iii. 136. 1851.

(M.) [*Devil*]:—"According to the superstition of the west countries if you meet the devil, you may either cut him in half with a straw, or force him to disappear by spitting over his horns. *Essay on his own Times*, by S. T. Coleridge, vol. iii. p. 967. J. M. B." 1st S. vii. 81. 1853.

(N.) [*Epitaph*]:—(*a*)

> "Ere sun could blight or sorrow fade,
> Death came with friendly care,
> The opening bud to heaven convey'd,
> And bade it blossom there.'

Was the above very beautiful epitaph, 'On an Infant,' by Coleridge, ever executed? and if so, where? R. W. D." 1st S. xi. 190. 1855.

(*b*) "Allow me to correct an error in the epitaph supplied by R. W. D. We should read 'Ere *sin* (not *sun*) could blight,'

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&c. The lines are by Coleridge, and not by Dr. Donne, as stated at p. 294 of *Arundines Cami*, where the following exquisite Latin translation is to be found, from the pen of the late Right Rev. Samuel Butler, Bishop of Lichfield:

'Ante malum quam te culpâ maculaverat, ante
Quam poterat primum carpere cura decus,
In cœlos gemmam leni mors transtulit ictu,
Inque suo jussit sese aperire solo.'

G. L. S." 1st S. xi. 252. 1855.

(O.) [*Falls of the Clyde*]:—"A somewhat different, and perhaps more spirited version of the anecdote related in Mr. COLLIER'S interesting papers on Coleridge's Lectures, is given in a foot-note to p. 23 of M'Phun's *Tourist's Guide to the Falls of the Clyde*, &c., Glasgow, 1852, as follows:—

'A distinguished living poet was admiring this fall . . . . when he overheard a well-dressed man say to his companion, 'It is a majestic waterfall!' The poet was so delighted with the epithet, that he could not resist turning round and saying: 'Yes, sir, it *is* majestic; you have hit the expression; it is better than sublime, or fine, or beautiful!' The unknown critic, flattered by the compliment, pursued his strain of admiration thus: 'Yes! I really think it is the *majestickest, prettiest thing of the kind* I ever saw!' J. R. G., Dublin." 1st S. x. 153. 1854.

(P.) [*Herbert's Poems*]:—"In the notes by Coleridge attached to Pickering's edition of George Herbert's *Poems*, on the line—

'My flesh began unto my soul in pain,'

Coleridge says—'Either a misprint, or noticeable idiom of the word *began*. Yes! and a very beautiful idiom it is; the first colloquy or address of the flesh.' . . . . D. S." 1st S. ii. 263. 1850.

(Q.) [*Job's Luck*]:—(*a*) "In the *Crypt*, a periodical published by the late Rev. P. Hall, vol. i. p. 30, I find the following attributed to Coleridge, but I know not on what authority, as it does not appear among his collected poems:—

JOB'S LUCK. BY S. T. COLERIDGE, ESQ.

'Sly Beelzebub took all occasions
To try Job's constancy and patience;
He took his honours, took his health,
He took his children, took his wealth,
His camels, horses, asses, cows,—
Still the sly devil did not take his spouse.

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'But heav'n, that brings out good from evil,
And likes to disappoint the devil,
Had predetermined to restore
Twofold of all Job had before,
His children, camels, asses, cows,—
Short-sighted devil not to take his spouse.'

This is merely an amplified version of the 199th epigram of the 3rd Book of Owen:—

'Divitias Jobo, sobolemque, ipsamque salutem
Abstulit (hoc Domino non prohibens) Satan.
Omnibus ablatis, misero, tamen una superstes,
Quæ magis afflictum redderet, uxor erat.'

S. W. SINGER." 1st S. ii. 83. 1850.

(*b*) "These lines . . . are printed in the collected editions of the poems of Coleridge. In an edition now before me, 3 vols. 12mo. Pickering, 1836, they occur at vol. ii. p. 147. As printed in that place, there is one very pointed deviation from the copy derived by Mr. SINGER from the Crypt. The last line of the first stanza runs thus:—

'*And* the sly devil did not take his spouse.'

. . . . . J. BRUCE." 1st S. ii. 156. 1850.

(*c*) "I send you another version of Job's luck, in addition to those that have lately appeared in *Notes and Queries*:—

'The devil engaged with Job's patience to battle,
Tooth and nail strove to worry him out of his life;
He robb'd him of children, slaves, houses, and cattle,
But, mark me, he ne'er thought of taking his wife.

'But heaven at length Job's forbearance rewards,
At length double wealth, double honour arrives,
He doubles his children, slaves, houses, and herds,
But we don't hear a word of a couple of wives.'

A. M." 1st S. ii. 516. 1850.

(R.) [*Lay Sermons*]: (*a*) "In Coleridge's second *Lay Sermon* (ed. 1839, p. 365) the passage—'What are you' (a philosopher was once asked), 'in consequence of your admiration of these abstruse speculations?' He answered, 'What I am, it does not become me to say; but what thousands are, who despise them, and even pride themselves on their ignorance, I see, and tremble,' is a quotation from Schiller. (*Werke*, vol. i. p. 414. 1838.)

AN DIE MUSE.

'Was ich ohne dich wäre, ich weiss es nicht: aber mir grauet,
Seh' ich, was ohne dich Hundert und Tausende sind.'

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In Appendix (B) to Coleridge's first *Lay Sermon* (p. 276), we read,—'An age or nation may become free from certain prejudices, beliefs, and superstitious practices, in two ways. It may have really risen above them; or it may have fallen below them, and become too bad for their continuance.'

Though not given as a quotation, this passage is no doubt borrowed from Baader, as quoted by Archdeacon Hare in a note to his *Sermons on the Mission of the Comforter*,—'Nations, like individuals, may get free and rid of certain prejudices, beliefs, customs, abuses, &c., in two ways. They may really have risen above them, or they may have fallen below them, and become too bad for them.' J. E. B. MAYOR, St. John's College, Cambridge." 1st S. ii. 195. 1850.

(*b*) "*Introduction to Second Lay Sermon*, p. xxvi., says: 'Whose ample foreheads, with the weighty bar, ridge-like, above the eye-brows, bespoke observation followed by meditative thought.' ERYX." 1st S. iii. 493. 1851.

(S.) [*Life.*] (*a*) "I should be very glad to be informed, when a very able review, the date of which I neglected to make at the time, appeared in the *Times* newspaper, of the 2nd edition of Cottle's *Life of Coleridge*. . . .' JOHN MILAND." 1st S. i. 55. 1849.

(*b*) "The *Times*' review of Joseph Cottle's *Reminiscences of Coleridge and Southey* appeared Nov. 3, 1847." * 1st S. i. 75. 1849.

(*c*) "It is much to be regretted that no proper life of the 'noticeable man' has yet appeared. There is no lack of 'reminiscences,' and 'recollections,' and 'conversations,' conveying distorted views of his life and character, and exaggerated statements of his faults and failings; but his life has yet to be written. And now would be the time, whilst some of his friends and contemporaries are still living, to do justice to his memory. Scott, Southey, Wordsworth, have had their lives copiously illustrated, and even little Tommy Moore is (*cosa stupenda*) to have *ten volumes* devoted to his life, whilst Coleridge, the myriad-minded, still waits for a biographer. And who would be so suitable as Derwent Coleridge to perform the office? J. M. B." 1st S. vii. 282. 1853.

* This is the writer's signature.

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(*d*) "There can be but one opinion and feeling as to the want which exists for a really good biography of this intellectual giant; but there will be many dissentients as to the proposed biographer, whose life of Hartley Coleridge cannot be regarded as a happy example of this class of composition. A life from the pen of Judge Coleridge, the friend of Arnold and Whateley, is, we think, far more to be desired. *θ*" 1st S. vii. 368. 1853.

(T.) [*Manuscripts*]: (*a*) "Are we ever likely to receive from any member of Coleridge's family, or from his friend Mr. J. H. GREEN, the fragments, if not the entire work, of his *Logosophia?* We can ill afford to lose a work the conception of which engrossed much of his thoughts, if I am rightly informed, towards the close of his life. THEOPHYLACT." 1st S. iv. 411. 1851.

(*b*) "In Sara Coleridge's introduction to her illustrious father's *Biog. Literaria* (Pickering), p. cxxxix., we read:

'But what mere speculative reason cannot oblige us to receive, the moral and spiritual within us may. This is the doctrine of the *Aids to Reflection;* I believe that my father, in his latter years, added something to it, on the subject of ideas, which will appear I trust hereafter.'

Has this 'something' ever been published? If not, who has the MS.? C. MANSFIELD INGLEBY." 1st S. vi. 533. 1852.

(*c*) "THEOPHYLACT . . . . . inquired [vol. iv. p. 411] 'whether we are 'ever likely to receive from any member of Coleridge's family, or from his friend Mr. J. H. GREEN, the fragments, if not the entire work, of his *Logosophia.*' . . . . I repeated the Query in another form [vol. vi. p. 533] grounding it upon an assurance of Sara Coleridge, in her introduction to the *Biographia Literaria*, that the fragment on Ideas would hereafter appear, as a sequel to the *Aids to Reflection*. Whether this fragment be identical with the *Logosophia*, or, as I suspect, a distinct essay, certain it is that nothing of the kind has ever been published.

From an interesting conversation I had with Dr. Green . . . . . I learned that he has in his possession, (1) A complete section of a work on *The Philosophy of Nature*, which he took down from the mouth of Coleridge, filling a large volume; (2) A complete treatise on *Logic;* and (3) If I did not mistake, a fragment on *Ideas*. The reason Dr. Green assigns for their not having been published, is, that they contain nothing

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but what has already seen the light in the *Aids to Reflection*, *The Theory of Life*, and the *Treatise on Method*. This appears to me a very inadequate reason for withholding them from the press. That the works would pay, there can be no doubt. C. MANSFIELD INGLEBY, Birmingham." 1st S. viii. 43. 1853.

(*d*) "When I sent you my Note on this subject" [1st S. viii. 43] . . . . . I had not read *Letters, Conversations, and Recollections of S. T. Coleridge*, Moxon, 1836. The subjoined extracts from that work confirm that note, vol. i. pp. 104, 156, 162.

August 8, 1820. Coleridge:

'I at least am as well as ever I am, and my regular employment, in which Mr. Green is weekly my amanuensis, (is) the work on the books of the Old and New Testaments, introduced by the assumptions and postulates required as the pre-conditions of a fair examination of Christianity as a scheme of doctrines, precepts, and histories, drawn or at least deducible from these books.'

January, 1821. Coleridge:

'In addition to these —— of my GREAT WORK, to the preparation of which more than twenty years of my life have been devoted, and on which my hopes of extensive and permanent utility, of fame, in the noblest sense of the word, mainly rest, &c. Of this work, &c., the result must finally be revolution of all that has been called *Philosophy* or Metaphysics in England and France since the era of the commencing predominance of the mechanical system at the restoration of our second Charles, and with the present fashionable views, not only of religion, morals, and politics, but even of the modern physics and physiology . . . . . Of this work, something more than a volume has been dictated by me, so as to exist fit for the press, to my friend and enlightened pupil, Mr. Green; and more than as much again would have been evolved and delivered to paper, but that for the last six or eight months I have been compelled to break off our weekly meeting,' &c.

Vol. ii. p. 219. Editor:

'The prospectus of these Lectures (viz. on Philosophy) is so full of interest, and so well worthy of attention, that I subjoin it; trusting that the Lectures themselves will soon be furnished by, or under the auspices of, Mr. Green, the most constant and most assiduous of his disciples. That gentleman will, I earnestly hope—*and doubt not*—see, *feel*, the necessity of giving the whole of his great master's views, opinions, and

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anticipations; not those alone in which he more entirely sympathises, or those which may have more ready acceptance in the present time. He will not shrink from the great, the *sacred duty* he has voluntarily undertaken, from any regards of prudence, still less from that most hopeless form of fastidiousness, the wish to conciliate those who are never to be conciliated, *inferior minds* smarting under a sense of inferiority, and the imputation *which they are conscious is just*, that but for Him *they* never could have been; that distorted, dwarfed, changed, as are all his views and opinions, by passing *athwart* minds with which they could not assimilate, they are yet almost the only things which give such minds a status in literature.'

How has Mr. Green discharged the duties of this solemn trust? Has he made any attempt to give publicity to the *Logic*, the 'great work' on *Philosophy*, the work on the Old and New Testaments, to be called *The Assertion of Religion*, or the *History of Philosophy*, all of which are in his custody, and of which the first is, on the testimony of Coleridge himself, a finished work? We know from the *Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 11, 150, that the *Logic* is an essay in three parts, viz., the 'Canon,' the 'Criterion,' and the 'Organon;' of these the last only can be in any respect identical with the *Treatise on Method*. There are other works of Coleridge missing; to these I will call attention in a future Note. For the four enumerated above Mr. Green is responsible . . . . . he can surely afford a fraction of the few years that may still be allotted to him in re-creating the fame of, and in discharging his duty to, his great master. If, however, he cannot afford the time, trouble, and cost of the undertaking, I make him this public offer; I will, myself, take the responsibility of the publication of the above-mentioned four works, if he will entrust me with the MSS.' . . . C. MANSFIELD INGLEBY, Birmingham." 1st S. ix. 496. 1854.

(*e*) "In an article contained in the Number of '*N. & Q.*' for May the 27th last," and signed C. MANSFIELD INGLEBY, an inconsiderate, not to say a coarse attack has been made upon me, which might have been spared had the writer sought a private explanation of the matters upon which he has founded his charge.

He asks, 'How has Mr. Green discharged the duties of his solemn trust? Has he made any attempt to give publicity to the *Logic*, the 'great work' on *Philosophy*, the work on the Old and New Testaments, to be called *The Assertion of*

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Religion, or the *History of Philosophy*, all of which are in his custody, and of which the first is, on the testimony of Coleridge himself, a finished work? . . . For the four works enumerated above, Mr. Green is responsible.'

Now, though, by the terms of Coleridge's will, I do not hold myself 'responsible' in the sense which the writer attaches to the term, and though I have acted throughout with the cognizance, and I believe with the approbation of Coleridge's family, yet I am willing, and shall now proceed to give such explanations as an admirer of Coleridge's writings may desire, or think he has a right to expect.

Of the four works in question, the *Logic*—as will be seen by turning to the passage in the *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 150, to which the writer refers as 'the testimony of Coleridge himself'—is described as *nearly* ready for the press, though as yet *unfinished;* and I apprehend it may be proved by reference to Mr. Stutfield's notes, the gentleman to whom it is there said they were dictated, and who possesses the original copy, that the work never was finished. Of the three parts mentioned as the components of the work, the *Criterion* and *Organon* do not to my knowledge exist; and with regard to the other parts of the manuscript, including the *Canon*, I believe that I have exercised a sound discretion in not publishing them in their present form and *unfinished* state.

Of the alleged work on the Old and New Testaments, to be called *The Assertion of Religion*, I have no knowledge. There exist, doubtless, in Coleridge's handwriting, many notes, detached fragments and marginalia, which contain criticisms on the Scriptures. Many of these have been published, some have lost their interest by the recent advances in biblical criticism, and some may hereafter appear; though, as many of them were evidently not intended for publication, they await a final judgment with respect to the time, form, and occasion of their appearance. But no work with the title above stated, no work with any similar object—except the *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*—is, as far as I know, in existence.

The work to which the writer alludes as the *History of Philosophy*, is in my possession. It was presented to me by the late J. Hookham Frere, and consists of notes, taken for him by an eminent shorthand writer, of the course of lectures delivered by Coleridge on that subject. Unfortunately, however, these notes are wholly unfit for publication, as indeed may be inferred from the fact, communicated to me by Coleridge, that the person employed confessed after the first

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lecture that he was unable to follow the lecturer in consequence of becoming perplexed and delayed by the novelty of thought and language, for which he was wholly unprepared by the ordinary exercise of his art. If this *History of Philosophy* is to be published in an intelligible form, it will require to be re-written; and I would willingly undertake the task, had I not, in connexion with Coleridge's views, other and more pressing objects to accomplish.

I come now to the fourth work, the 'great work' on *Philosophy*. Touching this the writer quotes from one of Coleridge's letters:

'Of this work something more than a volume has been dictated by me, so as to exist fit for the press.'

I need not here ask whether the conclusion is correct, that because 'something more than a volume' is fit for the press, I am therefore responsible for the whole work, of which the 'something more than a volume' is a part? But—shaping my answer with reference to the real point at issue—I have to state, for the information of Coleridge's readers, that, although in the materials for the volume there are introductions and intercalations on subjects of speculative interest, such as to entitle them to appear in print, the main portion of the work is a philosophical *Cosmogony*, which I fear is scarcely adapted for scientific readers, or corresponds to the requirements of modern science. At all events, I do not hesitate to say that the completion of the whole would be requisite for the intelligibility of the part which exists in manuscript.

I leave it then to any candid person to decide whether I should have acted wisely in risking its committal to the press in its present shape. Whatever may be, however, the opinion of others, I have decided, according to my own conscientious conviction of the issue, against the experiment.

But should some farther explanation be expected of me on this interesting topic, I will freely own that, having enjoyed the high privilege of communion with one of the most enlightened philosophers of the age—and in accordance with his wishes the responsibility rests with me, as far as my ability extends, of completing his labours,—in pursuance of this trust I have devoted more than the leisure of a life to a work in which I hope to present the philosophic views of my 'great master' in a systematic form of unity—in a form which may best concentrate to a focus and principle of unity the light diffused in his writings, and which may again reflect it on all departments of human knowledge, so that truths may become intelligible in the one light of Divine truth.

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Meanwhile I can assure the friends and admirers of Coleridge that nothing now exists in manuscript which would add materially to the elucidation of his philosophical doctrines; and that in any further publication of his literary remains I shall be guided, as I have been, by the duty which I owe to the memory and fame of my revered teacher. JOSEPH HENRY GREEN, Hadley." 1st S. ix. 543. 1854.

(*f*) "Every admirer of Coleridge's writings must feel, as I do, grateful to Mr. GREEN for the detailed account he has rendered of the manuscripts committed to his care. A few points, however, in his reply call for a rejoinder on my part. I will be as brief as possible.

I never doubted for an instant that, 'had I sought a private explanation of the matters' comprised in my note, Mr. GREEN would have courteously responded to the application. This is just what I did *not* want: a public explanation was what I desired. '*N. & Q.*' (vol. iv. p. 411; vol. vi. p. 533; vol. viii. p. 43) will bear witness to the fact that the public required to know the reason why works of Coleridge, presumed to exist in manuscript, were still withheld from publication: and I utterly deny the justice of Mr. GREEN'S allegation, that because I have *explicitly* stated the charge *implied* by Mr. Alsop (the editor of *Letters, Conversations, and Recollections of Coleridge*) in his strictures, I have made an inconsiderate, not to say a coarse, attack upon him (Mr. GREEN). When a long series of appeals to the fortunate possessor of the Coleridge manuscripts (whoever he might turn out to be) had been met with silent indifference, I felt that the time was come to address an appeal personally to Mr. GREEN himself. That he has acted with the approbation of Coleridge's family, nobody can doubt; for the public (thanks to Mr. Alsop) know too well how little the greatest of modern philosophers was indebted to that family in his lifetime, to attach much importance to their approbation or disapprobation.

No believer in the philosophy of Coleridge can look with greater anxiety than I do for the forthcoming work of Mr. GREEN. That the pupil of Coleridge, and the author of *Vital Dynamics*, will worthily acquit himself in this great field, who can question? But I, for one, must enter my protest against the publication of Mr. GREEN'S book being made the pretext of depriving the public of their right (may I say?) to the perusal of such works as do exist in manuscript, finished or unfinished. Again I beg most respectfully to

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urge on Mr. GREEN the expediency, not to say paramount duty, of his giving to the world *intact* the *Logic* (consisting of the *Canon* and other parts), the *Cosmogony*, and, as far as possible, the *History of Philosophy*. If his plea, that these works are not in a finished state, had been heretofore held good in bar of publication, we should probably have lost the inestimable privilege of reading and possessing those fragmentary works of the great philosopher which have already been made public. C. MANSFIELD INGLEBY, Birmingham." 1st S. ix. 591. 1854.

(*g*) "This appears a proper time to revive the following Note and Query, which are extracted from an article on Coleridge in *Blackwood's Magazine* for January, 1845 (p. 118, foot-note).

'We ourselves had the honour of presenting to Mr. Coleridge Law's English version of *Jacob Böhmen* a set of huge 4tos. Some months afterwards we saw this work lying open, and one volume, at least, overflowing, in part, with the Commentaries and the Corollaries of Coleridge. Whither has this work, and so many others swathed about with Coleridge's MS. notes, vanished from the world? J. M., Oxford." 1st S. x. 146. 1854.

(U.) [*Moses represented with Horns*]: . . . "I send you an extract from Coleridge which . . . explains the statement of Rosenmüller (p. 419), that the Jews attributed horns to Moses 'figuratively for power':—

'When I was at Rome, among many other visits to the tomb of Julius II., I went thither once with a Prussian artist, a man of great genius and vivacity of feeling. As we were gazing on Michael Angelo's Moses, our conversation turned on the horns and beard of that stupendous statue; of the necessity of each to support the other; of the superhuman effect of the former, and the necessity of the existence of both to give a harmony and *integrity* both to the image and the feeling excited by it. Conceive them removed, and the statue would become *un*natural, without being *super*natural. We called to mind the horns of the rising sun, and I repeated the noble passage from Taylor's *Holy Dying*. That horns were the emblem of power and sovereignty among the Eastern nations; and are still retained as such in Abyssinia; the Achelous of the ancient Greeks; and the probable ideas and feelings that originally suggested the mixture of the human and the brute form in the figure, by which they realized the

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idea of their mysterious Pan, as representing intelligence blended with a darker power, deeper, mightier, and more universal than the conscious intellect of man; than intelligence—all these thoughts passed in procession before our minds.' Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria*, vol. ii. p. 127. edit. 1817. . . . . C. K." 1st S. ii. 91. 1850.

(V.) [*Parallel Passages*]:—(*a*) [*Coleridge and Plato*]:—"I do not remember to have seen the following parallels pointed out:—

Coleridge:—The Nightingale. A conversation poem:—

'The nightingale—
Most musical, most melancholy bird!
A melancholy bird! Oh! idle thought!
In nature there is nothing melancholy.
But some night-wandering man whose heart was pierced
With the remembrance of a grievous wrong,
. . . . . he, and such as he,
First named these notes a melancholy strain.'

Plato, Phædo, § 77 (p. 85, Steph.):

'Men, because they fear death themselves, slander the swans, and say that they sing from pain lamenting their death, and do not consider that no bird sings when hungry, or cold, or suffering any other pain; no, not even the nightingale, and the swallow, and the hoopoe, which you know are said to sing for grief.' J. E. B. MAYOR." 1st S. ii. 458. 1850.

(*b*) [*Coleridge, Sir T. Browne, Byron, and Shelly.*]

Coleridge:— "Oh! what a wonder seems the fear of death,
Seeing how gladly we all sink to sleep,
Babes, children, youths, and men,
Night following night, for threescore years and ten!"
Monody on Chattertom.

Sir T. Browne:—"Since the Brother of Death daily haunts us with dying mementoes." *Hydriotaphia.*

Byron:—"A sleep without dreams, after a rough day
Of toil, is what we covet most; and yet
How clay slinks * back from more quiescent clay.
(Reference lost.)" †

Shelly:— "How wonderful is death—
Death and his brother sleep!"—*Queen Mab.*

"HARRY LEROY TEMPLE." 1st S. iv. 435. 1851.

* [Probably a misprint for "shrinks"—the word in Murray's one volume edition, 1845.]

† [The reference is *Don Juan*, canto xiv. st. iv.]

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(*c*) [*Coleridge and Plato*]:—

"Without becoming 'a piddler in minute plagiarisms' (as Gifford called Warton), I think the following coincidence worth noting. S. T. Coleridge, in his 'Lines on an Autumnal Evening,' has these lines:

> 'On seraph wing I'd float a dream by night,
> To sooth my love with shadows of delight;
> Or soar aloft to be the spangled skies,
> And gaze upon her with a thousand eyes.'

Plato had written ('To Stella,' in *Anthol. Palat.*):

> Ἀστέρας εἰσαθρεῖς Ἀστὴρ ἐμός εἴθε γενοίμην
> Οὐρανός ὡς μυρίοις ὄμμασιν εἰς σε βλέπω.

I cannot withhold Shelley's exquisite version:

> 'Fair star of life and love, my soul's delight!
> Why lookest thou on the crystalline skies?
> O that my spirit were yon heaven of night,
> Which gazes on thee with its thousand eyes!'
> *Revolt of Islam*, c. ix. st. 36.

Dr. Wellesley's *Anthologia Polyglotta* contains several versions of Plato's lines. There is also one by Swynfen Jervis in Lewis's *Biographical History of Philosophy*, s. v. Plato. C. P. Ph ***." 1st S. v. 317. 1852.

(W.) [*Parr*] " . . . . . I have in my possession a curious little volume of notes, &c., in Mr. Coleridge's handwriting . . . . from which extracts were made in vol. i. pp. 274–5, &c., of Coleridge's *Literary Remains*, collected and edited by his nephew, H. N. Coleridge, Esq., 4 vols. 1836; Pickering.

But, in addition to this volume, I have a few with S. T. Coleridge's pencilling in the margins. The following is selected from Dr. Parr's celebrated *Spital Sermon*, and is appended to one of his (Dr. Parr's) notes, wherein he says:

'Upon the various effects of superstition, where it has spread widely and thriven long, we can reason from facts. But in the original frame of the human mind, and in the operation of all those usual causes which regulate our conduct or affect our happiness, there seems to be a most active, constant, and invincible principle of *resistance* to the approachments of atheism. "All nature cries aloud" against them, "through all her works," not in speculation only, but in practice.'

Mr. Coleridge's annotation upon the foregoing opinion of the learned Doctor is as follows; and I select it as a specimen of Coleridge's astonishing recollection of any opinions he had formerly promulgated, which might have called any laxity of

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principle, religious, moral, or political, into doubt, and of his extreme anxiety to refute or explain them:

'I never had even a doubt in *my being* concerning the supreme Mind; but understand too sufficiently the difficulty of any intellectual demonstration of his existence, and see too plainly how inevitably the principles of many pious men (Locke, Priestly, Hartley, even Archbishop King) would lead to atheism by fair production of consequences, not to feel in perfect charity with all good men, atheist or theist; and, let me add, though I now seem to feel firm ground of *reason* under my belief in God, not gratefully to attribute my uniform past *theism* more to general feeling than to depth of understanding. Within this purpose I hope that, without offence, I may declare my conviction, that in the French Revolution atheism was an effect, not a cause; that the same wicked men, under other circumstances and fashions, would have done the same thing as Anabaptists within Munster, or as Inquisitors among the South American Indians; and that atheism from conviction, and as a ruling motive and impulse (in which case only can it be fairly compared with superstition), is a quiescent state, and *per se* harmless to all but the atheist himself. Rather is it that overwhelming preference of experimental philosophy, which, by smothering over more delicate perceptions, and debilitating often to impotence the faculty of going into ourselves, leads to atheism as a conscious creed, and in its extreme is atheism in its essence. This rather is, I should deem, the more perilous, and a plainer and better object for philosophical attack. O! bring back *Jack the Giant Killer* and the *Arabian Nights* to our children, and Plato and his followers to new men, and let us have chemistry as we have watchmakers or surgeons (I select purposely honourable and useful callings), as a *division* of human labour, as a worthy profession for a few, not as a glittering master-feature of the education of men, women, and children. S. T. C.' J. M. G., Worcester." 1st S. vii. 280. 1853.

(X.) [*Penny Postage*]:—(*a*) "Many of your readers have, I doubt not, perused with interest the vivid sketch of the origin of the Penny Postage System, given by Miss Martineau in her *History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace*, vol. ii. p. 425, and have seen in the incident of the shilling letter delivered to the poor cottager, somewhere in the Lake district—refused by her from professed inability to pay the postage—paid for by Mr. Rowland Hill, who happened most opportunely to be passing that way—and, when opened,

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found to be blank (this plan being preconcerted between the woman and her correspondent, to know of each other's welfare without the expense of postage). A remarkable instance of 'how great events from little causes spring,' and have bestowed much admiration on the penetration of Mr. Hill's mind, which 'wakened up at once to a significance of the fact,' nor ever rested till he had devised and effected his scheme of Post-office Reform; though all the while an uncomfortable feeling might be lurking behind as to the perfect credibility of so interesting a mode for accounting for the initiation of this great social benefit.

I confess to having had some suspicions myself as to the trustworthiness of this story; and a few days since my suspicions were fully confirmed by discovering that the real hero of the tale was not the Post-office Reformer, but the poet Coleridge; unless, indeed, which is surely out of the range of ordinary probabilities, the same event, *corresponding exactly as to place and amount of postage*, happened to two persons at separate times.

Coleridge relates the story himself, in one of his 'conversations' . . . 'One day,' he says, 'when I had not a shilling to spare, I was passing by a cottage *at Keswick* where a carter was demanding a shilling for a letter, which the woman of the house appeared unwilling to give, and at last declined to take. I paid the postage, and when the man was out of sight, she told me that the letter was from her son, who took that means of letting her know that he was well. The letter was not to be paid for. It was then opened and *found to be blank.*

Now, while so many copies of 'NOTES AND QUERIES' pass through the Post-office, it is to be hoped one at least may remain there, and be the means of inducing Mr. Hill to inform us whether Miss Martineau had any authority for fathering this story upon him; and whether the Post-office Reform is really indebted to any such trivial incident for its original idea. E. VENABLES." 1st S. iii. 6. 1851.

(*b*) " . . . . If Mr. Venables had taken an active part in bringing about the greatest moral movement of our age, he would have known that, amongst the hundred other illustrations adduced by Mr. Hill, was the very anecdote to which he refers; and that Mr. Hill quoted it, not once or twice, but dozens of times, and circulated it, with Coleridge's name, over the whole length and breadth of the three kingdoms, by tens of thousands of printed papers. C. W. D." 1st S. iii. 27. 1851.

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(Y.) [*Pepy's Diary*]:—"In a copy of Pepy's *Memoirs*, 2 vols. 4to., 1825, in my possession, are the following MS. remarks of S. T. Coleridge. They have never been printed; if you think them worthy of insertion they are quite at your service.

As it would take up too much room in your pages to copy the passages at length from Pepy's *Diary*, I generally only give the page, and beginning of the passage alluded to.

Pepys.—Vol. i. p. 84: 'he in discourse of the great opinion of the virtue, gratitude,' &c.

Coleridge.—'Exquisite specimen of dry, grave irony.'

Pepys.—Vol. i. p. 189: 'Falling into discourse of a new book of drollery in use, called Hudibras, I would needs go find it out; . . . . it is so silly an abuse of the Presbyter Knight going to the wars, that I am ashamed of it.

Coleridge.—'Pepys pronounced at p. 167 the *Midsummer Night's Dream* the most insipid ridiculous play he had ever seen.

Pepys.—Vol. ii. p. 10: 'Sir G. Carteret did tell a story, how at his death he did make the town swear that he should never be dug up—they after sixty years do it—found a plate of brasse, saying, &c.—which, *if* true, is very strange!

Coleridge.—'IF!!! but still more strange would be the *truth* of the story. Yet only suppose the precise date an addition of the reporters: and nothing more natural.—Mem. The good old story of a jealous husband's sending his confidential servant to his wife, forbidding her to see a certain gentleman during his absence, and to bring back her solemn oath and promise that she would not: and how the shrewd fellow, instead of this, took her oath not to ride on Neptune's back, their huge Newfoundland yard-dog.'

Pepys.—Vol. ii. p. 13.: 'We had much talk of all our old acquaintance,' &c.

Coleridge.—'Most valuable on many, various, and most important accounts, as I hold this *Diary* to be, I deem it invaluable, as a faithful portrait of enlightened (i.e. calculating) self-love and self-interest in its perihelion to Morality, or its nearest possible neighbourhood to, or least possible distance from, Honour and Honesty. And yet what a cold and torpid Saturn, with what a sinister and leaden shine, spotty as the moon, does it appear, compared with the principles and actions of the regicide, Colonel Hutchinson, or those of the Puritan, Richard Baxter (in the Autobiography edited by Sylvester), both the contemporaries of Pepys.'

Pepys.—Vol. ii. p. 46. 'He tells me the King of France

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hath his mistresses, but laughs at the foolery of our King, that makes his bastards princes,' &c.

Coleridge.—'Mem. Earl of Munster. This, with wit and condescension, was all that was wanting to a perfect parallelism in the character of George IV. with that of Charles II., and this he left to be supplied by his worthy brother and successor.'

Pepys.—Vol. ii. p. 55. 'Engaged under hand and seal to give the man that obtained it so much in behalf of my Lord Chancellor.'

Coleridge.—'And this was one of the three idols of our church; for Clarendon ever follows Charles the Martyr, and the Martyr, Laud! Alas! what a strange thing the conscience seems to be, when such actions and deliberate falsehoods as have been on strong grounds imputed to Lord Clarendon,—among others, the suborning of assasination,—could be made compatible in his own mind with professions of religion and habitual religious meditations and exercises.'

Pepys.— Vol. ii. p. 62. 'The Dutch are known to be abroad with eighty sail of ships of war, and twenty fire-ships, and the French come into the channell with twenty sail of men of war and five fire-ships, while we have not a ship at sea,' &c.

Coleridge.—'There were good grounds for the belief, that more and yet worse causes than sensuality and sensual sloth were working in the king's mind and heart, viz. the readiness to have the French king *his* Master, and the Disposer of his Kingdom's *power*, as the means of becoming himself the uncontrolled Master of its *wealth*. He would fain be a Despot, even at the cost of being another's Underling. Charles II. was willing, nay, anxious, to reduce his Crown and Kingdom under the domination of the Grand Monarque, provided he might have the power to shear and poll his subjects without leave, and unchecked by the interference of a parliament. I look on him as one of the moral Monsters of History.'

Pepys.—Vol. ii. p. 108.

Coleridge.—'To initiate a young student into the mystery of appreciating the value of modern History, or the books that have hitherto passed for such,—First, let him carefully peruse this *Diary*, and then, while it is fresh in his mind, take up and read Hume's *History of England*, reign of Charles II. Even of Hume's reign of Elizabeth, generally rated as the best and fullest of the work, I dare assert, that to supply the *omissions* alone, would form an Appendix occupying twice the space allotted by him to the whole Reign, and the necessary rectification of his statements half as

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much. What with omissions, and what with perversions, of the most important incidents, added to the false portraiture of the character, the work from the reign of Henry VII. is a mischievous romance. But alike as Historian and as Philosopher, Hume has, *meo saltem judicio*, been extravagantly over-rated. Mercy on the age, and the people, for whom Locke is profound, and Hume subtle.'

Pepys.—Vol. ii. p. 110: '. . . do hear Mr. Cowly mightily lamented (his death) by Dr. Ward, the Bp. of Winchester, and Dr. Bates . . . as the best poet of our nation, and as good a man.'

Coleridge.—'!!—Yet Cowley *was* a poet, which with all my unfeigned admiration of his vigorous sense, his agile logical wit, and his high excellencies of diction and metre, is more than (in the *strict* use of the term Poet) I can conscientiously say of Dryden. Only if Pope was a *Poet*, as Lord Byron swears, then Dryden, I admit, was a *very great* Poet. W. Wordsworth calls Lord Byron the Mocking Bird of our Parnassian Ornithology; but the Mocking Bird, they say, has a very sweet song of his own, in true Notes proper to himself. Now I cannot say I have heard any such in his Lordships volumes of Warbles; and spite of Sir W. Scott, I dare predict that in less than a century, the Baronet's and the Baron's Poems will lie on the same shelf of Oblivion, Scott be read and remembered as a Novelist and the Founder of a new race of Novels; and Byron not remembered at all, except as a wicked Lord, who, from morbid and restless vanity, pretended to be ten times more wicked than he was.'

Pepys.—Vol. ii. p. 125: 'To the Bear Garden . . . saw the prize fought, till one of them, a shoemaker, was so cut in both his wrists that he could not fight any longer. . . . The sport very good.'

Coleridge.—'! Certainly Pepys was blest with the queerest and most omnivorous taste that ever fell to the lot of one man.'

Pepys.—Vol. ii. p. 151: 'To the King's Playhouse, and there saw a silly play and an old one, *The Taming of a Shrew*.'

Coleridge.—'This is, I think, the fifth of Shakespeare's Plays, which Pepys found silly, stupid trash, and among them Othello! Macbeth, indeed, he commended for the *shews* and music, but not to be compared with the 'Five Hours Adventures'!! This, and the want of wit in the Hudibras, is very amusing, nay, it is seriously instructive. Thousands of shrewd and intelligent men, in whom, as in S. Pepys, the

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Understanding is (*word illegible*, but explained as a new invented verb by the Doctors, meaning overgrown) to the necrosis or marasmus of the Reason and Imagination, while far-sighted (yet oh! how short-sighted) self-interest fills the place of conscience, would say the same, if they dare.'

Pepys.—Vol. ii. p. 254:—'To church, and heard a good sermon of Mr. Gifford's at our church, upon 'Seek ye first the kingdom of heaven and its righteousness, and all things shall be added to you.'—He shewed, like a wise man, that righteousness is a surer moral way of being rich, than sin and villainy.'

Coleridge.—'Highly characteristic. Pepys' only ground of morality was Prudence, a shrewd Understanding in the service of Self-love, his Conscience. He was a *Pollard* man, without the *Top* (*i.e.* the Reason as the source of Ideas, or immediate yet not sensuous truths, having their evidence in themselves; or, the Imagination, or idealising Power, by symbols mediating between the Reason and the Understanding), but on this account more broadly and luxuriantly branching out from the upper Trunk. For the sobriety and steadfastness of a worldly self-interest substitute inventive Fancy, Will-wantonness (*stet pro ratione voluntas*), and a humorous sense of the emptiness and dream-likeness of human pursuits—and Pepys would have been the Panurge of the incomparable Rabelais.—Mem. It is incomprehensible to me that this great and general Philosopher should have been a Frenchman, except on my hypothesis of a continued dilution of the Gothic blood from the reign of Henry IV., Des Cartes, Malbranche, Pascal, and Molière, being the *ultimi Gothorum*, the last in whom the Gothic predominated over the Celtic.'

Pepys.—Vol. ii. p. 260. 'To the fair, to see the play 'Bartholomew Fair;' and it is an excellent play . . . . only the business of amusing the Puritans begins to grow stale and of no use, they being the people that at last will be found the wisest.'

Coleridge.—'Pepys was always a Commonwealth's man in his heart. N.B. Not a democrat; but even more than the constitutional Whigs, the very antipodes of the modern Jacobins, or *Tail-up, Head-down* politicians. A voluptuary, and without a spark of bigotry in his nature, he could not be a Puritan; but of his free choice he would have preferred Presbyterianism to Prelacy, and a mixed Aristocracy of Wealth and Talent, to a Monarchy or even a mixed Government, such at least as the latter was in his time. But many

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of the more enlightened Jacobites were Republicans who despaired of a Republic. *Si non Brutus, Cæsar.*'

Pepys.—Vol. ii. p. 319.

Coleridge.—'Can a more impressive proof be desired of the truth and wisdom of the Earl of Carnarvon's recent remark in the House of Lords, that before the reign of Anne, the constitution had but a sort of uterine life, or but partially appeared as in the (*illegible*), and that it is unworthy of a British statesman to quote any precedent anterior to the Revolution in 1688! Here, an honest, high-principled, and patriotic Senator, criminates Lord Clarendon for having prevented Charles II. from making the Crown independent of the Parliament, and this when he knew and groaned under the infamous vices and folly of the king! Sick and weary of the factious and persecuting temper of the House of Commons, many, the true lovers of their country and its freedom, would gladly have dispensed with Parliaments, and have secured for the King a revenue which, wisely and economically managed, might have sufficed for all ordinary demands, could they have discovered any other way of subjecting the Judges to a periodical rigorous account for their administration of the *Law*. In the *Laws* and the Rights established by Law, these men placed the proper liberty of the subject. Before the Revolution a Parliament at the commencement of a Reign, and of a War, under an economic and decorous (*illegible*), would have satisfied the people generally.'

Pepys.—Vol. ii. p. 342: 'Thence walked a little with Creed, who tells me he hears how fine my horses and coach are, and advises me to avoid being noted for it . . . . . being what I feared,' &c.

Coleridge.—'This struggle between the prudence of an Atticus, and the Sir Piercy-Shafton-Taylor-blood working as an instinct in his veins, with extreme sensitiveness to the *opinions* of men as their combining medium, is very amusing.'

Pepys.—Vol. ii. p. 348: Pepys here concludes his Diary from threatening blindness.

Coleridge.—'Truly may it be said that this was a greater and more grievous loss to the mind's eye of his posterity, than to the bodily organs of Pepys himself. It makes me restless and discontented to think what a Diary, equal in minuteness and truth of portraiture to the preceding from 1669 to 1688 or 1690, would have been for the true causes, process, and character of the Revolution.'

Pepys.—Vol. ii. (Correspondence), p. 65: 'It is a common

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position among these factious sectaries, that there is no medium between a true Churchman of England and a Roman Catholic,' &c.

Coleridge.—'It is only too probable, that James's bigotry alone baffled his despotism, and that he might have succeeded in suppressing the liberties of his country, if he would—for a time at least—have kept aloof from its Religion. It should be remembered, in excuse for the supporters of James II., that the practicability of conducting the affairs of the State with and by a parliament had not yet been demonstrated, nay, seemed incompatible with the theoretic division of the legislative from the executive—and indeed only by blending the two *in fact*, and preserving the division in words and appearance, was this effected:—and even now the practicability of governing the empire with and by a perfectly free and freely elected parliament, remains to be demonstrated.

Pepys.—Vol. ii. (Correspondence), p. 71: 'Cedria citria, cedar.'

Coleridge.—'That lady of masculine intellect, with all the woman's sense of beauty (Mrs. Emerson, was that the name? but long a botanical correspondent and contributor to Nicholson's *Phil. Magazine*, *v.* Mrs. Ibbetson), believed herself to have discovered the principle of this precious citrine wood, and the means of producing it. And I see no reason for doubting it, though of her phytological anatomy, by help of the solar microscope, I am sceptical. The engravings instantly called up in my mind the suspicion of some kaleidoscope delusions, from the singular *symmetry* of all the forms. But she was an excellent and very remarkable woman, and her contributions in the *Phil. Magazine* worth studying, even for the style.'

Pepys.—Vol. ii. (Correspondence), p. 73. Burnet's *Theory of the Earth.* 'The whole hypothesis so ingenious and so rational, that I both admire and believe it at once.'

Coleridge.—'! Strange! Burnet's book is a grand Miltonic romance; but the contrast between the Tartarian fury, and Turbulence of the Burnetian, and the almost supernatural tranquillity of the Mosaic, Deluge, is little less than comic.'

Pepys.—Vol. ii. (Correspondence), p. 198. Second sight, so called in Scotland. 'She's a handsome lady indeed,' said the gentleman, 'but I see her in blood,' &c.

Coleridge.—'It would have been necessary to cross-examine this Scotch Deuteroptis, whether he had not seen the duplicate or spectrum of other persons in blood. It might have been the result of an inflammatory condition of his own

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brains, or a slight pressure on the region of the optic nerves. I have repeatedly seen the phantasm of the page I was reading, all spotted with blood, or with the letters all blood.'

The above is a literal transcript of S. T. Coleridge's Marginalia. . . . . BONSALL." 1st S. vi. 213. 1852.

(Z.) [*Prophetic*]:—"Among the political writers of the nineteenth century, who has shown such prophetic insight into the sad destinies of France as Coleridge? It is the fashion with literary sciolists to ignore the genius of this great man. Let the following extracts stand as evidences of his profound penetration.

Friend, vol. i. p. 244 (1844):—'That man has reflected little on human nature who does not perceive that the detestable maxims and correspondent crimes of the existing French despotism, have already dimmed the recollections of democratic phrenzy in the minds of men; by little and little have drawn off to other objects the electric force of the feelings which had massed and upholden those recollections; and that a favourable concurrence of occasions is alone wanting to awaken the thunder and precipitate the lightning from the opposite quarter of the political heaven.'

Let the events of 1830 and 1848 speak for themselves as to the fulfilment of this forecast.

Biographia Literaria, vol. i. p. 30 (1847) (after a most masterly analysis of practical genius):—'These, in tranquil times, are formed to exhibit a perfect poem in palace, or temple, or landscape-garden, &c. . . . . But alas! in times of tumult they are the men destined to come forth as the shaping spirit of ruin, to destroy the wisdom of ages in order to substitute the fancies of a day, and to change kings and kingdoms, as the wind shifts and shapes the clouds.'

Let the present and the future witness the truth of this insight. We have (in Coleridge's words) 'lights of admonition and warning;' and we may live to repent of our indifference, if they are thrown away upon us. C. MANSFIELD INGLEBY, Birmingham." 1st S. vii. 36. 1853.

(A*) [*Raleigh*]:—"I possess a copy of Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*, 1st edit., 1614, upon the margins of which are several MS. notes in a handwriting resembling Coleridge's, but without his initials. That they were written by him is rendered almost certain, from the following considerations: that he was familiar with the book (a fact which we learn from the marginalia on Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacræ*,

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published in a periodical called *Excelsior*, No. iv.); that some at least of the opinions expressed in the margin of the *History of the World* are coincident with those of Coleridge; and that the style of the composition is Coleridge's own. When it is considered how large an amount of the MSS. of the great poet-philosopher are withheld from publication, his admirers will I am sure feel grateful for any accession to the small amount of his published prose writings. I heartily wish my contribution were greater.

Preface, p. 10:

'But had the Duke of Parma, in the year 1588, joyned the army which he commanded with that of Spaine, and landed it on the south coast; and had his majesty at the same time declared himselfe against us in the north, it is easie to divine what had become of the liberty of England; certainly we should then without murmur have (brought) this union (a far greater praise) than it hath since cost us.'

Coleridge:

'Forsan, bought—at a far greater price.'

Preface, p. 18.:

'The living (saith Lee, the preacher) know that they shall die, but the dead know nothing at all.'

Coleridge:

'? But of the dead?'

This note may be considered suggestive of the opinion so often expressed by Coleridge, that—

'The Jews believed generally in a future state, independently of the Mosaic Law.'—See *Table Talk*, 3rd edit. (1851), p. 28.

Preface, p. 24.:

'He will disable God's power to make a world, without matter to make it of. He will rather give mothes of the aire a cause, cast the work on necessity or chance; bestow the honour thereof on Nature; make two powers, the one to be the author of the *matter*, the other of the *forme;* and lastly, for want of a worke-man, have it eternall: which latter opinion *Aristotle*, to make himself the author of a new doctrine brought into the world: and his Sectatours have maintained it.'

Coleridge:

'I do not think that Aristotle made the world eternal, from the difficulty of aliquid a nihilo *materiali;* but from the idea of God as an eternal *Act*—actus *purissimus*, and eternity = Simultaneous possession of total Being — for, strictly, God neither was nor will be, but always *is*. We

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may, without absurdity or contradiction, combine the faith of of Aristotle and the Church, saying "God from all eternity creates the world by and through the Λογος."'

In the marginalia on Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacræ*, above referred to, Coleridge says:

'And where is the danger to religion, if we make preservation a perpetual creation, and interpret the first words of Genesis as we must do (if not Socinian) the first words of St. John. From all eternity God created the universe, and the earth became waste and void,' &c.

Whether this were the faith of Aristotle or not, it was certainly that of Plato. Cf. Timæus.

The above are all the notes on the Preface. The following are on the text of the *History:*

Book i. p. 65. ch. v. § 5.:

'Of the long lives of the Patriarchs: and of some of late memory.'

Coleridge:

'It is said that the first years were three moons: that the ideal of each animal's life (of the warm-blooded) is eight times its full growth: that man is at his *full* at twenty-five, which × by 8 = 200: and that taking three as the first perfection of number by (& ?) unity (that is three is *tri-une*), and three moons as *the* first year, this would agree with the age of Methusalem, the only man who ever reached the ideal. A negro in Peru, who was still living eight years back, was then one hundred and eighty-six, as known by public registers of sales (1817 or 1807 ?).'

From this note we arrive at the date at which these marginalia were written.. The second 1 is thick, and might have been intended for a 0.

Book i. p. 132.:

These riddles are also rife among the *Athenians* and *Arcadians*, who dare affirme, that they are more ancient than *Jupiter* and the *Moon;* whereof *Ovid*—

> 'Ante *Jovem* genitum terras habuisse feruntur
> *Arcades:* et *Luna* gens prior illa fuit.'

Coleridge:

'This may be *equally true*, whether the moon were a comet stopped by the attraction of the earth, and compelled, though not without some staggering, to assimilate its orbit; or whether the inward fire-matter of the earth, turning an ocean suddenly into steam, projected a continent from that hollow which is now filled up by the Pacific and South Sea, which is about the size of the moon.'

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I can find nothing like the chronological or geological views expressed in the last two notes in the published works of Coleridge. C. MANSFIELD INGLEBY, Birmingham. 1st S. xii. 5. 1855.

(B*) [*Reason and Understanding*]: (*a*) "There is a remarkable discrepancy in the statements of Coleridge respecting reason and understanding.

(1) *Friend*, vol. i. pp. 207–8 (Pickering)—

'That many animals possess a share of understanding perfectly distinguishable from mere instinct we all allow. Few persons have a favourite dog, without making instances of its intelligence an occasional topic of conversation. They call for our admiration of the individual animal, and not with exclusive reference to the wisdom in nature, as in the case of στοργὴ, or maternal instinct: or of the hexangular cells of the bees. . . . . We hear little or nothing of the instincts of the 'half reasoning elephant,' and as little of the understanding of caterpillars and butterflies.'

Aids to Reflection, v. i. pp. 171-3 (Pickering)—Here, after quoting two instances from Hüber about bees and ants, he says,—

'Now I assert that the faculty in the acts here narrated does not differ in *kind* from understanding.'

Does Coleridge mean to tell us that bees and ants have the same faculty (understanding) as dogs and elephants?

(2) *Friend*, vol. i. pp. 216–7.—'For a moment's steady self-reflection will show us that, in the simple determination 'black is not white,' or 'that two straight lines cannot include a space,' all the powers are implied that distinguish man from animals; first, the power of reflection; second, of comparison; third, and therefore suspension of the mind; fourth, therefore of a controlling will, and the power of acting from notions, instead of mere images exciting appetites; from motives, and not from mere dark instinct.' And after relating a story about a dog who appeared to have employed the disjunctive syllogism (in relation to which see Cottle's *Reminiscences*, vol. i. pp. 48–9), Coleridge remarks,—

'So awful and almost miraculous does the simple act of concluding, 'take three from four, and there remains one,' appear to us, when attributed to one of the most sagacious of all brute animals.'

Aids to Reflection, vol. i. p. 175.—'Understanding is the faculty of reflection, reason of contemplation.' And p. 176. —'The understanding, then, considered exclusively as an

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organ of human intelligence, is the faculty by which we reflect and generalize. . . . . The whole process (of the understanding) may be reduced to three acts, all depending on, and supposing a previous impression on, the senses: first, the appropriation of our attention; second (and in order to the continuance of the first), abstraction, or the voluntary withholding of the attention; and, third, generalization; and these are the proper functions of the understanding.

Aids to Reflection, vol. i. p. 182. *Note.*—'So far, and no further, could the understanding carry us; and so far as this, 'the faculty judging according to sense' conducts many of the inferior animals, if not in the same, yet in instances analogous and fully equivalent.'

Does Coleridge, then, mean us to understand him as saying, that many of the brutes can reflect, abstract, and generalize?

(3) *Friend*, vol. i. p. 259.—'Reason! best and holiest gift of God, and bond of union with the Giver; the high title by which the majesty of man claims precedence above all other living creatures — mysterious faculty, the mother of conscience, of language.'

Aids to Reflection, vol. i. pp. 176–182.—Coleridge here gives his reasons for considering language a property of the understanding, and, in p. 105, adds—'It is, however, by no means equally clear to me that the dog may not possess an *analogon* of words which I have elsewhere shown to be the proper objects of the 'faculty judging according to sense."

Does Coleridge mean that the inferior animals may have language?

Who, of your many able correspondents, will assist me in unravelling this complicated tissue? C. MANSFIELD INGLEBY." 1st S. v. 535. 1852.

(*b*) "Your correspondent C. MANSFIELD INGLEBY will pardon me if I deny the discrepancy in Coleridge's statements on the difference between these faculties. Coleridge refuses to brutes the possession of reason as a contemplative faculty; he allows them, that which in kind differs from reason, the understanding *in a certain degree*, and asserts that they do possess, in a very marked and characteristic manner, instinct, which, in degree only, falls below understanding. Instinct is distinguishable in *degree* from understanding. Reason is distinguishable from it in *kind*. Some kinds of brutes, as dogs and elephants, possess more intelligence than others, as tigers and swine; and some individual dogs possess more of this intelligence than others. This intelligence arises from the

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superior activity of the 'faculty judging according to sense;' and, when Coleridge says that it is not clear to him 'that the dog may not possess an analogon to words,' he might have gone, I think, further, and have said, with much probability of truth on his side, that the dog *has* this analogon of words. I am sure I have often known a dog's thoughts by his own way of expressing them, far more distinctly than I am sometimes able to gather a fellow-man's meaning from his words. Nay, much as I love and venerate Coleridge—his goodness, his genius, his writings, his memory—I find a dog sometimes far more intelligible. Language is a property of the understanding, but it cannot be developed in words unless there be in the creature an adequate degree of the faculty. This degree of the faculty, dogs have not. If they had it, they might fairly be expected to speak, read, and write. What we want is the man, or the observation and experiment, which shall tell us where the line is to be drawn, if in the nature of such gradations lines can be drawn at all, which shall distinguish the degree at which instinct overlaps understanding. The case is perhaps too hopelessly complicated. Coleridge has carefully guarded his expressions, that they should not seem to assert for brutes more than he can *prove* that they possess, by the use of the words 'analogous or fully equivalent.' That brutes can and do reflect, abstract, and generalize, it needs but an understanding of the terms, and some observation of their habits, to feel assured. CASPAR." 1st S. v. 590. 1852.

(C*) "'*Religious Musings*':—(*a*.) Some readers of 'NOTES AND QUERIES' may be interested in a reading of a few lines in this poem which varies from that given in Pickering's edition of the *Poems*, 1844. In that edition the verses I refer to stand thus (p. 69):

> 'For in his own, and in his Father's might,
> The Saviour comes! While as the Thousand Years
> Lead up their mystic dance, the Desert shouts!
> Old Ocean claps his hands! The mighty Dead
> Rise to new life, whoe'er from earliest time
> With conscious zeal had urged Love's wondrous plan,
> Coadjutors of God.'

I happen to be in possession of these lines as originally written, in Coleridge's own hand, on a detached piece of paper. It will be seen that they have been much altered in the printed edition above cited. I am now copying from Coleridge's autograph:

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'For in his own, and in his Father's Might,
Heaven blazing in his train, the SAVIOUR comes!
To solemn symphonies of Truth and Love
The THOUSAND YEARS lead up their mystic dance.
Old Ocean claps his hands, the Desert shouts,
And vernal Breezes wafting seraph sounds
Melt the primæval North. The Mighty Dead
Rise from their tombs, whoe'e(r) from earliest time
With conscious zeal had aided the vast plan
Of Love Almighty.'

. . . . . H. G. T., Launceston." 1st S. iii. 115. 1851.

(*b*) "In various works I see references to Coleridge's *Religious Musings*, as to particular poems or sets of verses. Now in none of his volumes, or any of his works, can I find any verses so denominated; and I have not only his *Works* (4 vols.), but many single volume collections. I have one rare volume, printed in 1797. Can you give me any explanation? You will oblige, C. V. L. G., Penzance." 1st S. xii. 226. 1855.

(*c*) "*Coleridge's 'Religious Musings'* . . . is the name of 'a desultory poem written at Christmas, 1794.' It is to be found in Moxon's edition of his *Poems*, 1852. J. Y." 1st S. xii. 371. 1855.

(D*) [*Russian and English*] (*a*) "The courage of an English army is the sum total of the courage which the individual soldiers bring with them to it, rather than of that which they derive from it. When I was at Naples, a Russian and an English regiment were drawn up together in the same square. 'See,' said a Neapolitan to me, who had mistaken me for one of his countrymen, 'there is but one face in that whole regiment; whilst in *that* (pointing to the English), every soldier has a face of his own.' COLERIDGE'S FRIEND (J. M. O.)" 1st S. xi. 8. 1855.

(*b*) "COLERIDGE'S FRIEND has, ludicrously enough, kicked down his own anecdote; for he says that the critic on national physiognomies that he quotes was in truth so miserable a judge as to mistake COLERIDGE'S FRIEND for a Neapolitan. I do not remember *when* a Russian and an English regiment were likely to be drawn up in the same square at Naples; but if both regiments had been English or both Russian, but that one had been *clean shaven*, while the other wore beards and moustaches, a looker-on would see more individuality of countenance in the regiment that was shaven. NOVACULA." 1st S. xi. 52. 1855.

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(E*) [*Schiller*]:—"In turning over the pages of the *Monthly Review*, I found the following letter from Coleridge. As it may not be generally known, it may not be unacceptable to your readers. J. M., Woburn Abbey."

'SIR, Nov. 18, 1800.

'In the review of my translation of Schiller's *Wallenstein* (*Rev.* for October), I am numbered among the partisans of the German theatre. As I am confident there is no passage in my preface or notes from which such an opinion can be legitimately formed, and as the truth would not have been exceeded if the direct contrary had been affirmed, I claim it of your justice that in your answers to correspondents you would remove this misrepresentation. The mere circumstance of translating a manuscript play is not evidence that I admired that one play, much less that I am a general admirer of the plays in that language.

I remain, &c.,

Greta Hall, Keswick. S. T. COLERIDGE.'

1st S. xi. 263. 1855.

(F*) [*Shakspere*]:—(*a*) "*Hamlet*, act iv. sc. 7:—

> 'And then this *should* is like a spendthrift sigh,
> That hurts by easing.'

Coleridge, in the *Literary Remains*, vol. i. p. 233, says—'In a stitch in the side, every one must have heaved a sigh that hurts by easing.'

Dr. Johnson saw its true meaning:—'It is,' he says, 'a notion very prevalent, that sighs impair the strength, and wear out the animal powers.'

In allusion to this popular notion, by no means yet extinct, Herbert says, p. 71:—

> 'Or if some years with it (a sigh) escape,
> The sigh then only is
> A gale to bring me sooner to my bliss.'

D. S." 1st S. ii. 263. 1850.

(*b*) [In an article on "Authorship of 'Henry VIII.,'" the author says, "I made the following notes from Coleridge"]:—

"Classification, 1802.

3rd Epoch. Henry VIII. Gelegenheitsgedicht.

Classification, 1819.

3rd Epoch. Henry VIII., a sort of historical masque, or show-play.

'It (the historical drama) must likewise be poetical; that

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only, I mean, must be taken which is the permanent in our nature, which is common, and therefore deeply interesting to all ages.' *Lit. Rem.*, vol. ii. p. 160.' SAMUEL HICKSON." 1st S. ii. 402. 1850.

(*c*) "*Lectures on Shakspeare and Milton in 1812*:—The readers of *N. & Q.* may like to hear of a find it has very recently been my good fortune to make of my original short-hand notes of '*Lectures on Shakspeare and Milton*,' delivered by Coleridge as long since as the year 1812. Unluckily they are not complete; for although each lecture is finished, and, in a manner, perfect in itself, my memoranda (which are generally very full, and in the *ipsissima verba* of the author) only apply to seven out of fifteen lectures, viz. to the first, second, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and twelfth. What has become of the others I know not; they are probably utterly lost; and such as remain would perhaps have shared the same fate, if they had not been deposited at the highest drawer of a high, double chest, to which servants and others could not conveniently resort for waste paper. I know that I once had them in my possession, and when I was printing the edition of Shakspeare, which I superintended nearly ten years ago, I looked for them with great diligence, but in vain; and even now I might not have recovered them had it not been necessary, on my removal to this place, to destroy what was mere rubbish, occupying space that could not be worse filled.

'In my 'Introductions' to the various plays of our great dramatist, I have not unfrequently referred to lectures delivered by Coleridge in 1818, and I there made several quotations from my pencillings; but for some cause, which I do not now remember, I did not, as in 1812, follow the lecturer with verbal accuracy, excepting on a few particular points. I was taught short-hand as a part of my early education; and although in 1812, when Coleridge delivered the lectures of which I have such full notes, I was quite a young man, I could follow a speaker with sufficient rapidity. Hence the confidence I feel in what I have so lately brought to light.

At a time when you are discussing in your columns the important question, What has become of some of Coleridge's original manuscripts? this discovery by me of seven of his lectures, nearly altogether devoted to Shakspeare (for Milton is only incidentally mentioned), cannot be without interest. I only wish that I had met with these relics of a genius so remarkably gifted before I put pen to paper for the edition of Shakspeare which came out in the years 1843 and 1844.

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I had carefully preserved Coleridge's printed 'Prospectus' of his lectures in 1818 . . . . because upon the blank spaces of it he wrote to me a very angry letter respecting the conduct of the editors or proprietors of a certain Encyclopædia, who had 'so bedevilled, so interpolated and topsy-turvied' an essay of his, that he was ashamed to own it. I had, however, no such reason for taking care of his prospectus of 1812, but I luckily found it among my notes, and I subjoin a copy of it, in order that your readers may see at once the general scope he embraced, and the particular subjects to which he proposed to devote himself: I say proposed to devote himself, because everybody who was acquainted with Coleridge must be aware, that it was not perhaps in his power, from the discursive and exuberant character of his mind, to confine himself strictly within any limits which, in the first instance, he might intend to observe. . . . . It begins with the information that the course would be delivered at the room of the London Philosophical Society, Scot's Corporation Hall, in Crane Court, Fleet Street:

'Mr. Coleridge will commence on Monday, November 18th (1812), a course of Lectures on Shakespear and Milton, in illustration of the Principles of Poetry, and their application as grounds of Criticism to the most popular Works of later English Poets, those of the living included.

'After an introductory Lecture on false Criticism (especially in Poetry), and on its causes, two-thirds of the remaining course will be assigned, first, to a philosophical analysis and explanation of all the principal characters of our great dramatist, as Othello, Falstaff, Richard III., Iago, Hamlet, &c.; and second, to a critical comparison of Shakespear, in respect of Diction, Imagery, management of the Passions, judgment in the construction of his dramas; in short, of all that belongs to him as a Poet, and as a Dramatic Poet, with his contemporaries or immediate successors, Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Ford, Massinger, &c., in the endeavour to determine what of Shakespear's merits and defects are common to him with other writers of the same age, and what remain peculiar to his own genius.

'The course will extend to fifteen lectures, which will be given on Monday and Thursday evenings successively. The lecture to commence at half-past seven o'clock.

'Single Tickets for the whole course, two guineas, or three guineas with the privilege of introducing a lady, may be procured at J. Hatchard's, 190, Piccadilly; J. Murray's, Fleet Street; J. and J. Arch's, Booksellers and Stationers,

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Cornhill; Godwin's Juvenile Library, Skinner Street; W. Pople's, 67, Chancery Lane; or by letter (post paid) to Mr. S. T. Coleridge, J. J. Morgan's, Esq., No. 7, Portland Place, Hammersmith.'

The above is all the information that was given anterior to the delivery of the lectures, and so far it is unlike the prospectus of 1818, in which the particular matters, to be treated of in fourteen lectures, were especially pointed out. Thus in reference to Shakspeare we are told that Lectures IV., V., and VI. would be 'On the dramatic works of Shakspeare: in these lectures will be comprised the substance of Mr. Coleridge's former courses on the same subject, enlarged and varied by subsequent study and reflection.' One of these former courses was that of 1812; but I learn from a diary I kept at the time (of which only fragments remain), that in the preceding year Coleridge had delivered a series of lectures on Poetry at the Royal Institution. I did not attend them, and perhaps might not have heard of them, but that Coleridge himself mentioned them in a conversation at my father's on 21st October, 1812. It was on the same occasion that he announced to us his intention of giving the lectures, of seven of which I have notes, and which commenced on the 18th November following. On the subject of his lectures at the Royal Institution, I may be excused for extracting the following passage from the daily record I then wrote.

'Coleridge said that for his first lecture at the Royal Institution he prepared himself fully, and when it was finished he received many high-flown but frigid compliments, evidently, like his lecture, studied. For his second lecture he prepared himself less elaborately, and was much applauded. For the third lecture, and indeed for the remainder of the series, he made no preparation, and was liked better than ever, and vociferously and heartily cheered. The reason was obvious, for what came warm from the heart of the speaker, went warm to the heart of the hearer; and although the illustrations might not be so good, yet being extemporaneous, and often from objects immediately before his eyes, they made more impression, and seemed to have more aptitude.'

The lectures of 1812 were delivered, as far as my memory serves me, without notes, but I do not think that the room was particularly full; the applause was general and encouraging, and among the auditors on one occasion I saw Mr. Canning. My short-hand notes (some of which I wrote out at the time) are still very legible. . . . . J. PAYNE-COLLIER, Riverside, Maidenhead." 1st S. x. 1. 1854.

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(*d*) "It was not unusual, when I was young, to invite friends to tea and supper, and it was in this manner that my acquaintance with Coleridge, Wordsworth, Lamb, and others, began at my father's. . . . . Coleridge was not so frequent a visitor as some others, but when he did come, people were generally content that he should have much of the talk to himself. . . . . It was my habit to put down, at least, the heads of what I had heard, and at one time I had a collection of memorandum-books extending over several years. . . . . As I stated in a former communication, only some fragments are now extant, and were found with my notes of Coleridge's lectures delivered in 1812.

Among these fragments I am rejoiced to meet with extemporaneous commentaries by Coleridge on Shakspeare, and some rival dramatists. Thus, for instance, I find him maintaining, in the words of my diary, 'That Falstaff was no coward, but pretended to be one, merely for the sake of trying experiments on the credulity of mankind; that he was a liar with the same object, and not because he loved falsehood for itself. He was a man of such pre-eminent abilities as to give him a profound contempt for all those by whom he was usually surrounded, and to lead to a determination on his part, in spite of their own fancied superiority, to make them his tools and dupes. He knew, however low he descended, that his own talents would raise him, and extricate him from any difficulty. While he was thought to be the greatest rogue, thief, and liar, he still had that about him which could render him not only respectable, but absolutely necessary to his companions. It was in characters of complete moral depravity, but of first-rate wit and talents, that Shakspeare delighted; and Coleridge instanced Richard III., Iago, and Falstaff.'

These are, ... I presume, the very words Coleridge employed, as nearly as my memory served me; the date is 13th October, 1812, and four days afterwards I was again in his company at the chambers of Charles Lamb. He was talking of Shakspeare when I entered the room, and said 'that he was almost the only dramatic poet who by his characters represented a class and not an individual: other poets, and in other respects good ones too, had aimed their satire and ridicule at particular foibles and particular persons, while Shakspeare at one blow lashed thousands. Coleridge drew a parallel between Shakspeare and a geometrician: the latter, in forming a circle had his eye upon the centre as the important point, but included in his vision a wide circumference: so Shakspeare, while his eye rested on an individual

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character, always embraced a wide circumference of others, without diminishing the interest he intended to attach to the being he pourtrayed. Othello was a personage of this description.'

From thence he went on to notice Beaumont and Fletcher, and gave a high commendation to their comedies, but their tragedies were liable to great objections. 'Their tragedies (he said) always proceed upon something forced and unnatural; the reader can never reconcile the plot with probability, and sometimes not with possibility. One of their tragedies was founded upon this point:—a lady expresses a wish to possess the heart of her lover, terms which that lover understands all the way through in a literal sense, and nothing would satisfy him but tearing out his heart, and having it presented to the heroine, in order to secure her affections after he was past the enjoyment of them. Their comedies, however, were of a much superior cast, and at times, and excepting in the generalization of humour and application, almost rivalled Shakspeare.'

. . . . Coleridge went on to criticise Kotzebue and Moore's tragedy *The Gamester*, and from thence diverged to Southey and Scott. As, however, his opinions on these subjects do not contribute to my purpose, I omit them, in order to subjoin his note to me, which is written . . . on the blank spaces of the prospectus for his lectures in 1818. I had desired to have a ticket for the course, and he had forwarded one to me neither signed nor sealed, which I returned; he sent it back properly authenticated, with the subsequent note . . . . . :—

'If you knew but half the perplexities with which (I thank God as one sinned against, not sinning) I have been burthened and embrangled, you would rather wonder that I retained any presence of mind at all, than that I should have blundered in sending you an unsigned and unsealed ticket. Precious fellows those gentry, the Reverend —— and his comrades, are! Contrary to the most solemn promise, made in the presence of Mr. —— and Dr. ——, they have sent into the world an essay, which cost me four months' incessant labour, and which I valued more than all my other prose writings taken collectively, so bedevilled, so interpolated and topsy-turvied, so utterly unlike my principles, and from endless contradictions so unlike any principles at all, that it would be hard to decide whether it is, in its present state, more disreputable to me as a man of letters, or dishonourable to me as an honest man: and on my demanding my MSS.

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(—— knowing that after his engagement I had destroyed my fragmentary first copies), I received the modest reply, that they had purchased the goods, and should do what they liked with them! I shudder, in my present state of health and spirits, at any controversy with men like them, and yet shall, I fear, be compelled by common honesty to dissolve all connexion with the *Encyclopædia*, which is throughout a breach of promise compared with my prospectus, even as they themselves published it. Yours, S. T. COLERIDGE.'
'J. Payne Collier, Esq.'

As I cannot find that the prospectus of Coleridge's lectures in 1818 (they began on 27th January, and finished on 13th March) was ever reprinted, and as I happen to know that it cost him no little trouble and reflection, I venture, though it is somewhat long, to subjoin the introduction to what is called the 'Syllabus of the Course,' disclosing the particular contents of the fourteen separate lectures.

'There are few families, at present, in the higher and middle classes of English society, in which literary topics, and the productions of the Fine Arts, in some one or other of their various forms, do not occasionally take their turn in contributing to the entertainment of the social board, and the amusement of the circle at the fireside. The acquisitions and attainments of the intellect ought, indeed, to hold a very inferior rank in our estimation, opposed to moral worth, or even to professional and scientific skill, prudence and industry. But why should they be *opposed*, when they may be made subservient merely by being *subordinated*? It can rarely happen that a man of social disposition, altogether a stranger to subjects of taste (almost the only ones on which persons of both sexes can converse with a common interest), should pass through the world without at times feeling dissatisfied with himself. The best proof of this is to be found in the marked anxiety which men, who have succeeded in life without the aid of these accomplishments, show in securing them to their children. A young man of ingenuous mind will not wilfully deprive himself of any species of respect. He will wish to feel himself on a level with the average of the society in which he lives, though he may be ambitious of *distinguishing* himself only in his own immediate pursuit and occupation.

'Under this conviction the following Course of Lectures was planned. The several titles will best explain the particular subjects and purposes of each; but the main objects proposed, as the result of all, are the two following:

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'I. To convey, in a form best fitted to render them impressive at the time, and remembered afterwards, rules and principles of sound judgment, with a kind and degree of connected information, such as the hearers, generally speaking, cannot be supposed likely to form, collect, and arrange for themselves by their own unassisted studies. It might be presumption to say that any important part of these lectures could not be derived from books; but none, I trust, in supposing that the same information could not be so surely or conveniently acquired from such books as are of commonest occurrence, or with that quantity of time and attention which can reasonably be expected, or even wisely desired, of men engaged in business and the active duties of the world.

'II. Under a strong persuasion that little of real value is derived by persons in general from a wide and various reading; but still more deeply convinced as to the actual *mischief* of unconnected and promiscuous reading, and that it is sure, in a greater or less degree, to enervate where it does not likewise inflate; I hope to satisfy many an ingenuous mind, seriously interested in its own development and cultivation, how moderate a number of volumes, if only they be judiciously chosen, will suffice for the attainment of every wise and desirable purpose; that is, in *addition* to those which he studies for specific and professional purposes. It is saying less than the truth to affirm that an excellent book (and the remark holds almost equally good of a Raphael as of a Milton) is like a well-chosen and well-tended fruit-tree. Its fruits are not of one season only. With the due and natural intervals we may recur to it year after year, and it will supply the same nourishment, and the same gratification, if only we ourselves return with the same healthful appetite.

'The subjects of the lectures are, indeed, very *different*, but (not in the strict sense of the term) *diverse;* they are *various*, rather than *miscellaneous*. There is this bond of connexion common to them all—that the mental pleasure which they are calculated to excite is not dependent on accidents of fashion, place, or age, or the events or the customs of the day; but commensurate with the good sense, taste, and feeling, to the cultivation of which they themselves so largely contribute, as being all in *kind*, though not all in the same *degree*, productions of GENIUS.

'What it would be arrogant to promise, I may yet be permitted to hope—that the execution will prove correspondent and adequate to the plan. Assuredly my best efforts have not been wanting so to select and prepare the materials,

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that, at the conclusion of the lectures, an attentive auditor, who should consent to aid his future recollection by a few notes taken either during each lecture or soon after, would rarely feel himself, for the time to come, excluded from taking an intelligent interest in any general conversation likely to occur in mixed society. S. T. COLERIDGE.' . . . . . J. PAYNE COLLIER, Riverside, Maidenhead." 1st x. 21. 1854.

(*e*) " . . . Respecting my short-hand notes of Coleridge's Lectures in Nov. and Dec. 1812, and Jan. 1813 . . . . . although forty years have elapsed since the Lectures were delivered, I have every reason to rely upon the accuracy of what I furnish: of course, my original short-hand memoranda are in the first person, and this form I have observed throughout my transcript; since, however brief my note, it gives the very words Coleridge employed, although I do not pretend to say that it gives all his words. I deeply regret that I was not then impressed with the necessity, as far as possible, of taking down the whole of what he uttered. He was not generally a rapid speaker, although continuous and flowing; and when in the full tide of his subject, when his face was lighted up almost with the appearance of inspiration, it was not easy to follow him; not so much on account of his volubility, as because I found it extremely difficult to keep my hands to their mechanical employment, and my eyes from becoming fixed upon his glowing countenance.

. . . . . I have not marked the date of the day on which any lecture was delivered, excepting the first on Monday, Nov. 18, 1812. . . . . .

Lecture I. was chiefly devoted to the causes of false criticism:

'1. Accidental, arising out of the particular circumstances of the age in which we live.

'2. Permanent, arising out of the general principles of our nature.'

Into these I shall not now enter farther than to introduce a pleasant anecdote, which I had previously heard him mention in private society. He prefaced it thus:

'As a third permanent cause of false criticism, we may enumerate the vague use of terms; and here I may take the liberty of impressing upon my hearers the fitness, if not the necessity, of employing the most appropriate words and expressions even in common conversation, and in ordinary transactions of life. If you want a substantive, do not take the first that comes into your head, but that which most

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distinctly and peculiarly conveys your meaning: if an adjective, remember the grammatical use of that part of speech, and be careful that it expresses some quality in the substantive that you wish to impress upon your hearer. Reflect for a moment on the vague and uncertain manner in which the word 'taste' has often been employed; and how such epithets as 'sublime,' 'majestic,' 'grand,' 'striking,' 'picturesque,' &c., have been misapplied, and how they have been used on the most unworthy and inappropriate occasions.

'I was admiring one of the falls of the Clyde, and, while ruminating on what descriptive term could be most fitly used with reference to it, I came to the conclusion that the epithet 'majestic' was the most appropriate. While I was still contemplating the scene, a gentleman and lady came up, neither of whose faces bore much the stamp of superior intelligence; and the first words the gentleman uttered were, 'It is very majestic.' I was pleased to find such a confirmation of my opinion, and I complimented the spectator upon the choice of his epithet, saying, that he had hit upon the best word that could have been selected from our language. 'Yes, Sir (replied the gentleman), I say it is very majestic: it is sublime, it is beautiful, it is grand, it is picturesque!' 'Aye (added the lady), it is one of the prettiest things I ever saw.' I own that I was not a little disconcerted.'

Coleridge reserved this incident until near the conclusion of his lecture: it occasioned much laughter, and dismissed his auditors (after a few general observations) in very good humour. He continued the subject in his second lecture, in which he humourously divided modern readers into four classes:

'1. Sponges, who absorb all they read, and return it nearly in the same state, only a little dirtied.

'2. Sand-glasses, who retain nothing, and are content to get through a book for the sake of getting through the time.

'3. Strain-bags, who retain merely the dregs of what they read.

'4. Mogul diamonds, equally rare and valuable, who profit by what they read, and enable others to profit by it also.'

Here it was that he gave us his definition of poetry; and after explaining it in detail, and enlarging upon it, he thus broke forth:

'I never shall forget, when in Rome, the acute sensation of pain I experienced on beholding the frescoes of Raphael and Michael Angelo, and on reflecting that they were indebted for their preservation solely to the durable material on which they

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were painted. There they were, the permanent monuments (permanent as long as walls and plaster last) of genius and skill, while many others of their mighty works had become the spoils of insatiate avarice, or the victims of wanton barbarism. How grateful ought mankind to be that, in spite of all disasters, so many of the great literary productions of antiquity have come down to us! That the works of Euclid and Plato have been preserved,—that we possess those of Newton, Milton, Shakspeare, and of so many other living-dead men of our island,—is not so surprising. All these may now be considered indestructible: they shall remain to us to the end of time itself—till Time, in the words of a great poet of the age of Shakspeare, has thrown his last dart at Death, and shall himself submit to the final and inevitable destruction of all created matter. A second eruption of the Goths and Vandals could not endanger their existence, secured as they are by the wonders of modern invention, and by the affectionate admiration of myriads of human beings. It is as nearly as possible two centuries since Shakspeare ceased to write, but when shall he cease to be read? When shall he cease to give light and delight? Yet, at this moment, he is only receiving the first fruits of that glory, which must continue to augment as long as our language is spoken. English has given immortality to him, and he immortality to English. Shakspeare can never die, and the language in which he wrote must with him live for ever.'

Having sketched the origin and history of the English stage in a summary but masterly manner, he was led to show how the fool of the time of Shakspeare grew directly out of the Vice of the old miracle-plays.

'While Shakspeare (he observed) accommodated himself to the taste and spirit of the times in which he lived, his genius and his judgment taught him to use the characters of the fool and clown with terrible effect in aggravating the misery and agony of some of his most distressing scenes. This result is especially obvious in *King Lear;* the contrast of the fool wonderfully heightens the colouring of some of the most painful situations, where the old monarch, in the depth of his fury and despair, complains to the warring elements of the ingratitude of his daughters. In other dramas, though perhaps in a less degree, our great Poet has evinced the same skill and felicity of treatment; and in no instance can it be justly alleged of him, as it may be of some of the ablest of his contemporaries, that he introduced his fool or his clown merely for the sake of exciting the laughter of his audiences.

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Shakspeare had a loftier and a better purpose, and in this respect availed himself of resources which, it should almost seem, he alone possessed.'

These were the concluding words of Coleridge's second lecture. In his third he thus alluded to the course he had recently given at the Royal Institution, mentioning the fact which he had previously stated in conversation, and which I introduced into my last paper. . . . He brought it forward as a reason why he had not chosen to prepare more than a bare outline of each lecture before he was called upon to give utterance to it.

'Not long since, when I lectured at the Royal Institution, I had the honour of sitting at the desk so ably occupied by Sir Humphrey Davy, who may be said to have elevated the art of chemistry to the dignity of a science, who has discovered that one common law is applicable to the mind and to the body, and who has enabled us to give a full and perfect *Amen* to the great axiom of Bacon, that 'Knowledge is power.' In the delivery of that course I carefully prepared my first essay, and received for it a cold suffrage of approbation. From accidental causes I was unable to study the exact form and language of my second lecture, and when it was at an end, I obtained universal and heartfelt applause. What a lesson to me was this, not to elaborate my materials, not to study too nicely the expressions I should employ, but to trust mainly to the extemporaneous ebullition of my thoughts! In this conviction I have ventured to come before you here, and I may add a hope, that what I offer will be received in the same spirit. It is true that my matter may not be so accurately arranged, it may not at all times fit and dovetail as nicely as could be wished, but you will have my thoughts warm from my heart, and fresh from my understanding; you shall have the whole skeleton, although the bones may not be put together with the utmost anatomical skill.'

This image is not very agreeable in itself, and does not well express the fulness, grace, and beauty of Coleridge's usual style in the illustration of a subject, especially of a poetical kind. . . . I must postpone further extracts from his Lectures to a future opportunity. J. PAYNE COLLIER, Riverside, Maidenhead." 1st S. x. 57. 1854.

(*f*) "Every friend and admirer of the genius and superior talents with which Samuel Taylor Coleridge was gifted, and of the eloquent and exuberant manner in which he poured

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forth his thoughts, must be delighted with the announcement Mr. COLLIER has made of the discovery of his missing short-hand notes of Coleridge's lectures on Shakspeare. The quotations he promises will be anxiously looked for by the public generally, more particularly by his relatives, friends, and *school-fellows*. I am one of the few of his contemporaries at Christ's Hospital that now remain.

Mr. COLLIER . . . . . states, that 'for Coleridge's third lecture, and indeed for the remainder of the series, he made no preparation, and was liked better than ever, and vociferously and heartily cheered. The reason was obvious, for what came from the heart of the speaker went warm to the heart of the hearer; and though the illustrations might not be so good, yet being extemporaneous, and often from objects immediately before his eyes, they made more impression, and seemed to have more aptitude.'

In the first edition of *Coleridge's Literary Remains*, vol. ii. p. 4, is a letter from him to Mr. Britton, in which he thus correctly corroborates Mr. Collier's description of the delivery of his thoughts and feelings at his lectures:

'The day of the lecture, till the hour of commencement,' Mr. Coleridge says, 'I devote to the consideration, What of the mass before me is best fitted to answer the purposes of a lecture? that is, to keep the audience awake and interested during the delivery, and to leave a sting behind; that is, a disposition to study the subject anew, under the light of a new principle. Several times, however, partly from apprehension respecting my health and animal spirits, partly from my wish to possess copies that might afterwards be marketable among the publishers, I have previously written the lecture; but before I had proceeded twenty minutes I have been obliged to push the MS away, and give the subject a new turn. Nay, this was so notorious, that many of my auditors used to threaten me, when they saw any number of written papers on my desk, to steal them away, declaring they never felt so secure of a good lecture as when they perceived that I had not a single scrap of writing before me. I take far, far more pains than would go to the set composition of a lecture, both by varied reading and by meditation; but for the words, illustrations, &c., I know almost as little as any one of the audience (that is, those of anything like the same education with myself) what they will be five minutes before the lecture begins. Such is my way, for such is my nature; and in attempting any other I should only torment myself in order to disappoint my auditors,—torment myself during

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the delivery, I mean; for in all other respects it would be a much shorter and easier task to deliver them in writing.'

My late friend Dr. Dibdin also thus describes Coleridge's powers in lecturing and conversation. There are none, indeed, of his friends that could not bear testimony to the wonderful facility and the sweet tones in which he gave utterance to his thoughts:

'I shall never forget the effect his conversation made upon me at the first meeting. It struck me as something not only quite out of the ordinary course of things, but as an intellectual exhibition almost matchless; there seemed to be no dish like Coleridge's conversation to feed upon, and no information so varied and so instructive as his own. The orator rolled himself up as it were in his chair, and gave the most unrestrained indulgence to his speech; and how fraught with acuteness and originality was that speech; and in what copious and elegant periods did it flow! As I retired homewards, I thought a second Johnson had visited the earth, to make wise the sons of men; and regretted that I could not exercise the powers of a second Boswell, to record the wisdom and the eloquence which had that evening flowed from the orator's lips. It haunted me as I retired to rest. It drove away slumber; or, if I lapsed into sleep, there was Coleridge—his snuff-box and 'kerchief before my eyes!—his mildly beaming looks, his occasionally deep tone of voice, and the excited features of his physiognomy. The manner of Coleridge was rather emphatic than dogmatic, and thus he was generally and satisfactorily listened to. It might be said of Coleridge, as Cowper has so happily said of Sir Philip Sidney, that he was the 'warbler of poetic prose.'

'There was always this characteristic feature in his multifarious conversation: it was delicate, reverend, and courteous. The chastest ear could drink in no startling sound; the most serious believer never had his bosom ruffled by one sceptical or reckless assertion. Coleridge was eminently simple in his manner: thinking and speaking were his delight; and he would sometimes seem, during the most fervid moments of discourse, to be abstracted from all and everything around and about him, and to be basking in the sunny-warmth of his own radiant imagination.' Dibdin's *Reminiscences*, part i. p. 253.

Your readers will, I trust, excuse this ebullition of feeling and regard for an endeavour to pourtray my reminiscences of an old and valued friend and schoolfellow, who printed for him, while resident at Calne in Wiltshire, the original edition of his *Biographia Literaria*, 1817. Coleridge also, when resi-

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dent in Bristol, contributed to the columns of *Felix Farley's Journal*, of which I was the proprietor and editor, where appeared also some brief notices of his lectures upon Shakspeare delivered there; but my ignorance of short-hand deprived me of the pleasure of making full reports. J. M. G., Worcester." 1st S. x. 106. 1854.

(*g*) " . . . . . The Rev. Dr. MAITLAND has referred me to the following passage in the Mishna (*Capita Patrum*, v. § 15), in illustration of Coleridge's division of readers into four classes, as mentioned in my last communication regarding his lectures in 1812–13. The resemblance is striking:

'Quadruplices conditiones (inveniunt) in his qui sedent coram sapientibus (audiendi causa). Videlicet conditio spongiæ, clepsydræ, sacci fecinacei, et cribri. Spongia sugendo attrahit omnia. Clepsydra quod ex una parte attrahit, ex altera rursum effundit. Saccus fecinaceus effundit vinum et colligit feces. Cribrum emittit farinam et colligit similam.'

I need hardly say that the passage is new to me, being entirely out of my line of reading; but how far it would have been new to Coleridge, I cannot determine: my note of the opening of his second lecture does not show that he referred to any authority, but contains merely these introductory words, 'Readers may be divided into four classes.' Therefore, if he acknowledged the obligation, I have no trace of it; and my opinion is, not only that he did not, but that it was scarcely necessary in a popular address (not a written essay) to be very particular on such points. . . . . I will now proceed to some other points. . . . . .

I will commence with a passage somewhat akin to what precedes, where the lecturer divides the readers of Shakspeare into two classes, introducing them by some general remarks upon the characters the poet employs in his dramas. It occurs in the ninth lecture, where he says,—

'Shakspeare's characters, from Othello and Macbeth down to Dogberry and the Gravedigger, may be termed ideal realities; they are not the things themselves, so much as abstracts of the things which a great mind takes into itself, and there naturalises them to its own conception. Take Dogberry: are no important truths there conveyed, no admirable lessons taught, and no valuable allusions made to reigning follies, which the poet saw must for ever reign? Dogberry is not the creature of the day, to disappear with the day, but the representative and abstract of truth, which must ever be true, and of humour, which must ever be humorous.

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'The readers of Shakspeare may be divided into two classes: 1. Those who read his works both with feeling and understanding; 2. Those who, without affecting to criticise, merely feel, and may be said to be recipients of the poet's power.

'Between these two there can be no medium. The ordinary reader, who does not bring his understanding to bear upon his subject, is often sensible that some ideal trait of his own has been caught—that some nerve has been touched; and he knows that it has been touched by the vibration he experiences—a thrill, which tells us that we have become better acquainted with ourselves.

'In the plays of Shakspeare every man sees himself without knowing that he does so; as in some of the phenomena of nature, in the mist of the mountain, the traveller beholds his own figure, but the glory round the head distinguishes it from a mere vulgar copy; in traversing the Brocken, in the north of Germany, at sunrise, the brilliant beams are shot askance, and you see before you a being of gigantic proportions, and of such elevated dignity, that you only recognise it to be yourself by similarity of action. In the same way, near Messina, natural forms, at determined distances, are represented on an invisible atmosphere, not as they really exist, but dressed in all the prismatic colours of the imagination. So in Shakspeare, every form is true, everything has reality for its foundation; we can all recognize the truth, but we see it decorated with such hues of beauty, and magnified with such proportions of grandeur, that, while we know the figure, we know also how much it has been refined and exalted.'

A great part of this ninth lecture was devoted to the *Tempest*, and passing over what is said of Prospero, Miranda, and other characters, I shall make a quotation from what Coleridge said regarding Ariel.

'If (he observed) a doubt could ever be entertained, whether Shakspeare was a great poet, acting upon laws arising out of his own nature, and not without law, as has sometimes been idly asserted, that doubt must be removed by the character of Ariel. The very first words he utters introduce the spirit, not as an angel above men; not as a fiend, below men; but while the dramatist gives him the faculties and advantages of reason, he divests him of all mortal character, not positively it is true, but negatively. In air he lives, from air he derives his being; in air he acts, and all his colours and properties seem to have been obtained from the rainbow and the skies. There is nothing about Ariel that cannot be conceived to

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exist either at sunrise or sunset; hence all that belongs to Ariel belongs to the pleasure the mind is capable of receiving from external appearances. His answers to Prospero are directly to the question and nothing beyond; or where he expatiates, which is not unfrequently, it is upon his own delights, or upon the unnatural situation in which he is placed, though under a kindly power and to good ends.

'Shakspeare has properly made Ariel's very first speech characteristic of him. After he has described the manner in which he has raised the storm, and produced its harmless consequences, we find that he is discontented—that he has been freed it is true from a cruel confinement, but still that he is not at liberty, but bound to obey Prospero and to execute his commands. We feel that such a state of bondage is almost unnatural, yet we see that it is delightful to him to be so employed. It is as if we were to command one of the winds in a different direction to that which nature dictates, or one of the waves, now rising and now sinking, to recede before it bursts upon the shore. Such is the feeling we experience when we learn that a being like Ariel is commanded to fulfil any mortal behest.'

The lecturer proceeded in this strain for some time, illustrating most emphatically the admirable judgment of Shakspeare in this drama, as well as the astonishing power of his imagination. He then adverted to the contrast afforded by Caliban.

'The character of Caliban (said Coleridge) is wonderfully conceived; he is a creature of the earth, as Ariel is a creature of the air. He partakes of the qualities of the brute, but is distinguished from brutes in two ways—by having understanding without moral reason, and by not possessing the instincts which pertain to mere animals. Still, in some respects, Caliban is a noble being; the poet has raised him far above contempt; he is a man in the sense of the imagination; all the images he uses are highly poetical; they fit in with the images of Ariel. Caliban gives us images from the earth, Ariel images from the air. Caliban talks of the difficulty of finding fresh water, of the situation of morasses, and other circumstances, which even brute instinct, without the aid of reason, could comprehend. No mean figure is employed by him; no mean passion displayed, beyond animal passions and a repugnance to command.'

Surely all this is admirably said, and nicely and philosophically distinguished; and I seem to have been so sensible of the worth of what was uttered, that my note of this

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lecture is longer than of any other, with the exception of that upon *Romeo and Juliet*, from which I shall select one or two specimens. First, I will insert Coleridge's definition of love, which he gave in these terms:

'Love is a perfect desire of the whole being to be united to some thing or some being, felt necessary to its completeness, by the most perfect means that nature permits and reason dictates.'

Upon this idea of the imperfectness of one sex, which is always striving after perfection by uniting itself with the other sex, the lecturer mainly relied, and he followed up his definition (after a little enlargement and explanation) by these remarks:

'Love is not, like hunger, a mere selfish appetite: it is an associative quality. The hungry savage is nothing but an animal, thinking only of the satisfaction of his stomach. What is the first effect of love, but to associate the feeling with every object in nature: the trees whisper, the roses exhale their perfumes, the nightingales sing,—nay, the very skies smile in unison with the feeling of true and pure love. It gives to every object in nature a power of the heart, without which it would indeed be spiritless, a mere dead copy.

'Shakspeare has described this passion in various states and stages; beginning, as was most natural, with love in the young. Does he open his play with making Romeo and Juliet in love at first sight, at the earliest glimpse, as an ordinary thinker would do? Certainly not: he knew what he was about, and how he was to accomplish what he was about. He was to develop the whole passion, and he commences with the first elements—that sense of imperfection, that yearning to combine itself with something lovely. Romeo became enamoured of the idea he had formed in his mind; and then, as it were, christened the first real being of the contrary sex as endowed with the perfections he desired. He appears to be in love with Rosaline; but, in truth, he is in love only with his own idea. He felt that necessity of being beloved, which no noble mind can be without. Then our poet—our poet who so well knew human nature—introduces Romeo and Juliet, and makes it not only a violent but a permanent love; a point for which Shakspeare has been ridiculed by the ignorant and unthinking. Romeo is first represented in a state most susceptible of love; and then, seeing Juliet, he took and retained the infection.'

I consider myself fortunate to have been able to rescue

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such points as these from the oblivion to which I fear Coleridge's other lectures are destined; and I will add a single short paragraph regarding a class of characters that has hitherto excited little observation.

'As I may not have another opportunity, the introduction of Friar Lawrence into this tragedy enables me to remark upon the different manner in which Shakspeare has treated the priestly character, as compared with other writers. In Beaumont and Fletcher priests are represented as a vulgar mockery; and, as in other of their dramatic personages, the errors of a few are mistaken for the demeanour of the many. In Shakspeare they always carry with them your love and respect. He made no imperfect abstractions: he took no copies from the worst part of our nature; and, like the rest, his characters of priests are drawn from the general body.'

Coleridge devoted one lecture to *Richard II.* and *Hamlet*. The first was his favourite historical play; and his admiration of the second is well known. His peculiar views on the character and conduct of the Danish prince were stated, perhaps, at more length in 1818, but not with greater distinctness and emphasis. . . . . .

'The first question we should ask ourselves is, What did Shakspeare mean when he drew the character of Hamlet? He never wrote anything without design, and what was his design when he sat down to produce this tragedy? My belief is that he always regarded his story before he began to write, much in the same light that a painter regards his canvas before he begins to paint—as a mere vehicle for his thoughts, as the ground upon which he was to work. What then was the point to which Shakspeare directed himself in *Hamlet*? He intended to pourtray a person in whose view the external world, and all its incidents and objects, were comparatively dim, and of no interest in themselves; and which began to interest, when they were reflected in the mirror of his mind. Hamlet beheld external things, in the same way that a man of vivid imagination, who shuts his eyes, sees what has previously made an impression upon his organs.

'The poet places him in the most stimulating circumstances that a human being can be placed in: he is heir-apparent of a throne; his father dies suspiciously; his mother excludes her son from his throne by marrying his uncle. This is not enough; but the ghost of his murdered father is introduced, to assure the son that he was put to death by his own brother. What is the effect upon the son? Instant action, and pursuit of revenge? No, endless reasoning and hesitating; constant

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urging and solicitation of the mind to act, and as constant an escape from action. Ceaseless reproaches of himself for sloth and negligence, while the whole energy of his resolution evaporates in these reproaches. This, too, not from cowardice —for Hamlet is drawn as one of the bravest of his time; not from want of forethought, or from slowness of apprehension—for he sees through the very souls of all who surround him; but merely from that aversion to action which prevails among such as have a world in themselves.'

I will only add, that while Coleridge paid a just tribute to the sagacity and penetration of German critics, he claimed for himself the merit of originality in his opinions and observations upon Shakspeare. He admitted that in the interval between one lecture and another, a friend had put a German work into his hand which in some respects corresponded with his notions; but he distinctly denied that he had ever seen it before, or that he had in any way been guided or influenced by it. It will be borne in mind, that all I have written belongs to the end of the year 1812, and the beginning of the year 1813. J. PAYNE COLLIER, Riverside, Maidenhead." 1st S. x. 117. 1854.

(*h*) "Any one who can appreciate the greatest philosopher of modern times, must feel grateful to Mr. COLLIER. . . . . At the same time, the glimpse we have obtained of this recovered treasure has a tantalising effect, and produces a restless desire for the whole. Will Mr. COLLIER kindly gratify the disciples of Coleridge by mentioning if he have any intention of immediately publishing these lectures, whether by themselves, or as a supplement to a new edition of Coleridge's *Notes and Lectures upon Shakspeare* already published?

A very important Query here suggests itself, viz., Has any one else besides Mr. COLLIER taken notes of these lectures of Coleridge? Can any one supply the lectures not in Mr. COLLIER'S possession? Even an outline from memory would be better than nothing. EIRIONNACH." 1st S. x. 373. 1854.

(*i*) " . . . . . A few evenings ago, in looking over the file of the *Dublin Correspondent*, a dead-and-gone newspaper, I observed what I now inclose. The journal was edited by a barrister of eminence named Townshend. . . . . .

'Mr Coleridge delivered his first lecture at the Hall of the London Philosophical Society, on Monday evening the 25th ult., to a numerous and respectable audience. The subject of

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this lecture, which was the introductory discourse, was the cause of false criticism, especially in poetry; and these the speaker divided into incidental and permanent. The incidental he stated to be such as gave to the persons of the present age an undue propensity to decide and condemn, summarily, beyond the powers of discrimination possessed by the censurer. The permanent causes alleged were, the averseness of the mass of mankind to the exercise of the thinking faculty, the loose and inaccurate use of the terms expressive of excellence or defect, and the vicious propensity of the majority to judge of books by books, instead of consulting the living oracles of nature and man. Mr. Coleridge concluding by disclaiming, in a very animated manner, any inclination to a hasty and intemperate censure of his contemporaries, to injure any man in his fair fame, to hold up individuals to contempt and scorn, or to involve on any occasion an attack on character with the liberal exercise of criticism.

'Dec. 17, 1811.

'Mr. Coleridge, having concluded the preliminary discussions on the nature of the Shakspearian drama, and the genius of the poet, and briefly noticed *Love's Labour Lost*, as the link which connected together the poet and the dramatist, proceeded, in his seventh lecture, to an elaborate review of *Romeo and Juliet*, a play in which are to be found all the individual excellencies of the author, but less happily combined than in his riper productions. This he observed to be the characteristic of genius, that its earliest works are never inferior in beauties, while the merits which taste and judgment can confer are of slow growth. Tibalt and Capulet he showed to be representatives of classes which he had observed in society, while in Mercutio he exhibited the first character of his own conception; a being formed of poetic elements, which meditation rather than observation had revealed to him; a being full of high fancy and rapid thought, conscious of his own powers, careless of life, generous, noble, a perfect gentleman. On his fate hangs the catastrophe of the tragedy. In commenting on the character of the Nurse, Mr. Coleridge strenuously resisted the suggestion that this is a mere piece of Dutch painting; a portrait in the style of Gerard Dow. On the contrary, her character is exquisitely generalized, and is subservient to the display of the moral contrasts. Her fondness for Juliet is delightfully pathetic. 'What a melancholy world would this be without children, how inhuman

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without old age.' Her loquacity is characteristic of a vulgar mind, which recollects merely by coincidence of time and place, while cultivated minds connect their ideas by cause and effect. Having admitted that these lower persons might be suggested to Shakspeare by observation, Mr. Coleridge reverted to his ideal characters, and said, 'I ask where Shakspeare observed this?' (some heroic sentiments by Othello). 'It was with his inward eye of meditation on his own nature. He became Othello, and therefore spoke like him. Shakspeare became, in fact, all things but the vicious; but in drawing his characters he regarded essential not accidental relations. Avarice he never pourtrayed, for avarice is a fictitious passion. The Miser of Plautus and Molière is already obsolete.' Mr. Coleridge entered into a discussion of the nature of fancy; showed how Shakspeare, composing under a feeling of the unimaginable, endeavouring to reconcile opposites by producing a strong working of the mind, was led to those earnest conceits which are consistent with passion, though frigidly imitated by writers without any. He illustrated this part of his subject by a reference to Milton's conception of Death, which the painters absurdly endeavour to strip of its fanciful nature, and render definite by the figure of a skeleton, the dryest of all images, compared with which a square or a triangle is a luxuriant fancy.

Mr. Coleridge postponed the examination of the hero and heroine of the piece, but prefaced his inquiry by remarks on the nature of love, which he defined to be 'a perfect desire of the whole being to be united to some-thing or being which is felt necessary to its perfection, by the most perfect means that nature permits, and reason dictates;' and took occasion with great delicacy to contrast this link of our higher and lower nature, this noblest energy of our humane and social being, with what, by a gross misnomer, usurps its name; and asserted, that the criterion of honour and worth among men is their habit of sentiment on the subject of love.

'We are compelled to omit the partial illustration of his in the characters of Romeo and Juliet, the continuation of which we are promised in the succeeding lecture.' WILLIAM JOHN FITZPATRICK, Booterstown, Dublin." 1st S. xii. 80. 1855.

(*j*) "I read with great interest the two reports of the long lost lectures as delivered by Coleridge in 1811, and published in your valuable journal, vol. xii. p. 80. The short-hand notes of them which MR. COLLIER was enabled to give (vol. x., pp. 1, 21, 57.), only sharpened the literary appetites of Cole-

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ridge's admirers for more; and Mr. William John Fitzpatrick is entitled to their thanks for having discovered such rare and accurate original reports. As any edition of Coleridge's works would be incomplete without his discourses on false criticism, the Shaksperean drama, &c., I would respectfully suggest to the editor of the forthcoming edition the propriety of referring to the journal from whence Mr. Fitzpatrick extracted the two reports I speak of, and see if there be not several others. Indeed, it is evident from the wording, that one or more lectures intervened between the two which were published in p. 80 of the present volume. FLORENCE G. EDGEWORTH, Dunmore, Ireland." 1st S. xii. 322. 1855.

(G*) "'[*Spire whose silent finger*, &c.]; (*a*) . . . . . Wordsworth, *Excursion*, vi. 17. Coleridge uses the same idea in his *Friend*, No. xiv. p. 223.:—

'An instinctive taste teaches men to build their churches in flat countries with spire-steeples; which, as they cannot be referred to any other object, *point as with silent finger to the sky* and stars; and sometimes, when they reflect the brazen light of a rich though rainy sunset, appear like a pyramid of flame burning heavenward. F. R. M., M.A." 1st S. ix. 85. 1854.

(*b*) "F. R. M., M.A., seems not to have observed that Wordsworth marks this line as a quotation; and in the note upon it (*Excursion*, 373) gives the poetical passage in *The Friend*, whence he took it, thus acknowledging Coleridge to be the author. The passage is not to be found in the modern edition of *The Friend*, by the reference in Wordsworth's note to '*The Friend*, No. 14, p. 223.' I presume that *The Friend* was originally published in numbers, and that it is to that publication Wordsworth refers. . . . . The idea is of much older date than the prose of Coleridge, or the verse of Wordsworth. Milton, in his Epitaph on Shakspeare, has:

'Under a star y-pointing pyramid.'

. . . . . .

The idea is traceable in Virgil's description of 'Fame' or 'Rumour' in the 4th *Æneid*:

. . . . . caput inter nubila condit. J. W. FARRER." 1st S. ix. 184. 1854.

(H*) [*Table Talk*]:—"In *Specimens of Coleridge's Table Talk* (p. 165, Murray, 1851) appears the following:—'So little did the early bishops and preachers think their Christian faith wrapped up in, and solely to be learned from, the New

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Testament, that I remember a letter from —— to a friend of his, a bishop in the East, in which he most evidently speaks of the *Christian* scriptures as of works of which the bishop knew little or nothing.'

My object is to know how this blank is to be filled up—probably by the name of some well-known father of the church. GEORGE LEWES, Oxford." 1st S. iii. 518. 1851.

(I.*) "*Talented*:—(*a*) Coleridge, a great authority in such matters, objected to the use of this word. In p. 181. of *Table Talk*, he says:—

'I regret to see that vile and barbarous vocable *talented*, stealing out of the newspapers into the leading reviews and most respectable publications of the day. Why not *shillinged*, *farthinged*, *tenpenced*, *&c.?* The formation of a participle-passive from a noun, is a licence that nothing but a very peculiar felicity can excuse.'

Coleridge evidently is not aware of its being a revived word, for he goes on to say that such slang mostly comes from America. . . . . E." 1st S. xi. 92. 1855.

(*b*) "Coleridge was wrong in calling *talented* a participle-passive. It is evidently an adjective. UNEDA." 1st S. xi. 475. 1855.

(J*) [*Taylor*]: (*a*) "I venture to send you the following note . . . . . 'Southey, *Omniana*, i. 251. Coleridge asserts (*Literary Remains*, i. 303), that there is now extant in MS., a folio volume of unprinted sermons by Jeremy Taylor. It would be very interesting to learn in what region of the world so great a treasure has been suffered to rust during a hundred and fifty years.'—Wilmott's *Life of Bishop Jeremy Taylor*, p. 87. OXONIENSIS." 1st S. i. 125. 1849.

(*b*) "Coleridge's assertion . . . must have proceeded from his wishes rather than his knowledge. No such MS. is known to exist; and such a discovery is, I believe, as little to be expected as a fresh play of Shakspeare's. Was it in the 'Lands of Vision,' and with 'the damsel and the dulcimer,' that the transcendental philosopher beheld it? JAS. CROSSLEY." 1st S. iii. 249. 1851.

(K*) "*Tuch*:—In 'The Synagogue,' attached to Herbert's *Poems*, but written by Chr. Harvie, M.A., is a piece entitled 'The Communion Table,' one verse of which is as follows:—

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'And for the matter whereof it is made,
The matter is not much,
Although it be of *tuch*,
Or wood, or mettal, what will last, or fade;
So vanitie
And superstition avoided be.'

S. T. Coleridge in a note on this passage, printed in Mr. Pickering's edition of Herbert, 1850 (fcap. 8vo), says:—'*Tuch* rhyming to *much*, from the German *tuch*, cloth: I never met with it before as an English word. So I find *platt*, for foliage, in Stanley's *Hist. of Philosophy*, p. 22.'

Whether Coleridge rightly appreciated Stanley's use of the word *platt*, I shall not determine; but with regard to *touch*, it is evident that he went (it was the tendency of his mind) to Germany for error, when truth might have been discovered nearer home. The content shows that *cloth* could not have been intended, for who ever heard of a table or altar made of cloth? The truth is that the poet meant *touchstone*, which the author of the *Glossary of Architecture* (3rd edit., text and appendix) rightly explains to be 'the dark coloured stone or marble, anciently used for tombstones. A musical sound' (it is added) 'may be produced by touching it sharply with a stick.' And this is in fact the reason for its name. The author of the *Glossary of Architecture* cites *Ben Jonson* by Gifford, viii. 251, and *Archæol.*, xvi. 84. ALPHAGE, Lincoln's Inn." 1st S. vii. 82. 1853.

(L*) [*Volunteer Stripling*]:—"In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February, 1848, there is a poem by Coleridge, entitled 'The Volunteer Stripling,' which I do not find in the collected edition [3 vols. 12mo, Pickering, 1836]. It was contributed to the *Bath Herald*, probably in 1803; and stands there with 'S. T. Coleridge' appended in full. The first stanza runs thus:—

'Yes, noble old warrior! this heart has beat high,
When you told of the deeds which our countrymen wrought;
O, lend me the sabre that hung by thy thigh,
And I too will fight as my forefathers fought.'

. . . . . J. BRUCE." 1st S. ii. 156. 1850.

(M*) [*Wedgewood*]: (*a*) "Who is the person alluded to in the following note in Coleridge's *Friend*, 1st edition, No. 8., Oct. 5, 1809, p. 124?

'He is gone, my friend, my munificent co-patron, and not less the benefactor of my intellect! he who, beyond all other men known to me, added a fine and ever-wakeful sense of

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Beauty to the most patient accuracy in Experimental Philosophy and the profounder researches of Metaphysical Science,' &c. J. M." 1st S. v. 297. 1852.

(*b*) "The passage quoted by . . . J. M. can refer to one man only, viz., Thomas Wedgewood. His introduction to that gentleman, and his brother Josiah, is related by Cottle. (*Recollections of Coleridge*, 1837, vol. i. p. 305.) Coleridge might well call the former his 'munificent co-patron;' for we learn from Cottle that these brothers, soon after making the poet's acquaintance, settled upon him 150*l.* per annum, in order to prevent him sinking the man of letters in the Unitarian minister. Cottle adds: 'Mr. C. was oppressed with grateful emotions to these his liberal benefactors. He always spoke, in particular, of the late Mr. Thomas Wedgewood as being one of the best talkers, and as possessing one of the acutest minds of any man he had known. . . C. MANSFIELD INGLEBY, Birmingham." 1st S. v. 351. 1852.

(*c*) " . . . . . Mr. Crewe sends me the following extract, which confirms the identity of the munificent co-patron of Coleridge.

'*Extract from a letter from Coleridge to Wordsworth, dated Shrewsbury, January, 1798.*

'You know that I have accepted the munificent liberality of Josiah (Joshua?) and Thomas Wedgwood; I accepted it on the presumption that I had talents, honesty, and propensities to persevering effort.' *Memoirs of Wordsworth*, vol. i. p. 116. C. M. I." 1st S. v. 427. 1852.

(N.*) "*Wit referred to by Coleridge*:—Coleridge (*Introduction to Greek Classic Poets*, p. 36.) writes 'A noted English wit of the day can improvise in rhyme, even in our language, as long as you please to listen to his amusing exhibition.' Who is alluded to? A. A. D." 1st S. vi. 461. 1852.

(*b*) "'The noted English wit' was probably Theodore Hook, whose wonderful talent for extemporaneous versification was perhaps never more strikingly displayed than on a certain night at a gay bachelor's party at Highgate, when Coleridge himself formed the subject of his song. After a 'very wet evening,' punch had been introduced at the suggestion of Coleridge, when Hook, sitting down to the piano, burst into a bacchanal of egregious luxury, every line of which had reference to the author of the *Lay Sermons* and the *Aids to*

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Reflection. The room was becoming excessively hot: the first specimen of the new compound was handed to Hook, who paused to quaff it, and then, exclaiming that he was stifled, flung his glass through the window. Coleridge rose with the aspect of a benignant patriarch, and demolished another pane; the example was followed generally; the window was a wreck in an instant: the kind host was farthest from the mark, and his goblet made havoc of the chandelier. The roar of laughter was drowned in Theodore's resumption of the song; and window, and chandelier, and the peculiar shot of each individual destroyer had apt, in many cases exquisitely witty, commemoration. With the remembrance of this, and many similar displays of Theodore Hook's powers before him, Coleridge would doubtless refer to that 'noted English wit' in the passage quoted by A. A. D. CUTHBERT BEDE." 1st S. vi. 590. 1852.

(O.*) For *Coleridge* see also 212. *c.*, 432. *c.*

119. COLLINS. 15. A.

120. COLT. 135.

121. COMBE-IN-TEIGNHEAD. 431. *a. b.*

122. COMYN. 90. *b.*

123. CONFIRMATION.

"*Confirmation Superstition*": [There is, in Devonshire,] "the desire to have the bishop's *right hand*—at confirmation the right hand being thought lucky, the left unlucky. . . . . The present practice of the Bishop of Exeter is, I believe, to lay both hands on each recipient. G. T., Exeter." 1st S. vi. 601. 1852.

124. CONJURING. 480. A.

125. CONTROVERSY. 191. B. *a. b. c.*

126. COOKWORTHY.

"*William Cookworthy, the Inventor of British Porcelain*:— In endeavouring to revive the neglected memory of this good and great man, I have carefully looked over the chief periodicals of his day (1730 to 1780) with very little success; perhaps because those I have at command, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, *Universal Magazine*, and *Universal Museum*, were not those selected for his correspondence.

If any of your readers can refer me to any papers or essays of his, or any details of the internal management of his China works, or of his public or private life, it will be doing me a great favour.

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What I have hitherto collected are chiefly fragmentary accounts of his life and character; general notices of his discovery of the China clay and stone, of the progress of his manufactory, and of his treatment of British cobalt ores; details of his experiments on the distillation of sea-water for use on ship-board; a treatise in detail on the divining rod; and several of his private letters, chiefly religious.

Most of these I have thrown out in print, under the title of *Relics of William Cookworthy, &c.*, which I am desirous of making much more complete. J. PRIDEAUX." 1st S. viii. 585. 1853.

127. COPLESTONE. 140, 211. C.
128. CORK. 134.
129. CORNU. 15. A.
130. CORP. 332. *b.*
131. COTTON. 505. D.

132. COURTNEY.

(A.) "*Courtney Family:* (*a*) I throw an apple of discord to your heraldic, genealogical, and antiquarian readers. Were there originally more than one family of Courtnay, Courtney, Courtenay, Courteney, Courtnaye, Courtenaye, &c. Which is right, and when did the family commence in England, and how branch off? S. A., Oxford." 1st S. ix. 450. 1854.

(*b*) "See 'Genealogy of the Family of Courtenay,' by the Rev. George Oliver, D.D., and Mr. Pitman Jones, *Arch. Journal*, No. 40, Dec., 1853. PITMAN JONES, Exeter." 1st S. xii. 480. 1855.

(B.) [*Sir Philip*]:—(*a*) "*Which* Sir Philip Courtenay, of Powderham, was the father of Margaret Courtenay, who, in the fifteenth century, married Sir Robert Carey, Knt.? and who was her mother? C. R. M." 1st S. ii. 135. 1850.

(*b*) "Sir Philip Courtenay, first of Powderham Castle, fifth son of Hugh, the second of that name, Earl of Devon, by Margaret de Bohun, grand-daughter of King Edward I., married Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Wake of Bisworth, co. Northampton, son of Hugh, younger son of Baldwin Lord Wake, and had issue three sons and two daughters, of which Margaret was married to Sir Robert Carey, of Cockington, Knt. See *Cleaveland's History of the Family of Courtenay*, pp. 265, 270. S. S. S." 1st S. ii. 206. 1850.

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(C.) For *Courtenay* see also 36. B. *d.*, 187. E. *b.*, 332. *b.* 396. B.

133. COVERDALE, Bishop of Exeter.

(A.) [*Arms*]:—"I have by me a MS. Biographical History of the English Episcopate, complete from the foundation of every See, with armorial bearings of the several bishops. . . . I find among these, in the arms of . . . Coverdale of Exeter . . . three fleurs-de-lis, two in chief and one in base. . . . . MACKENZIE WALCOTT., M.A." 1st S. ix. 84. 1854.

(B.) [*Bible*]:—(*a*) "We are told by Mr. Granville Penn, in the Preface to the *Annotations to the Book of the New Covenant*, that 'in 1535 Coverdale printed an English translation of the Old Testament, to which he annexed Tyndale's revision of the New, probably revised by himself. These last constitute what is called *Coverdale's Bible*. Now, the title-page of Coverdale's Bible expressly states that it was faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn into Englishe;' and that this is literally true may be seen by comparing any portion of it with the common German version of Luther. The following portion is taken quite at hazard from the original edition; and I have added Tyndale's version of 1526, as edited by Mr. Offor:

1535.

JOHN, vi. 41.

Thē murmured the Iewes ther ouer, that he sayde: I am y^{t} bred which is come downe from heauē, and they sayde: Is not this Iesus, Ioseph's sonne, whose father and mother we knowe? How sayeth he then, I am come downe from heauē? Iesus answered, and sayde vnto them: Murmur not amonge youre selues. No man can come vnto me, excepte the father which hath sent me, drawe him. And I shal rayse him vp at the last daye. It is wrytten in the prophetes: They shal all be taughte of God. Who so euer now heareth it of the father and lerneth it, commeth vnto me. Not that eny man hath sene the father, saue he which is of the father, the same hath sene the father.

Luther.

41. Da murreten die Juden daruber, das er sagte: Ich bin das brodt, das vom himmel gekommen ist.

42. Und sprachen; Ist dieser nicht Jesus, Joseph's sohne, dess vater und mutter wir kennen? Wie spricht er denn: Ich bin von himmel gekommen?

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43. Jesus antwortete, und sprach zu ihnen: Murret nicht unter einander.

44. Es kann niemand zu mir kommen, es sey denn, das ihn ziche der Vater, der mich gesandt hat; und Ich werde ihn auferwecken am jungsten tage.

45. Es stehet geschrieben in den propheten: Sie werden alle von Gott gelehret seyn. Wer es nun höret vom Vater, und lernst es, der kommt zu mir.

46. Nicht das jemand den Vater habe gesehen ohne der vom Vater ist, der hat den Vater gesehen.

Tyndale. 1526.

The iewes murmured att itt, be cause he sayde: I am thatt breed which is come doune from heven. And they sayde: Is nott this Jesus the sonne of Joseph, whose father and mother we knowe? How ys yt then thatt he sayeth, I came doune from heven? Jesus answered and sayde vnto them: Murmur not betwene youre selves. No man can come to me except my father which hath sent me, drawe hym. And y will rayse hym vp at the last daye. Hit is written in the prophetes: And they shall all be taught of God. Every man which hath herde, and lerned of the father, commeth unto me, not that eny man hath sene the father, save he which is off God. The same hath sene the father.

Authorized Version.

41. The Jews then murmured at him, because he said, I am the bread which came down from heaven.

42. And they said, Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? how is it then that he saith, I came down from heaven?

43. Jesus therefore answered and said unto them, Murmur not among yourselves.

44. No man can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him: and I will raise him up at the last day.

45. It is written in the prophets, And they shall be all taught of God. Every man therefore that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me.

46. Not that any man hath seen the Father, save he which is of God, he hath seen the Father. ECHO." 1st S. iii. 54. 1851.

(*b*) "Your correspondent ECHO is quite right in declaring Mr. Granville Penn's statement . . . . . to be quite wrong.

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. . . . . Tyndale's version of the New Testament was not incorporated in any version of the whole Bible till the publication of what is called Matthewe's Bible in 1537. . . . . HENRY WALTER." 1st S. iii. 122. 1851.

(*c*) "When did Bishop Coverdale *commence* his translation of the Bible? Where was the first edition printed? Is any copy in existence which possesses the *original* title-page, i.e. *not* the one added in England, stating that it is translated from the 'Douche and Latyn'? H. H. H. V." 1st S. iv. 59. 1852.

(*d*) "In reply to your correspondent H. H. H. V.'s very curious question to know when Myles Coverdale *commenced* his translation, I beg to state that he was born in 1488, and that it has not yet been discovered when his mind was first led to contemplate the translation of the Sacred Scriptures, nor whether he *commenced* with the New or the Old Testament. The facts known are, that he finished the translation or the printing of it on the 4th day of October, 1535—probably at Cologne, because other books printed there about that time have the same initials, wood-cuts, and type. A copy, with the original title-page, is in the Holkham library, having, on the reverse, part of the list of books, showing that originally it was without a dedication; this has the words 'Douche and Latyn.' When the dedication was printed, the title was cancelled and a new one printed, still with the words 'Douche and Latyn,' with the reverse blank. A fine copy of this is in the possession of Earl Jersey, and one with the title-page repaired is in the British Museum. Perfect copies have a map of Palestine. In 1537, this book was reprinted, both in folio and quarto, probably at Antwerp, and in these the words 'from the Douche and Latyn' were very properly omitted, Coverdale being still living to see them through the press; these are ornamented with large initial letters with a dance of death, and are the rarest volumes in the English language. In these the dedication is altered from Queen Anne to Queen Jane, as the wife of Henry VIII. They were all dedicated to the king and to the queen; the two latter are all in Old English type. These were followed by an edition dedicated to Edward VI. in a Swiss type, 4to, printed at Zurich by Chr. Froschover, and published under three titles—1st, as the translation of Thos. Matthewe; 2nd, as the translation of Myles Coverdale, London, by Andrew Hester, 1550; and 3rd, London, by Jugge, 1553. These are books of great rarity. . . .

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The introduction of the words 'from the Douche (meaning Luther's German) and Latyn' has never been accounted for; they probably were inserted by the German printer to make the volume more popular, so as to interest reformers by the German of Luther, and Romanists by the Vulgate Latin. The translation is certainly from the Hebrew and Greek, compared with Luther's and the Vulgate. GEORGE OFFOR, Grove Street, Victoria Park." 1st S. v. 59. 1852.

(*e*) "The answer of our friend Mr. OFFOR to the inquiry of your correspondent H. H. H. V. . . . . would have required no remarks but for the paragraph . . . . . .

'The introduction of the words *from the Douche and Latyn* has never been accounted for; they probably were inserted by the German printer to make the volume more popular, so as to interest reformers by the German of Luther, and Romanists by the Vulgate Latin. The translation is certainly from the Hebrew and Greek, compared with Luther's and the Vulgate.'

If Mr. Offor will look at 'the Prologue to the Translation of the Bible—Myles Coverdale unto the Christian Reader' . . . . he may read in its first page, how Coverdale confesses, with that humility which especially adorned his character, that 'his insufficiency in the tongues' made him loath to undertake the task. He then touchingly alludes to Tyndale's adversity, suppressing his name, while he speaks of his 'ripe knowledge,' and laments the hindrances to his completing the translation of the Scriptures. But 'to help me herein,' he proceeds, 'I have had sundry translations, not only in Latin, but also of the Dutch (*i.e.* German) interpreters, whom because of their singular gifts and special diligence in the Bible, I have been the more glad to follow for the most part, according as I was required.' And again he says, 'Lowly and faithfully have I followed mine interpreters.'

My attention was drawn to this subject nearly thirty years ago by the strange inaccuracies in Bishop Marsh's account of the sources of our authorized version; in which he had assumed that Tyndale could not translate from the Hebrew, which there is the clearest evidence that he knew well; and that he therefore translated from the German, of which language it is almost equally certain that he was ignorant.

I saw, on the other hand, that Coverdale honestly confessed that his own translation was a secondary one, from the German and the Vulgate. He named the language, but not the translator, Luther, for the same reason that in two references to

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Tyndale's ability he desisted from naming him, viz., that his translation was to be dedicated to Henry VIII., who hated both their names.

To test the different sources from which Tyndale and Coverdale formed their respective translations, nothing more is necessary than to open any chapter in the Hebrew and German Bibles; and whilst the translators from either will of course be found to agree in the broad meaning of any verse, there will be delicate distinctions in rendering idiomatic forms of speech, which will be decisive of the question."

[Having given several instances, the author thus proceeds]:—

"Such instances might be multiplied to any extent. Their effect upon my mind was to convince me that Coverdale did not even know the Hebrew letters when he published his version of the Bible. . . . . .

If H. H. H. V. desires to know more of Coverdale, he can find all that late researches have been able to discover in the first volume of Mr. C. Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, and in the biographical notice of Coverdale prefixed to the Parker Society's edition of his *Remains*, by the Rev. G. Pearson. But when that gentleman describes Coverdale's portion of Matthew's Bible, and says that the Book of Jonah is of Tyndale's version, he has made a mistake. Perhaps I may be allowed to say, that the question, whether Tyndale put forth any version of Jonah, is *adhuc sub judice*. At any rate, I can say, from collation, that the Jonah in Matthew's Bible is identical with that which Coverdale put forth in his own version. . . . . HENRY WALTER." 1st S. v. 109. 1852.

(*f*) " . . . . . To the martyr Tyndale, and the venerable servant of Christ, Coverdale, this nation and the world are indebted to an extent that no honour to their memory can ever repay. Tyndale, fearless, learned, and devoted, was sacrificed in the prime of life; while Coverdale, more cautious, went on to old age constantly energetic in promoting the Reformation. . . . . .

"Our inquiry commenced with the question, why the words 'translated out of Douche and Latyn into Englyshe' appeared upon the title-page to *some* copies of Coverdale's Bible, 1535. I must remind my excellent friend, the Rev. HENRY WALTER, that while the copy in the British Museum, and that at Holkham, has those words, a finer and unsophisticated copy in the library of Earl Jersey of the *same* edition

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has no such words; and that the four editions subsequently published by Coverdale all omit the words 'Douche and Latyn,' and insert in their place, 'faythfully translated in English.' My decided impression is, that the insertion of those words on the first title-page was not with Coverdale's knowledge, and that, lest they should mislead the reader, they were omitted when the title was reprinted; and a dedication and prologue were added when the copies arrived in England, the dedication and preface being from a very different fount of type to that used in printing the text.

It must also be recollected that Coverdale altered his prologue to the reader in the copies dedicated to Edward VI. Instead of 'To helpe me herein I have had sondrye translacyons, not onely in Latyn but also *of the Douche interpreters*,' the last four words are omitted, and he has inserted, 'in other languages.' Coverdale, with indefatigable zeal, made use of every translation in his power. . . . . Coverdale rejected from the canon all apocryphal chapters and books, and placed them together as a distinct part, in four of his editions, between the Old and New Testaments, and in one between Esther and Job. In this he neither copied from the Latin nor the German. . . . . GEORGE OFFOR." 1st S. v. 153. 1852.

(*g*) "Are either of the earlier editions of the Vulgate illustrated with the exact cut of the Creation, that appears on the first page of Coverdale's Bible, 1535? I make this Query, because I find a similar frontispiece in an edition, printed at 'Lugduni in officina Jacobi Saconi anno dūi decimo quinto supra millesimū Duodecimo Kalendas Octobris.' This bears in detail so striking a resemblance to Coverdale's, that I am inclined to regard it as the pattern cut. I should feel obliged by a decision. R. C. WARDE, Kidderminster." 1st S. x. 444. 1854.

(C.) [*Birthplace*]: "Can you inform me of the birthplace of Miles Coverdale? W. C. 1st S. i. 120. 1850.

[To this Query, the following editorial reply is appended]: —'Bishop Myles Coverdale is supposed to have been born in the year of our Lord 1488, in the district of Coverdale, in the parish of Coverham, near Middleham, in the North Riding of Yorkshire; and it is the opinion of the learned historian of Richmondshire, that it is an assumed, and not a family name.' These are the words of the Rev. Geo.

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Pearson, B.D., the very competent editor of the works of Bishop Coverdale, published by the Parker Society. His reference is to Whitaker's *Hist. of Richmondshire*, vol. i. p. 17." 1st S. i. 120. 1849.

(D.) [*Date of Death*]: "I take this opportunity of noticing the different dates given of Myles Coverdale's death.

Strype says he died 20th May, 1565, (*Annals of Reformation*, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 43. Oxf. ed.), although elsewhere he speaks of him as being alive in 1566. Neale (*Hist. of Pur.*, vol. i. p. 185) says, the 20th May, 1567. Fuller (*Church Hist.*, p. 65, ed. 1655) says he died on the 20th of January, 1568, and 'Anno 1588,' in his *Worthies of England*, p. 198, ed. 1662.

The following extract from 'The Register of Burials in the Parish Church of St. Bartholomew's by the Exchange' sets the matter at rest. 'Miles Coverdall, doctor of divinity, was buried anno 1568, the 19th of February.'

That the person thus mentioned in the register is Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, there can be no doubt, since the epitaph inscribed on the tomb-stone, copied in *Stow's Survey*, clearly states him to be so. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to observe that the date mentioned in the extract is the old style, and, therefore, according to our present computation, he was buried the 19th of February, 1569. EDWARD F. RIMBAULT." 1st S. i. 379. 1850.

(E.) [*Last Days*]: "In searching one of the oldest parish-church registers in London, some entries were found which throw a pleasing light upon the last days of this venerable minister. It is the church-wardens' accounts of their receipts and expenditure from 1566 to 1686.

Strype, in the *Life of Parker*, says, that after the deprivation of the London ministers, in 1566, for not wearing the habits nor observing other usages, for seven or eight weeks, their hearers either came to the churches and heard the conformable preachers, or went no whither. Many of them ran after Father Coverdale, who took that occasion to preach the more constantly, but yet with much fear, so that it would not be known where he preached. This register lets us into the secret that the good old father, then in his eightieth year, between November 1, 1567, and January 18, 1568, preached eleven sermons in the church of Holy Trinity, Minories. On three days he preached two sermons each day. Collections were made for the repairs of the church to the amount of

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£8 15s. 2d. There were no church-rates in those days. . . . GEORGE OFFOR, Hackney." 1st S. xii. 443. 1855.

(F.) "*North Side of Churchyards:*"—(*a*) [In a discussion in *N. & Q.* on the popular dislike to burial on the north side of the church," the late Rev. R. S. Hawker of Morwenstow, Cornwall, remarked, "The doctrine of regions was coeval with the death of Our Lord. The east was the realm of the oracles; the especial throne of God. The west was the domain of the people; the Galilee of all nations was there. The south, the land of the mid-day, was sacred to things heavenly and divine. The north was the devoted region of Satan and his hosts; the lair of demons, and their haunt. In some of our ancient churches, over against the font, and in the northern walls, there was a devil's door. In was thrown open at every baptism for the escape of the fiend, and at all other seasons carefully closed. Hence came the old dislike to sepulture at the north."] 1st S. ii. 253. 1850.

(*b*) ". . . . I suspect Mr. Hawker is nearest the truth; and the following, from *Coverdale on Praying for the Dead*, may help to strengthen his conjecture:—'As men die, so shall they arise: *if in faith* in the Lord *towards the south*, they need no prayers; they are presently happy, and shall arise in glory: *if in unbelief* without the Lord *towards the north*, then are they past all hope.' N. S." 1st S. iii. 333. 1851.

(G.) [*Place of interment*]:—(*a*) About ten years ago, the church of St. Bartholomew [the Less, near the Exchange, London] was condemned . . . . . to make room for . . . . . improvements. . . . . "The old chronicles of London agree that . . . . [Miles Coverdale] was buried in the cemetery of this church; it is therefore probable that, if any memorial existed, it perished in the general conflagration which destroyed the structure in which it was erected. The following Queries naturally occur; whether, in removing the ashes of the dead from their ancient resting-place, the remains of this 'Man of God' were discovered and identified; if so, whence they were conveyed, and how disposed? . . . . . M. W. B." 1st. S. vi. 552. 1852.

(*b*) "As to the remains of Miles Coverdale, ... when the church of St. Bartholomew the Less was about to be demolished, particular search was made for the remains of the venerable Reformer; and on the 21st of September, 1840,

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a skeleton was found under the floor of the church, in the precise spot where, from tradition, it was expected that his body would be discovered. These remains were removed with the greatest care, and were re-interred on the 4th October in a vault prepared for them in the south aisle of the church of St. Magnus, London Bridge.

A pamphlet of eight pages 4to was printed at the time, containing an account of the search and its results. A copy of it was presented to me by Messrs. Bagster, the well-known publishers of Paternoster Row, one of whom was present at the search for the remains, as was also Mr. Offor and a few other persons. It appears, however, that no inscription was discovered, and that the only circumstance by which the remains were identified, was that of their being found exactly in the spot where, according to tradition, the body of the Reformer had been interred. The pamphlet was illustrated by a lithograph and a wood-cut, representing the finding of the remains, and their appearance when found. J. B. B." 1st S. vi. 615. 1852.

(*c*) [The following is the title of the pamphlet mentioned by J. B. B.] "'A correct account of the Exhumation of the Remains of Myles Coverdale, some time Bishop of Exeter and Rector of St. Magnus the Martyr, London Bridge, who was interred in the Chancel of St. Bartholomew's, near the Exchange, by N. Whittock: London, Sherwood & Co. 1840.' J. B." 1st S. vi. 615. 1852.

(*d*) "I have a print before me which is intended to represent the exhumation of Coverdale's body. The following is engraved beneath:

'The Remains of Myles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, as they appeared in the Chancel of the Church of St. Bartholomew, near the Exchange. Buried Feb., 1569. Exhumed 23rd Sept., 1840. Chabot, Zinco., Skinner Street.'

If I am not mistaken, his remains were carried to the church of St. Magnus, near London Bridge, and reinterred. W. P. STORER, Olney, Bucks." 1st S. vii. 97. 1853.

(H.) [*Work attributed to Coverdale*]: "Can any of your correspondents throw any light upon the authorship of a work frequently attributed to Myles Coverdale, and thus entitled, 'A Brieff discours off the Troubles begonne at Frankford in Germany, Anno Domini, 1554. Abowte the Booke off common prayer and Ceremonies, and continued by

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the Englishe men theyre, to the ende off Q. Maries Raigne, in the which discours, the gentle reader shall see the verry originall and beginninge off all the contention that hathe byn, and what was the cause off the same?' A text from 'Marc 4.' with the date MDLXXV. Some copies are said to have the initials 'M. C.' on the title-page, and the name in full, 'Myles Coverdale,' at the end of the preface; but no notice is taken of this impression in the excellent introductory remarks prefixed by Mr. Petheram to the reprint of 1846. If the valuable work was really written by Myles Coverdale (and it is much in his style), it must have been interspersed with remarks by another party, for in the preface, signed, as it is said, by Coverdale, allusion is made to things occurring in 1573, four years after his death. EDWARD F. RIMBAULT." 1st S. i. 379. 1850.

134. CRAMP.

[It is believed in Devonshire that] "a cork under the pillow is a certain cure for cramp. R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 512. 1850.

135. CRANMERE POOL.

(A.) "Cranmere Pool, in the centre of Dartmoor, is a great penal settlement for refractory spirits. Many of the former inhabitants of this parish are still there expiating their ghostly pranks. An old farmer was so troublesome to his survivors as to require seven clergymen to secure him. By their means, however, he was transformed into a colt; and a servant boy was directed to take him to Cranmere Pool. On arriving at the brink of the pool, he was to take off the halter, and return instantly without looking round. Curiosity proving too powerful, he turned his head to see what was going on, when he beheld the colt plunge into the lake in the form of a ball of fire. Before doing so, however, he gave the lad a parting salute in the form of a kick, which knocked out one of his eyes. J. M. (4), St. Mary Tavy." 1st S. iii. 404. 1851.

(B.) For *Cranmere* see also 154. A.

136. CREDITON.

(A.) "*Contracted Names of Places*:—Kirton for Crediton, Devon. . . . . J. W. H." 1st S. iii. 182. 1851.

(B.) [In a list of "*Mispronounced Names of Places*" supplied by "C.," the following is given]:—

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Spelling.	*Pronunciation.*
Crediton	Kirton.

1st S. v. 285. 1852.

(C.) For *Crediton* see also 230. *a.*

137. CREWKERNE, Henry.

(*a*) "*Henry Crewkerne, of Exeter,* 'Captain of Dragoons, descended from Crewkerne, of Crewkerne, in Devonshire, died at Carlow in Feb., 1664–5. Was he descended from Crewkerne of Chilhay, Dorset? His pedigree would be very acceptable. Y. S. M." 1st S. ix. 467. 1854.

(*b*) "To what family do the following arms belong?

. . . . . .

Argent, a chevron gules between three bugle-horns sable.

The tinctures may not be quite correctly given on the plate from which the above are copied. P. P—M." 1st S. xi. 87. 1855.

(*c*) "The arms of Captain Henry Crewkerne, descended from the Crewkernes of Crewkerne in Devonshire" [Probably a misprint for "Somersetshire"], were: 'Argent, a chevron gules between three hunting-horns sable.' The hunting-horns are stringed, but I cannot ascertain the colours of the strings from the seal. I am inclined to call them gules. Captain Crewkerne died in 1655, leaving daughters only; from one of them I am descended, and I quarter the Crewkerne arms amongst others. Y. S. M." 1st S. xi. 474. 1855.

138. CRIM. 167. A.

139. CROCK. 407.

140. CROCKER.

(A.) "Crocker Cruwys, and Coplestone,
When the Conqueror came were found at home. R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 511. 1850.

(B.) For *Crocker* see also 332. *b.*

141. CROCKING. 301.
142. CROKER. 57., 227.
143. CROLDITCH. 191. D. *b.*
144. CROMLECH. 455.
145. CROSS. 498. A.

146. CROSS-LEGGED.

"In Devonshire there is . . . a saying which recommends 'sitting cross-legged to help persons on a journey;' and it is

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employed as a charm by school boys in order to avert punishment. (Ellis's *Brand*, iii. 258) . . . . RICHARD J. KING." 1st S. ii. 408. 1850.

147. CRUWYS. 140.
148. CUCKOO. 170.
149. CULLOMPTOM. 498. A. *b.*
150. CURFEW. 191. A.
151. CURTIS. 212. *b.*

152. DADDY'S HOLE. 418.
153. DAREY. 498. A.

154. DART.

"'River of Dart, oh river of Dart,
Every year thou claimest a heart.'

It is said that a year never passes without the drowning of one person, at least, in the Dart. The river has but few fords, and, like all mountain streams, it is liable to sudden risings, when the water comes down with great strength and violence. Compare Chambers' *Popular Rhymes*, p. 8, 'Tweed said to Till,' &c. See also Olaus Wormius, *Monumenta Danica*, p. 17.

The moormen never say '*the* Dart,' but always 'Dart.' 'Dart came down last night—he is very full this morning.' The *cry* of the river is the name given to that louder sound which rises toward nightfall. Cranmere Pool, the source of the Dart, is a place of punishment for unhappy spirits. They may frequently be heard wailing in the morasses there. Compare Leyden, *Scenes of Infancy*, pp. 315, 316, &c. R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 511. 1850.

(B.) For *Dart* see also 364. *a. c.*

155. DARTINGTON. 434. *b.*, 505. C. *c.*
156. DARTMOOR. 418., 528. *a. b. d. e.*
157. DARTMOUTH. 51. C., 332. *a.*

158. DAUGHTER.

"*Daughter pronounced 'Dafter.*' This pronunciation is universal in North Cornwall and North-west Devonshire. J. R. P." 1st S. viii. 504. 1853.

159. DAVIS, Captain John.

(*a*) "I shall be glad to learn the date, and any other facts connected with the death of John Davis, the discoverer of the the Straits bearing his name. JOHN PETHERAM, 94, High Holborn." 1st S. viii. 386. 1853.

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(*b*) "The earliest memoir of Captain John Davis, the celebrated arctic navigator, is that given by the Reverend John Prince in his DANMONII ORIENTALES ILLUSTRES, *or the Worthies of Devon*, Exeter, 1701, folio. It is, however, erroneous and defective in important particulars, and has misled some eminent writers, as Campbell, Eyriès, Barrow, &c.

Despite the assertions of Master Prince, *I question* if Captain Davis married a daughter of sir John Fulford; I am *sure* he was not the first pilot who conducted the Hollanders to the East Indies; I am sure the journal of the voyage is not printed in Hakluyt; I am sure the narrative of his voyage with sir Edward Michelbourne is neither dedicated to the Earl of Essex nor printed in Hakluyt; I am sure he did not write the *Rutter, or brief directions for sailing into the East Indies;* I am sure he wrote two works of which Prince says nothing; I am sure he did not make *five* voyages to the East Indies; and I am sure, to omit other oversights, that he did not 'return home safe again.' To the latter point I shall now confine myself.

In 1604 King James, regardless of the charter held by the East-India company, granted a licence to Sir Edward Michelborne, one of his gentlemen-pensioners, to discover and trade with the 'countries and domynions of Cathaia, China, Japan,' &c. This licence, preserved in the Rolls-chapel, is dated the twenty-fifth of June. On the fifth of December sir Edward set sail from Cowes with the Tiger, a ship of 240 tons, and a pinnace—Captain Davis being, as I conceive, the *second* in command. In December 1605, being near the island of Bintang, they fell in with a junk of 70 tons, carrying ninety Japanese, most of them 'in too gallant a habit for saylers:' in fact, they were pirates! The unfortunate result shall now be stated in the words of the *pirate* Michelborne:

'Vpon mutuall courtesies with gifts and feastings betweene vs, sometimes five and twentie or sixe and twentie of their chiefest came aboord: whereof I would not suffer above sixe to haue weapons. Their was never the like number of our men aboord their iunke. I willed Captaine John Dauis in the morning (the twenty-seventh of December) to possesse himselfe of their weapons, and to put the companie before mast, and to leave some guard on their weapons, while they searched in the rice, doubting that by searching and finding that which would dislike them, they might suddenly set vpon my men, and put them to the sword: as the sequell prooued. Captaine Dauis being beguiled with their humble semblance, would not possesse himselfe of their weapons, though I sent twice of

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purpose from my shippe to will him to doe it. They passed all the day, my men searching in the rice, and they looking on: at the sunne-settting, after long search and nothing found, saue a little storax and beniamin: they seeing oportunitie, and talking to the rest of their companie which were in my ship, being neere to their iunke, they resolued, at a watch-word betweene them, to set vpon vs resolutely in both ships. This being concluded, they suddenly killed and droue ouer-boord, all my men that were in their ship; and those which were aboord my shippe sallied out of my cabbin, where they were put, with such weapons as they had, finding certaine targets in my cabbin, and other things that they vsed as weapons. My selfe being aloft on the decke, knowing what was likely to follow, leapt into the waste, where, with the boate swaines, carpenter and some few more, wee kept them vnder the halfe-decke. At their first comming forth of the cabbin, they met Captain Dauis comming out of the gun-roome, whom they pulled into the cabbin, and giving him sixe or seuen mortall wounds, they thrust him out of the cabbin before them. His wounds were so mortall, that he dyed assoone as he came into the waste.'—Purchas, i. 137. BOLTON CORNEY." 1st S. viii. 450. 1853.

160. DAYS.

(A.) "*Devonshire Superstitions.*—Days of the week:

'Born on a Sunday, gentleman;
Monday, fair in face;
Tuesday, full of grace;
Wednesday, sour and grum;
Thursday, welcome home;
Friday, free in giving;
Saturday, work hard for your living.'

Tuesday and Wednesday are lucky days.

Thursday has one lucky hour, viz. the hour before the sun rises.

Friday is unlucky.

It is very unlucky to turn a feather bed on a Sunday; my housemaid says she would not turn my bed on a Sunday on any account.

'To sneeze on Monday hastens anger;
Tuesday, kiss a stranger.
Wednesday,
Thursday,
Friday, give a gift.
Saturday, receive a gift.

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Sunday, before you break your fast,
You 'll see your true love before a week 's past.'

My informant cannot recollect the consequences of sneezing on Wednesday and Thursday.

'Sneeze on Sunday morning fasting,
You 'll enjoy your own true love to everlasting.'

If you sneeze on a Saturday night after the candle is lighted, you will next week see a stranger you never saw before. J. M. (4)" 1st S. iv. 98. 1851.

(B.) For *Days* see also 423, 532. A.

161. DEAN COMBE. 392.
162. DEAN PRIOR. 90. *c*, 257. A. F. G. *c*, 392.
163. DEATH. 192. D. *a. b. c. d.*
164. DERRICK. 382. *b.*
165. DEVIL. 418.
166. DEVON. 190. *a. b.*

167. DEVONIANISMS.

(A.) " . . . *anist, ball, chiel, chuff, cloam, crim, drang, drule, greet,* and *grise* are 'familiar in the mouths' of Devonians as 'household words.' T. HUGHES, Chester." 1st S. x. 376. 1854.

(B.) "'To *haul* and *saul*':—There is a saying of this kind used in Devonshire, when one person is pulling another about in a rough manner, or lounging upon him. I was struck the other day with a word similar to that which I have written 'saul' (agreeably to the pronunciation), in *Coriolanus*, Act iv. sc. 5: 'He 'll go, he says, and *sowle* the porter of Rome's gates by the ears.' What is the etymology of the word? I. W. N. KEYS." 1st S. xi. 501. 1855.

(C.) "'*Is this of 'em?*':—I could not help writing this phrase down the other day, and looking at it, although I had heard it hundreds of times before without taking much notice of it. It is very commonly used here by the uneducated to signify 'Are these they?' or an equivalent expression. I should be glad to know if this barbarous combination of words is used in any other county. I. W. N. KEYS." 1st S. xi. 501. 1855.

168. DEVONPORT. 91. B.

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169. DEWERSTONE.

"The *Dewerstone* is a lofty mass of rock rising above the bed of the Plym, on the southern edge of Dartmoor. During a deep snow, the traces of a naked human foot and of a cloven hoof were found ascending to the highest point. The valley below is haunted by a black headless dog. Query is it Dewerstone, Tiwes-tun, or Tiwes-stan? (Kemble's *Saxons*, vol. i. p. 351). R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 512. 1850.

170. DINNICK.

"*Dinnick* is the Devonshire name of a small bird, said to follow and feed the cuckoo. R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 512. 1850.

171. DOG. 169.

172. DOLLOPS.

"This word as well as . . . [*clunk*] is very expressive in the vocabulary of the vulgar [in Devonshire]. It is applied to lumps of any substance, whether food or otherwise. Such a phrase as this might be heard: 'What a *dollop* of fat you have given me!' 'Well,' would be the reply, 'if you don't like it, *clunk* it at once.' I should be glad to be enlightened as to the etymology of this term. ISAIAH W. N. KEYS, Plymouth, Devon." 1st S. viii. 65. 1853.

173. DOMINICALS. 191. C.

174. DOOR-HEAD INSCRIPTIONS.

In his *History of Exeter*, p. 41, Dr. Oliver says that Walter Bronescombe, who was consecrated Bishop of Exeter, A.D. 1258, built a large house at Clyst: over its time-worn gateway, which till a few years ago was yet standing, might be seen this welcome:—'Janua patet—cor magis.' CEPHAS." 1st S. xii. 235. 1855.

175. DOWISH. 332. *b*.

176. DOWNING, Sir George.

(*a*) "I should be glad to obtain any information respecting Sir George Downing, of East Halley, Cambridgeshire, and Gamlingay Park, or his family. . . . The family is of most ancient origin in Devonshire, and I have heard that a portrait of him is possessed by some person in that county. ALPHA." 1st S. ii. 464. 1850.

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(*b*) "Wotton [*English Baronetage*] was not acquainted with the fact stated by your correspondent, that the [Downing] family is of most ancient origin in Devonshire. . . . . C. H. COOPER, Cambridge." 1st S. ii. 497. 1850.

(*c*) "It may assist . . . 'ALPHA' to be informed that among the monuments to the family of Pengelly, in the church of Whitchurch near Tavistock . . . is one to the memory of Ann, wife of Francis Pengelly, and daughter of Sir George Downing of East Hatley in the county of Cambridge, who died the 23rd of November, 1702; with the arms of Pengelly impaling Barry of six argent and gules, over all a wyvern or—for Downing.

Nicholas Downing of Exeter College, vicar of Kingsteignton, in Devon, who died in 1666, and was buried there, seems to have been of another family, as he bore a very different coat of arms.

A Lieut. Downing was buried in Charles Church, Plymouth, in 1799, but the arms on his monument are not the same as either of the above.

Other than these, I know of none of the name, ancient or recent, in the county, and I shall be glad to learn on what ground Sir George Downing's family is said to be of most ancient origin in Devonshire. The name does not appear in Westcote, Pole, Prince, Risdon, or the Herald's visitations, and the modern authorities state that the family was from Essex or Norfolk. J. D. S." 1st S. iii. 68. 1851.

177. DRAKE, Sir Francis.

(A.) [*Genealogy*]:—(*a*) "Can any of your correspondents give me any information, or direct me where to find it, about the *subscquent* or *antecedent* genealogy of Sir Francis Drake? ALTRON." 1st S. vi. 462. 1852.

(*b*) "Sir Trayton Fuller Eliott Drake, Bart., Nutwell Court, Exeter, is the descendant and representative, and being a courteous and worthy man, would no doubt give all particulars required of Sir Francis Drake's family, if applied to. W. C., Harlow." 1st S. vi. 616. 1852.

(B.) [*Lines on*]:—Having traversed the globe within three years, his travels were thus noticed by a poet of his day:—

> 'Drake, pererrati novit quem terminus orbis,
> Quemque semel mundi vidit uterque Polus.
> Si taceant homines, faciant te sidera notum,
> Sol nescit comitis non memor esse sui.'
>
> CLERICUS (D)." 1st S. viii. 195. 1853.

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(C.) [*Ship*]:—(*a*) [In a rhyming list of "Penny Sights and Exhibitions in the Reign of James I." (1611) "Drake's ship at Detford" is mentioned, and the contributor of them to *N. & Q.* says,] "I would particularly ask When was Drake's ship broken up, and is there any date on the chair made from the wood, which is now to be seen at the Bodleian Library, Oxford? A. GRAYAN." 1st S. viii. 558. 1853.

(*b*) [The following foot note is appended to the foregoing]:—"The date to Cowley's lines on the chair is 1662." 1st S. viii. 558. 1853.

178. DRANG. 167. A.
179. DREAM. 556.
180. DREWSTEIGNTON. 455.
181. DUCK. 495. *c.*
182. DUKE. 332. *b.*
183. DUNCHIDEOCK. 36. A.
184. EDWARDS. 245. *b.*
185. ELLACOMBE. 36. A. *d.*, 108. A. *a.*
186. EPIGRAM. 429. *b.*

187. EPITAPHS.

(A.) "Here lies a Wife, a Friend, a Mother,
I believe there never was such another;
She had a head to earn and a heart to give,
And many poor she did relieve.
She lived in virtue and in virtue died,
And now in heaven she doth reside.
Yes! it is true as tongue can tell,
If she had a fault, it was loving me too well.
And when I am lying by her side,
Who was in life her daily pride,
Tho' she 's confined in coffins three,
She 'd leave them all and come to me!'

The above lines, written on a tablet in a church at Exeter, were composed by Mr. Tuckett, tallow-chandler, to the memory of his wife. ANON." 1st S. viii. 274. 1853.

(B.) "*In Torrington Churchyard, Devon*:—

'She was—my words are wanting to say what.
Think what a woman should be—she was that.'

Which provoked the following reply:

'A woman should be both a wife and mother,
But Jenny Jones was neither one nor t'other'

BALLIOLENSIS." 1st S. viii. 537. 1853.

(C.) "Here lyeth the body of Daniel Jeffery, the son of Michael Jeffery and Joan his wife. He was buried ye 2' day of September, 1746, and in ye 18' yeere of his age. This youth, When in his sickness lay, did for the Minister Send *

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that he would Come and With him Pray * But he would not attend. But When this young man Buried was the Minister did him admit * he Should be Caried into Church * that he might money geet. By this you See what man will dwo * to geet money if he can * Who did Refuse to come and pray * by the Foresaid young man *'

This epitaph was in the churchyard of West Allington, Devon. It alludes to the custom in the county, of a fee paid to the minister when a corpse is carried into the church. The minister was the Rev. Mr. Pyle, son of the author of the *Paraphrase on St. Paul's Epistles.* It is given as above by Polwhele in his *County History,* who adds, what I have myself heard from an old gentleman who knew him well, and had seen the epitaph, that he would not allow it to be removed, not wishing to destroy such a specimen of village *poetry* and *scandalous falsehood;* for it was well known that the youth died of virulent small-pox, and that so suddenly that there was no time for giving notice of his illness. H. T. ELLACOMBE, Clyst St. George." 1st S. x. 84. 1854.

(D.) "In the romantic village church of Kings Teignton, Devon, there is a tomb to the memory of Richard Adlam, whose epitaph, besides being a singular specimen of the style of the period, is so remarkable for the coincidence of the first line with Dr. Young's celebrated apostrophe to Death (Night Third)—

'Insatiate archer! could not one suffice?'

that we might almost think he must have seen and had it in his mind when he wrote it. It is as follows:—

'Richardus Adlam hujus ecclesiæ Vicarius, obit Feb. 10, 1670, Apostrophe ad Mortem:

'*Damn'd tyrant!* can't profaner blood suffice?
Must priests that offer be the sacrifice?
Go tell the genii that in *Hades* lye
Thy triumphs o'er this *sacred Calvary,*
Till some just *Nemesis* avenge our cause
And force this *kill-priest* to revere good laws!'

GULIELMUS, Dalston." 1st S. xi. 9. 1855.

(E.) "*What I spent,*" &c.:—(*a*) "The following epitaph is of course well known:—

'What I spent I had;
What I saved I lost;
What I gave I have.'

But can you or any of your readers give the original? W. (1)" 1st S. xi. 47. 1855.

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(*b*) "The epitaph alluded to was in Tiverton Church, on the tomb of Edward Courtenay, third Earl of Devon, commonly called 'the blind and good earl;' who died 1419, and his countess Maud, daughter of Lord Camois. The following was the true inscription:—

'Hoe, hoe! who lies here!
I, the goode Erle of Devonsheere;
With Maud, my wife, to mee full dere,
We lyved togeather fyfty-fyve yere.
What wee gave, wee have;
What wee spent, wee had;
What wee lefte, wee loste.'

J. R. W., Bristol." 1st S. xi. 112. 1855.

[For further instances of this epitaph see *N. & Q.*, 1st S. xi. 112.]

(F.) *Epitaph on Mary Sexton, Bideford, Devon*:—

'Here lies the body of Mary Sexton,
Who pleas'd many a man, but never vex'd one:
Not like the woman who lies under the next stone.'

J. Y." 1st S. xii. 423. 1855.

188. ERMINGTON. 332. *a*. 189. ETIN'S HOLE. 418.

190. ETYMOLOGY OF DEVON.

(*a*) "What is the etymology of the word Devon? . . . . . ARTHUR C. WILSON." 1st S. vi. 151. 1852.

(*b*) [The following editorial reply is appended]:—

"*Devon.*—The earliest inhabitants of this county were the Damnonii or Dumnonii, derived by some from two Phœnician words, *dan* or *dun*, a hill, and *moina*, mines. The Cornish Britons named the county Dunan; the Welsh Deuffneynt, defined by Camden to mean "deep valleys.' By the Saxons it was called Devenascyre and Devnascyre, or Devonshire." 1st S. vi. 151. 1852.

191. EXETER.

(A.) [*The Curfew*]:—"The Curfew bell is rung in Exeter Cathedral at eight P.M. The present practice is to toll the bell thirty strokes, and after a short interval to toll eight more; the latter, I presume, denoting the hour. G. T." 1st S. ii. 312. 1850.

(B.) "*Exeter Controversy*:—(*a*) W. Gifford, in his *Autobiography*, says, that the shoemaker to whom he was bound apprentice 'was a Presbyterian' whose reading was entirely

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confined to the small tracts published on the *Exeter Controversy*.'—Transl. of *Juvenal*, ed. 2. p. x. What controversy, and whose, was that? A. N." 1st S. v. 296. 1852.

(*b*) " . . . A. N. will find, probably, that the 'Exeter Controversy,' to which Gifford alludes, was that between John Agate, of St. Mary Arches Church, in Exeter, and John Withers, a Presbyterian. The controversy commenced in 1707, and was carried on with great violence till 1715. The tracts are numerous, but many very scarce. Agate's chief tract was entitled *Plain Truth*, and is in three parts, Exon, 1708. Withers replied in a work of three parts also: *Truth Try'd, or Mr. Agate's pretended Plain Truth proved an Untruth*, Exon, 1708–9–10. This of course called forth a rejoinder, and so on. Although carried on with great personalities, the controversy shows considerable ability on both sides. I possess almost all the tracts, and shall be happy to send a list to A. N., if required. Withers, Trosse, and Pierce are well-known Dissenting names in the history of Exeter at the beginning of the last century, when that city was the stronghold of Arianism. RICHARD HOOPER." 1st S. v. 351. 1852.

(*c*) "This controversy was one of the many discussions relating to the Trinity which have engaged the theological activity of England during the last two hundred years. It arose in consequence of the imputed Arianism of some Presbyterian ministers of Exeter, the most conspicuous of whom were James Peirce and Joseph Hallett. It began in 1717, and terminated in 1719, when these two ministers were ejected from their pulpits. Your correspondent . . . will find some account of this controversy in Murch's *History of the Presbyterian Churches in the West of England*,—a work well worth the attention of those who take interest in the antiquities of Nonconformity. T. H. GILL." 1st S. v. 499. 1852.

(C.) "*Dominicals:*—I am desirous of obtaining information on a subject of much interest to Exeter.

An ancient payment is made to the rectors of each parish within the city of Exeter, called 'Dominicals,' amounting to 1d. per week from every householder within the parish. Payments of a similar nature are made in London, Canterbury, and I believe Worcester. Can any of your numerous readers state the origin of Dominicals, and give any information respecting them? W. R. C." 1st S. ii. 154. 1850.

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(D.) "*Gloves at Fairs:* (*a*) I think that I have read, that at some large fair it was customary to hang out on the town-hall a large gilt glove, as a token of freedom from arrest for debt during the period that the fair lasted. . . . In Halliwell's *Dictionary*, 'hoisting the glove' is said to be practised at Lammas Fair, in Devonshire: but why? . . . . . E. G. R." 1st S. vii. 455. 1853.

(*b*) "In Hone's *Every-day Book* (vol. ii. p. 1059) is the following paragraph:—

'EXETER LAMMAS FAIR.—The charter for this fair is perpetuated by a glove of immense size, stuffed and carried through the city on a very long pole, decorated with ribbons, flowers, &c., and attended with music, parish beadles, and the mobility. It is afterwards placed on the top of the Guildhall, and then the fair commences: on the taking down of the glove, the fair terminates. P.'

As to Crolditch, *alias* Lammas Fair, at Exeter, see Izacke's *Remarkable Antiquities of the City of Exeter*, pp. 19, 20. C. H. COOPER, Cambridge." 1st S. vii. 559. 1853.

(*c*) ". . . . . The Phœnician monuments are said to have had sculptured on them an arm and *hand held up*, with an inscription graven thereon. (See Gesenius and Lee.) If . . . . . the glove at fairs 'denotes protection,' and indicates 'that parties frequenting the fair are exempt from arrest,' it is at least a remarkable coincidence. The Phœnicians were the earliest merchants to the west of England that we have any account of: can any connection be traced historically between the Phœnician traffic and the modern practice of setting up a hand, or glove, at fairs? I well remember the feelings of awe and wonder with which I gazed when taken in childhood to see 'the glove brought in' and placed over the guildhall of my native city (Exeter) at the commencement of 'Lammas Fair.' Has the glove been associated with this fair from its commencement? and if not, how far back can its use be traced? The history of the fair is briefly this: it existed before the Norman Conquest, and was a great mart of business; the tolls had belonged to the corporation, but King John took one-half, and gave them to the priory of St. Nicholas. Henry VIII. sold the fair with the priory; and anno second and third of Philip and Mary it was made over to the corporation, who have ever since been lords of the fair. (Izacke's *Memorials*, p. 19.; Oliver's *History of Exeter*, pp. 83, 158., &c.) J. W. THOMAS, Dewsbury." 1st S. viii. 421. 1853.

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(E.) [*Mint*]:—"In a MS. chronicle . . . . . of remarkable events which occurred, in connexion with the city of Norwich, from the earliest period to the year 1716, compiled by an inhabitant of the place named Nobbs . . . . occurs the following passage:—'This year (1695) the parliament made an act for remedying the coin of the nation, which was generally debased by counterfeits, and diminished by clipping, and *laid a tax upon glass windows*, to make good the deficiency when it should be taken in. And, for the speedy supply of money to the subjects, upon calling in of the old money, there were mints set up in York, Bristol, Chester, Exeter, and Norwich.' . . . . . What amount of money was respectively coined during 1696, and the following year in the cities of York, Bristol, Chester, and Exeter? In what parish of each of these places . . . . . was the mint situated? . . . . . COWGILL." 1st S. iii. 447. 1851.

(F.) For *Exeter*, see also 36. B. *d.*, 51. B. *a.*, 64. *b.*, 90. *a. c.*, 99. *b.*, 104., 174., 353., 463. *a. b.*, 481. *b.*, 507., 511., 547. A. *a. b.*, 280. *b.*, 281., 294., 300., 353., 463. *a. b.*, 481. *b.*, 507., 511., 547. A. *a. b.*

192. EXETER CATHEDRAL.

(A.) "*Armorial Bearings*:—Amongst the numerous coats-armorial in the great east window of the choir of Exeter Cathedral, there is one respecting which I am at a loss. Argent a cross between four crescents gules. Can either of your readers kindly afford the name? J. D. S." 1st S. ii. 479. 1850.

(B.) "*Bennet's 'Paraphrase on the Book of Common Prayer'*:—(*a*) In Thomas Bennet's *Paraphrase, with Annotations upon the Book of Common Prayer*, edit. 1709, p. 94, occurs the following passage in a note on his commentary on the Litany:—

'I think myself obliged to take notice of a most scandalous practice which prevails in many such congregations, as ought to be fit precedents for the whole kingdom to follow. 'Tis this: that laymen, and very often young boys of eighteen or nineteen years of age, are not only permitted, but oblig'd, publicly to perform this office; which is one of the most solemn parts of our divine service, even tho' many priests and deacons are at the same time present.'

What practice is here alluded to, and what congregations? H." 1st S. xii. 10. 1855.

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(*b*) "In Exeter Cathedral one of the lay vicars assists the officiating priest in chanting the Litany. The lay-vicars are *cantores*, or singing men, and before the Reformation were in holy orders, which no doubt accounts for the practice not only at Exeter, but in other cathedral and collegiate churches. J. G., Exon." 1st S. xii. 94. 1855.

(C.) [*Clock*]: (*a*) "Under the curious clock in Exeter Cathedral are inscribed these words:—

'PEREUNT ET IMPUTANTUR, sc. horæ.'

I have been told that they are the concluding words of a longer inscription on some foreign clock. Can any of your readers tell me if they be so? J. W. HEWETT." 1st S. iii. 329. 1851.

(*b*) "The words, . . . which are, or were, also to be found under the clock over the Terrace in the Inner Temple, London, are, in truth, a quotation from Martial; and it is singular that a sentiment so truly Christian should have escaped from the pen of a Pagan writer:

'They' (that is, the moments as they pass) 'slip by us unheeded, but are noted in the account against us.' . . . . . The whole epigram is so good that I venture to transcribe it.

'AD MARTIALEM DE AGENDA VITA BEATA.

Si tecum mihi, care Martialis,
Securis liceat frui diebus,
Si disponere tempus otiosum,
Et veræ pariter vacare vitæ,
Nec nos atria, nec domos potentum,
Nec lites tetricas, forumque triste
Nôssemus, nec imagines superbas:
Sed gestatio, fabulæ, libelli,
Campus, porticus, umbra, virgo, thermæ;
Hæc essent loca semper, hi labores.
Nunc vivit sibi neuter, heu! bonosque
Soles effugere atque abire sentit;
Qui nobis PEREUNT, ET IMPUTANTUR.
Quisquam vivere cum sciat, moratur?'

Lib. v. ep. 20.

W. (1)" 1st S. iii. 430. 1851.

(D.) [*Death from Fasting*]:—(*a*) [The following note and query appeared in 1st S. v. 247. 1852]:—"In the church of St. Mary, Bury St. Edmund's, is a fine table-tomb, surmounted by a corpse in a winding-sheet, to the memory of John Bant. . . . Tradition says that [his] . . . death . . . arose from the vain attempt to imitate Our Lord in fasting forty successive days and nights. . . . . There are similar traditions in

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other parts of the kingdom. Can any of your correspondents state where, and whether accompanied by similar wasted figures. BURIENSIS."

"There are two monuments of the description . . . in the county of Devon. One against the south wall of the chancel of Feniton Church, is an elegant altar tomb ornamented with quatrefoils, on which lies the effigy in a shroud, tied at the head and feet. This may be assigned to the thirteenth century, but nothing appears to indicate whether it is the monument of a priest or of one of the Malherbe family, who were the lords of the soil. The other similar monument is in the north aisle of the choir of Exeter Cathedral, and is of later date. The skeleton figure lies on a slab in a recess under an obtuse arch, all highly decorated with tracery, panels, and foliage. This is said to be to the memory of Canon Parkhouse, buried in 1540. See *Gough. Sepulch. Mon.* Introd. p. III.; and Britton's *Exeter Cathedral*, p. 139, and plate xxii. J. D. S." 1st S. v. 301. 1852.

(*b*) "In the north aisle of Exeter Cathedral there is an instance . . . . of a monument with the figure of a human skeleton lying at full length on a winding sheet. The following inscription is over the arch:—

'Ista figura docet: nos omnes premeditari qualiter ipsa nocet: mors quando venit dominari.'

Tradition ascribes it to Bishop Lacy's tomb, and the vergers even at the present day inform visitors that it was erected to commemorate his attempt to fast during Lent. It is an exquisite piece of work. An engraving of it may be found in Britton's *Exeter Cathedral* . . . . EXONIENSIS." 1st S. v. 301. 1852.

(*c*) "With respect to the 'skeleton figure' in Exeter Cathedral, it is now many years since 'I made a Note" respecting it. As I recollect, it represents a human figure in an extreme state of emaciation, with a dagger sticking in the breast, and the legend told me at the time was to the effect that it represented some one who had attempted to imitate, literally, our blessed Lord's fast of forty days, and that holding out to the *thirty-ninth day*, and unable to endure the agonies of hunger, he then stabbed himself, thus consummating an act of presumption by an act of desperation. A. B. R., Belmont." 1st S. vi. 345. 1852.

(*d*) "Although scarcely worth the doing, yet I cannot help

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correcting a slight inaccuracy of A. B. R., in his statement respecting the emaciated marble figure in Exeter Cathedral. . . . . The figure there referred to will be found without the dagger, stated to be sticking in its breast. . . . . H. H." 1st S. vi. 520. 1852.

(E.) [*Lord's Prayer*]: "At Exeter Cathedral the people *kneel* whenever the Lord's Prayer is read in the lesson. J. W. HEWETT." 1st S. ix. 567. 1854.

(F.) [*Speke Chauntry*]:—"Three barrulets charged with six church bells, three, two, and one, is a shield occurring in the Speke Chauntry, in Exeter Cathedral. Can this coat be assigned? J. W. H." 1st S. ii. 424. 1850.

(G.) [*Speke Family*]: "I shall be glad to ascertain the family name and the armorial bearings of Alice, wife of Sir John Speke, father of Sir John Speke, founder of the Chapel of St. George in Exeter Cathedral. She is said to have been maid of honour to Queen Catherine. J. D. S." 1st S. ii. 479. 1850.

(H.) For *Exeter Cathedral* see also 300. *c*., 332. *a*.

193. EXMINSTER. 98.

194. EXMOUTH.

(*a*) "*Marriages within ruined Churches*:—The beautiful old church of St. John in the Wilderness, near Exmouth, is in ruins. Having in 1850 asked the old man who points out its battered beauties, why there were still books in the reading-desks, he informed me that marriages and funeral services were still performed there. This, however, is my only authority on the subject. SELEUCUS." 1st S. iv. 261. 1851.

(*b*) "The old church of St. John in the Wilderness, near Exmouth, can hardly be said to be *in ruins* . . . . . It is *dilapidated*, and almost deserted; but on visiting it a few days since, I found it securely locked, the nave weather tight, and sufficiently furnished for baptisms, marriages, and burials, with surplice, two Prayer Books, Bible, table, font, bier, and bell. They had certainly all seen their best days; but on that account perhaps they are supposed to be more in keeping with the general state of the venerable fabric.

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It is, in fact, the mother church of others in the vicinity, which are only chapels of ease; but as the population increased around them, and fell away, from some cause or other, from the precints of the old church, it seems to have been deserted and dismantled of everything but what is barely necessary for burials, and an occasional wedding and baptism. It is the south aisle only which has been removed, and that by authority, many years ago; but certainly, it has on that side, and from the want of glass in the fine tower window, a desolate and ruinous appearance. . . . . H. T. E., Clyst St. George." 1st S. iv. 355. 1851.

195. Fairs.

(A.) "*Custom of Establishing Fairs in North Devon* :—Can any of the readers of 'N. & Q.' throw light on a custom in North Devon as to establishing fairs? There is a notion, that if a man beats his wife from jealousy, and the mob take it up by what they term 'skiverton riding' . . . *i.e.* a man dressed as a woman seated on a donkey, escorted by a man carrying or wearing a pair of ram's horns, and a number making discordant noises with rams' and cows' horns, or, as we should term it, rough music, they have the right, after three times riding and affixing the ram's horns for an hour in three adjoining parishes on three separate days, after giving written notice of their intention of so doing, of remaining in the parishes, and cannot be turned out by force; and can keep the horns nailed up in the other parishes an hour: and farther, that the parish so riding *skiverton* has established the right to hold an annual fair for cattle; a meeting of the sellers in the first fair agreeing to the tolls to be paid, and first offering them to the delinquent husband, and, upon his refusal of the tolls, then to the lord of the manor. Such, as it is stated, was the way they established fairs at Bratton Fleming and Chittlehampton, and now at Lynton, where the fair was recently held for the first time. The *skiverton* riding duly took place three times about two months ago. The man has refused the tolls, and the lord of the manor has accepted them. D." 1st S. x. 165. 1854.

(B.) For *Fairs* see also 191. D. *a. b. c.*

196. Farlieu.

(*a*) "Devonshire leases for lives often reserve a money payment on the death of each life as a 'heriot' or 'farlieu.'

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Can you inform me of the etymology and meaning of the latter word? It appears almost synonymous with 'heriot.' CLERICUS." 1st S. iv. 317. 1851.

[To the foregoing query the following editorial reply is appended]:—

(*b*) "Bailey, in his *Dictionary*, says *Farleu* or *Farley* is a duty of sixpence paid to the lord of the manor of West Slapton in Devonshire, in the western parts; *farleu* being distinguished as the best good thing from *heriot* the best beast." 1st S. iv. 317. 1851.

197. FARROLL, or Forrell.

(*a*) [In Devonshire] "the cover of a book is . . . . called the *farroll;* what is the derivation of this word? J. M. B., Tunbridge Wells." 1st S. vii. 544. 1853.

(*b*) "The indiscriminate use of the term *forrell*, when describing the cover of a book, is a solecism, I fancy, peculiarly Devonian. Whether a book be bound in cloth, vellum, or morocco, it is all alike *forrell* in Devonshire parlance. I imagine, however, that the word, in its present corrupt sense, must have originated from *forrell*, a term still used by the trade to designate an inferior kind of vellum or parchment, in which books are not unfrequently bound. When we consider that vellum was at one time in much greater request for bookbinding purposes than it is just now, we shall be at no great loss to reconcile this eccentricity in the vocabulary of our west country brethren. T. HUGHES, Chester." 1st S. vii. 630. 1853.

(*c*) "*Forell* is an archaic name for the cover of a book. The Welsh appear to have adopted it from the English, as their name for a bookbinder is *fforelwr*, literally one who covers books. N. W. S. (2)" 1st S. viii. 44. 1853.

(*d*) "Your correspondent T. HUGHES derives this word . . . from *forrell*, 'a term still used by the trade to signify an inferior kind of vellum.' Is it not more natural to suppose it to be the same word which the French have made *fourreau*, a cover or sheath? (See Du Cange, vol. v., *Forellus*, *Forrellus*.) J. H. T., Dublin." 1st S. viii. 527. 1853.

198. FENITON. 192. D. *a*. 199. FEN OTTERY. 210.

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200. Few.

"Speaking of broth, people in Devon say a *few broth* in place of a little, or some broth. I find a similar use of the word in a sermon preached in 1550, by Thomas Lever, Fellow of St. John's College, preserved by Strype (in his *Eccles. Mem.*, ii. 422). Speaking of the poor students of Cambridge, he says:

'At ten of the clock they go to dinner, whereas they be content with a penny piece of beef among four, having a *few pottage* made of the broth of the same beef, with salt and oatmeal, and nothing else.' J. M. B., Tunbridge Wells." 1st S. vii. 544. 1853.

201. Figs, Figgy.

"Most commonly raisins are [in Devonshire] called *figs*, and plum-pudding *figgy* pudding. So with plum cake, as in the following rhymes:—

'Rain, rain, go to Spain,
Never come again:
When I brew and when I bake,
I'll give you a *figgy* cake.'

J. M. B., Tunbridge Wells." 1st S. vii. 544. 1853.

202. Filleigh. 332 *a*. 203. Fire. 264. A. *a*. *b*.

204. Fits.

[*Devonshire Charm for*]: "Go into a church at midnight and walk three times round the communion-table. This was done in this parish a few years since. H. G. T., Launceston." 1st S. iii. 259. 1851.

205. Fogie.

"In the citadel of Plymouth, some twenty or twenty-five years since, there was a band of old soldiers (principally men of small stature) who went by this name. They were said to be the only men acquainted with all the windings and outlets of the subterranean passages of this fortification.

The cognomen 'old fogie' is in this neighbourhood frequently applied to old men remarkable for shrewdness, cunning, quaintness, or eccentricity. This use of the term is evidently figurative, borrowed from its application to veteran

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soldiers. Cannot some of the military correspondents of 'N. & Q.' give the origin of the word? ISAIAH N. KEYS, Plymouth. 1st S. viii. 652. 1853.

206. FORRELL. 197.
207. FORTESCUE. 332. *a.*
208. FRIDAY. 160. A., 532. A.

209. FUNERALS.

"Should a corpse be ever carried through any path, &c., that path cannot be done away with. For cases, see Wales, Somerset, Bampton, Devon. M. A. BALLIOL." 1st S. ix. 536. 1854.

210. FURNEAUX FAMILY.

"I shall be thankful to any of your readers who will enable me to trace the pedigree of the Furneaux family, either upward or downward, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. I have hitherto succeeded in tracing the line from Forneus, or Furnieueus, of the Battle Abbey Roll, through Sir Allan de Furneaux, to whom the manor of Fen-Ottery, Devon, was granted by Henry I. *circa* 1100, down through six generations, to Sir John de Furneaux, who in 1343 alienated the above manor to his brother Richard, who was dead in 1344. The intermediate links are Sir Galfrede, the son of Sir Alan, then another Sir Alan, then Sir John, Sir Philip, a second Sir John, a third Sir John, who alienated the manor. The last account I can get of the Furneaux, in connexion with Fen-Ottery, is of a Sir John de F., dead in 1413.

The Furneaux now resident in Devon I can trace no further back than to Henry, the son of Matthew Furneaux, baptized at Paignton Church in 1560. Still the frequent allusions and references made to them, argue them to be of the same stock. Any information, therefore, connecting the links broken at 1344 and 1560, will oblige. WM. DUCK." 1st S. vi. 76. 1852.

211. GAY, John.

(A.) "*Acis and Galatea:* (*a*) Is there any good evidence in support of the commonly received opinion that the words to Handel's *Acis and Galatea* were written by Gay? Hawkins merely states that 'they are said to have been written by Mr. Gay.' I have no copy of Burney at hand to refer to; but I find the same statement repeated by various other musical

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historians, without, however, any authority being given for it. The words in question are not to be found among the *Poems on several Occasions*, by Mr. John Gay, published in 1767 by Tonson and others. Have they ever been included in any collective edition of his works? G. T., Reading." 1st S. ix. 12. 1854.

(*b*) [The following editorial note is subjoined to the foregoing query]:—

"In the musical catalogue of the British Museum, compiled by Thomas Oliphant, Esq., it is stated that the words to *Acis and Galatea* 'are said to be written, but apparently partly compiled by John Gay.' This serenata is included among Gay's *Poems* in Dr. Johnson's edition of the *English Poets*, 1790, as well as in Chalmers's edition of 1810, and in the complete edition of *British Poets*, Edinburgh, 1794." 1st S. ix. 12. 1854.

(B.) [*Beggar's Opera*]:—"Every body is aware of the prodigious and unexpected success of Gay's *Beggar's Opera* on its first production; it was offered to Colley Cibber at Drury Lane, and refused, and the author took it to Rich, at the Lincoln's-Inn-Fields theatre, by whom it was accepted, but not without hesitation. It ran for 62 nights (not 63 nights, as has been stated by some authorities) in the season of 1727–1728: of these, 32 nights were in succession; and, from the original Account-book of the manager, C. M. Rich, I am enabled to give an exact statement of the money taken at the doors on each night, distinguishing such performances as were for the benefit of the author, viz. the 3rd, 6th, 9th, and 15th nights, which put exactly 693*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* into Gay's pocket. This is a new circumstance in the biography of one of our most fascinating English writers, whether in prose or verse. Rich records that the king, queen, and princesses were present on the 21st repetition, but that was by no means one of the fullest houses. The very bill sold at the doors on the occasion has been preserved. . . . . It appears, that when the run of the *Beggar's Opera* was somewhat abruptly terminated by the advance of the season and the benefits of the actors, the 'takings,' as they were and still are called, were larger than ever. The performances commenced on 29th January, 1728. . . . . .

In the following statement of the receipts to the *Beggar's Opera*, I have not thought it necessary to insert the days of the months:—

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		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
Night	1	169	12	0	Night	17	171	8	6
	2	160	14	0		18	153	16	6
(Author)	3	162	12	6		19	158	19	0
	4	163	5	6		20	170	9	6
	5	175	19	6		21	163	14	6
(Author)	6	189	11	0		22	163	17	6
	7	161	19	0		23	179	8	6
	8	157	19	6		24	161	7	0
(Author)	9	165	12	0		25	169	3	6
	10	156	8	0		26	163	18	6
	11	171	10	0		27	168	4	6
	12	170	5	6		28	153	3	6
	13	164	8	0		29	165	2	6
	14	171	5	0		30	152	8	6
(Author)	15	175	18	0		31	183	4	0
	16	160	11	0		32	185	8	6

Therefore, when the run was interrupted, the attraction of the opera was greater than it had been on any previous night, excepting the 6th . . . . . when the receipt was 189*l.* 11*s.* The total sum realized by the 32 successive performances was 5,351*l.* 15*s.*, of which . . . . . Gay obtained 693*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*

The successful career of the piece was checked, as I have said, by the intervention of benefits, and the manager would not allow it to be repeated even for Walker's and Miss Fenton's nights, the Macheath and Polly of the opera; but, in order to connect the latter with it, when Miss Fenton issued her bill for the *Beaux's Stratagem*, on 29th April, it was headed that it was 'for the benefit of Polly.' An exception was, however, made in favour of John Rich, the brother of the manager, for whose benefit the *Beggar's Opera* was played on 26th February, when the receipt was 184*l.* 15*s.* Miss Fenton was allowed a second benefit, on 4th May, in consequence, we may suppose, of her great claims in connection with the *Beggar's Opera*, and then it was performed to a house containing 155*l.* 4*s.* The greatest recorded receipt, in its first season, was on 13th April, when, for some unexplained cause, the audience was so numerous that 198*l.* 17*s.* were taken at the doors.

After this date there appears to have been considerable fluctuation in the profits derived from repetitions of the *Beggar's Opera*. On the 5th May . . . . . the proceeds fell to 78*l.* 14*s.*, the 50th night produced 69*l.* 12*s.*, and the 51st only 26*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* The next night the receipt suddenly rose again to 134*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*, and it continued to range between 53*l.* and 105*l.* until the 62nd and last night (19th June), when the sum taken was 19*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

Miss Fenton left the stage at the end of the season . . . .

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and in the next season her place, as regards the *Beggar's Opera*, was taken by Miss Warren, and on 20th September it attracted 75*l.* 7*s.*; at the end of November it drew only 23*l.*, yet, on the 11th December, for some reason not stated by the manager, the takings amounted to 112*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* On January 1st a new experiment was tried with the opera, for it was represented by children, and the Prince of Wales commanded it on one or more of the eight successive performances it thus underwent. On 5th May we find Miss Cantrell taking Miss Warren's character, and, in the whole, the *Beggar's Opera* was acted more than forty times in its second year, 1728–9, including the performances by 'Lilliputians' as well as comedians. . . . . DRAMATICUS." 1st S. i. 178. 1850.

(C.) [*Brother*]:—"In a letter from the late Bishop Coplestone to the Rev. E. Tyler, in Jan., 1839, on the death of his mother at the age of ninety-two (published in his *Memoirs*), he says, 'Her father and poet Gay were brothers' sons. H. T. E." 1st S. v. 197. 1852.

(D.) "*Trivia*:—(*a*) In Gay's *Trivia*, 'Of walking in the Streets by Day,' about half-way through the second book, there is a passage on the nuisances of the Thames Street of that day, the concluding couplet of which is meant to illustrate the manners of the time of Queen Anne; but I cannot satisfy myself that I righly interpret it. The lines are,—

> 'But how shall I
> Pass, when in piles Cornavion cheeses lie,
> *Cheese, that the tables closing rites denies,*
> *And bids me with th' unwilling chaplain rise.*'

Taken literally, it would seem that the chaplain and poet had to leave the table as soon as the cheese appeared, and before it was partaken of. I should be glad to learn whether the etiquette of the table in Queen Anne's reign required the chaplain and any particular guests to retire from the table on the placing of the cheese on the board. RANULPHUS, Liverpool." 1st S. xi. 343. 1855.

(*b*) [The following editorial Note is subjoined to the foregoing query]:—

"Our first and second volumes contain several articles illustrative of Mr. Macaulay's sketch of the 'Young Levite;' but as the passage itself has not been quoted, we give the concluding lines to explain the reference in Gay:—'The young Levite was permitted to dine with the family; but he

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was expected to content himself with the plainest fare. He might fill himself with the corned beef and the carrots: but as soon as the tarts and cheese cakes made their appearance, he quitted his seat, and stood aloof till he was summoned to return thanks for the repast, from a great part of which he had been excluded' (*Hist. of Eng.* vol. i. p. 327). See also Oldham's *Satire, addressed to a Friend about to leave the University;* and *Tatler*, Nos. 255, 258." 1st S. xi. 343. 1855.

212. GAY, The Rev. Mr.

(*a*) "The very interesting notices which you have often given us of . . . . Locke, induce me to trouble you with an inquiry relative to a philosophical writer, who followed in his school, I mean the Rev. Mr. Gay, the author of the Dissertation prefixed to Bishop Law's translation of King's *Origin of Evil*. . . . . .

Of this Mr. Gay, I have not yet been able to learn more than that he was a clergyman of the West of England; but of what place, of what family, where educated, of what manner of life, or what habits of study, no biographical or topographical reading has hitherto furnished me with any information. I should feel greatly indebted to any of your readers who would give the clue to what is known or can be known about him. . . . . EDWARD TAGART, North End, Hampstead." 1st S. iii. 424. 1851.

(*b*) "The name of Gay is not very common in the West of England, and Mr. TAGART may possibly obtain some account of the Rev. Mr. Gay from the descendants of Gay of Goldworthy, near Bideford, in the county of Devon, who sprang from Hampton Gay, in the county of Oxford, but became seised of the manor of Goldworthy, about the year 1420, by marriage with the daughter and heir of Curtis of Goldworthy, a branch of the ancient family of Curtis of Lostwithiel, in the county of Cornwall.

The latest representative of this family of Gay, of whom I have met with any notice, is Mr. Lawrence Gay, who, according to Lyson, was living in the year 1822 at South Molton, in the county of Devon. Lyson also says that 'John Gay, the poet, was of this family.' LLEWELLYN." 1st S. iii. 508. 1851.

(*c*) " . . . . In Paley's Life of Law, prefixed to the *Theory of Religion*, mention is made of Gay's dissertation; and the

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author is there stated to be of 'Sidney College.' Inquiry was accordingly made in that quarter, and the following answer was returned.

'I find there have been four persons of the name of Gay educated at Sidney College; three of them *certainly*—and in *all probability* the fourth—members of the same family. As I shall have occasion to refer to them subsequently, I will give you their several entries on the College Register:

'1. *Johannes*, fil. Jacobi *Gay*, clerici natus apud Meath in com. Devon. lit. gram. instit. per quinquennium apud Torrington sub M^ro^ Reynolds, deinde per biennium sub M^ro^ Rayner, apud Tiverton, in com. prædicto. Adm. est Pens. min. anno æt 18mo sub tut. M^ro^ Nath. Popple, S. T. B., et M^ro^ Laur. Jackson M. A. 7mo Nov. 1717.'

'2. *Nicholas*, fil. Jacobi *Gay*, clerici, natus apud Meath in com. Devon. lit. gram. instit. per quinquennium apud Torrington sub M^ro^ Reynolds, deinde per triennium sub M^ro^ Rayner apud Tiverton, in com. prædicto. Adm. est Sizator 20mo Oct. 1718, anno æt. 17mo, Tut. Laurentio Jackson A. M.'

'3. *Jacobus*, fil. natû max. Rev^di^ Joannis *Gay*, hujus Coll^ii^ quondam Socii, posteà Vicarii de Wilshamstead, natus apud Wilshamstead, in com. Bedf. lit. gr. instructus apud Bampton in com. Devon. sub M^ro^ Wood. Adm. est Sizator 24to Aug 1752, annum agens 17mo, Tut. J. Lawson et J. Cranwell.'

'4. *Johannes*, fil. natû max. Nicolai *Gay*, de Newton St. Cyres in com. Devon. Vicarii, ibidem natus, lit. verò gram. inst. apud South-Molton per sexennium, et apud Ottery St. Mary per triennium sub viro rev^do^ Joanne Colridge. Adm. est Sizator 15to Junii 1762, annum agens 19mo, Tut. Gul. Elliston, M^ro^ C^i^ et Joh. Hey.'

'Gay (1) was a scholar of Peter Blundell's foundation, and in 1724 succeeded to a fellowship on the same foundation. This fellowship, of which there are two at this college, is tenable for ten years; and all our fellows are compelled to proceed regularly to the degree of B.D. (seven years after they have taken that of M.A.) Mr. Gay was M.A. in 1725, and might have proceeded to B.D. in 1732: but he never took any higher degree than M.A. He must therefore have vacated his fellowship before 1732. I find no mention of his name in our College Office-book later than 7th May, 1730. He was probably presented during that year to the vicarage of Wilshamstead (which of course would render void his fellowship), and subsequently entered upon another kind of fellowship, one of the results of which was Gay (3).

'Of Gay (2) I find it recorded that he was appointed Chapel

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Clerk in 1719; that he was B.A. in 1722, and M.A. 1731. As far as dates are concerned, it might be questioned which of the brothers (1 or 2) was the author of the Preliminary Dissertation.' In our University Library I can find only two editions of Law's translation of Archbishop King's work, viz., of the 2nd edit., 1732, which contains the 'Preliminary Dissertation,' but no mention of its author; and the 4th edit., Camb. 1758, at the end of the Preface to which are these words: 'The following Dissertation was composed chiefly by the *late* Rev. Mr. Gay.' The author of the Dissertation must therefore have died in or before 1758. But in the entry of Gay (4) 1762 (who was without doubt nephew of 1), I do not find 'defuncti' attached to his father's name, which it has always been usual to add, in the case of the father being deceased.

I am convinced in my own mind that the Mr. Gay of Sidney College, mentioned by Paley in his life of Bishop Law, was Gay (1). There would be no difficulty, I should think, in ascertaining the time of Mr. John Gay's decease. The present vicar of Wilshamstead could no doubt readily inform you. If it should be found that Mr. John Gay died before 1758, then there can be no question but that he is Bishop Law's *late* Mr. Gay. FELLOW OF SIDNEY COLLEGE." 1st S. iv. 388. 1851.

213. GEESE. 543. A. *a.*
214. GIBBONS. 294.
215. GIFFORD. 191. B. *a. b.*

216. GILBERT, Sir Humphrey.

(A.) [*Descendants*]:—"In a work published not many years ago, entitled *Antigua and the Antiguans*, by Mrs. Flannigan, there is the following passage:—

'The Hon. Nathaniel Gilbert, Speaker of the House of Assembly in the island of Antigua, and one of the chief proprietors in that island, derived his descent from a family of considerable distinction in the west of England, where one of its members, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, associating himself with his kinsman, Sir Walter Raleigh, became one of the most eminent circumnavigators of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.'

Dying, he left a son, Raleigh Gilbert, who along with others obtained from King James I. a large grant of land, in what was then called Plymouth, but which now forms part of the colony of Virginia. To this place he emigrated with Lord Chief Justice Popham in 1606. Afterwards he

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succeeded to an estate in Devonshire on the death of his elder brother, Sir John Gilbert, President of the Virginian Company.

Can any of your correspondents kindly inform me from what source I can complete the line of descent, by filling up the interval of three or four generations between the above Raleigh Gilbert and the Hon. Nathaniel Gilbert mentioned by Mrs. Flannigan?

The present Sir George Colebrook and Sir William Abdy are connected, more or less remotely, with the last-mentioned Mr. Gilbert.

The English branch of the family is now established at Tredrea in Cornwall. (See *Burke*). . . . . C. GONVILLE." 1st S. vii. 259. 1853.

(B.) For *Gilbert* see also 408. C. *a.*, O. *d.*

217. GLOVES. 28. B. D. *a. b. c.*
218. GOLD. 407.
219. GOLDWORTHY. 212. *b.*

220. GOSSE, Philip Henry.

"*A Handbook to the Marine Aquarium, containing practical Instructions for Constructing, Stocking, and Maintaining a Tank, and for Collecting Plants and Animals,* by P. H. Gosse, A.L.S. Mr. Gosse's name is a sufficient voucher for the able manner in which the management of a marine aquarium is explained in this little half-crown volume. Thanks to Mr. Gosse's instructions, and to Mr. Lloyd's energy, in establishing a means of supplying marine animals, sea-weeds, &c., the seaside is transferred to our fireside, and we may study at our leisure a most interesting branch of natural history." [Notice by EDITOR 'N. & Q.'] 1st S. xii. 396. 1855.

221. GOVETT. 498. A. *a. b.*
222. GREENAWAY. 64. *b.*
223. GREENWAY. 332. *b.*
224. GREET. 167. A.
225. GRENILL. 408. O. *d.*
226. GREY HORSE. 457.

227. GRIMSPOUND.

"Your correspondent NAUTILUS asks if there are any ancient entrenchments in England known by the name of *Grimsdyke*, besides the one he mentions in Hants. I have to inform him that one of the most remarkable of the *many Celtic and Druidical remains* on Dartmoor, in the county of Devon, is *Grimspound*, with its dyke or ditch, a small stream

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running through, or just outside, its circumvallation. He will find two very good accounts of it lately published, one in *A Perambulation of the Ancient and Royal Forest of Dartmoor*, by Samuel Rowe, M.A., Vicar of Crediton (published by Hamilton, Adams and Co.); and another in a *Guide to the Eastern Encampment* [mis-print or mis-transcription, no doubt, for '*Escarpment*'] *of Dartmoor, with a Descriptive Map* (published by Dr. Croker, of South Bovey). 'The Guide is published by Holden, Exeter; and Kirkman and Thackray, London.' There is a good print of Grimspound in Mr. Rowe's book, who describes it as by far the finest and most extraordinary of all the relics of this class. Its situation is on the N.W. slope of Hamel Down, on the borders of the parishes of Manaton (Colonel Hamilton says, *Maen-y-dun*, the foot or enclosure of erect stones), North Bovey, and Widdecombe. Dr. Croker says Grimspound is about 400 feet in diameter; the wall enclosing the area is formed of loose stones (granite), several of which are of immense size: when first erected it appears to have been about twelve feet in height. There are two entrances N. and S., with evident marks of a pavement. Within are many smaller circles formed by erect stones three feet high, and in general twelve feet in diameter. WM. COLLYNS, Surgeon, Kenton, Devon." 1st S. v. 163. 1852.

228. GRINDLE.

(*a*) "*Grindle*:—What is the true meaning of this word, and are any other parts of the kingdom called thus? The one I allude to is still called 'The Grindle,' close adjoining the town of Bury St. Edmund's; and consists of an encampment and earthworks. C. G." 1st S. vii. 107. 1853.

(*b*) . . "The only other places in England that I have as yet heard of are, *Grindleton* in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and a *Gryndall* in the East Riding . . . . . There is a peculiar interest attaching to this word . . . . . as being the name of the malicious fiend, the man-enemy whom Beowulf subdues in our eldest national Epic . . . The following is something like the meaning of the lines:—

> 'Grendel hight the grisly guest,
> Dread master he of waste and moor,
> The fen his fastness—*fiends among*,
> Bliss bereft . . . . . .'

Grendel means, originally, no more than a *bar* or *rod*, or a

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palisade or lattice-work made of such bars or rods. Also a bar or bolt for fastening a door, or for closing a harbour.

. . . . . .

As to the application of this name to localities, it seems to represent the same sentiment as the prefix of Giant, Grim, or Devil: and this sentiment would be that of the grand or awful in Nature, and mysterious or unaccountable in artificial works. I think we may . . . safely conclude that all dikes, ditches, camps, cromlechs, &c., which have such titles attached to them, date from an age previous to the Saxons being in England. . . . . I. E., Oxford." 1st S. vii. 307. 1853.

(*c*) "I think I can supply I. E. with another example of the application of this name to a place. A few miles east or south-east of Exeter, on the borders of a waste tract of down extending from Woodbury towards the sea, there is a village which is spelt on the ordnance map, and is commonly called, *Greendale*. In strictness there are, I believe, two Greendales, an upper and a lower Greendale. A small stream, tributary to the Clyst river, flows past them.

Now this place formerly belonged to the family of Aumerle or Aba Marla, as part of the manor of Woodbury. From that family it passed to William Briwere, the founder of Tor Abbey, and was by him made part of the endowment of that monastery in the reign of Richard I. In the two cartularies of that house, of which abstracts will be found in Oliver's *Monasticon*, there are many instruments relating to this place, which is there called Grendle, Grindel, and Gryndell. In none of them does the name of Greendale occur, which appears to be a very recent form. Even Lysons, in his *Devonshire*, does not seem to be aware of this mode of spelling it, but always adopts one of the old ways of writing the word.

I have not seen the spot very lately, but, according to the best of my recollection, it has not now any feature in keeping with the mythological character of the fiend of the moor and fen. The neighbouring district of down and common land would not be an inappropriate habitat for such a personage. It has few trees of any pretension to age, and is still covered in great part with a dark and scanty vegetation, which is sufficiently dreary except at those seasons when the brilliant colours of the blooming heath and dwarf furze give it an aspect of remarkable beauty.

Whether the present name of Greendale be a mere corruption of the earliest name, or be not, in fact, a restoration

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of it to its original meaning, is a matter which I am not prepared to discuss. . . . . .

The '*N. & Q.*' have readers nearer to the spot in question than I am, who may, perhaps, be able to throw some light on the subject, and inform us whether Greendale still possesses the trace of any of those natural features which would justify the demoniacal derivation proposed by I. E. It must not, however, be forgotten that three centuries and a half of laborious culture bestowed upon the property by the monks of Tor, must have gone far to exorcise and reclaim it. E. S." 1st S. vii. 384. 1853.

(*d*) "As one at least of the readers of '*N. & Q.*' living near *Grindle* (Greendale is modern), allow me to say that from the little I know of the places, they appear to me 'to possess no traces of those natural features which would justify the demoniacal derivation proposed by I. E.' . . . . . H. T. ELLACOMBE, Rectory, Clyst St. George." 1st S. vii. 508. 1853.

229. GRISE. 167. A.

230. GROOM.

"*Meaning of Groom*:—(*a*) In investigating the descent of two Devonshire families, I have met with four instances of persons designating themselves as *groom*. They were certainly well connected, and in fortune apparently much above the class of people who accept the care of horses in this present day.

If they were grooms of horses, society was in a very different state from that in which it is at the present day; if they were not such grooms, what then were they? I believe they were unmarried persons. First, there is Samuel Weeks, of South Tawton, groom; will proved in the Archdeacon of Exeter's court, 1639. His father was Richard Weeks, styled gentleman in the parish register; and Samuel Weeks signs his name in a peculiarly fine Italian hand, that I do not remember to have seen in any instance of that time except in that of a thorough gentleman.

Francis Kingwell, of Crediton, groom. His will was proved in the Bishop's Court in 1639; his sister married a Richard Hole, of South Tawton, a yeoman of substance; her second husband was John Weeks, of South Tawton, gentleman, and his sons were gentlemen. The Weekses were, I doubt not,

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nearly related to the Wykes or Weeks, of North Wyke, in the same parish, a family of great antiquity.

Thirdly, here is John Hole, of South Tawton, groom, 1640. His inventory is 180*l.*, of which 4*l.* was for his clothes, whereas a gentleman in one case in this neighbourhood has his clothes valued at ten shillings; Kingwell's inventory was the same.

Robert Hole, of Zeal Monachorum, groom, is the fourth instance. His will was proved at Westminster in 1654; he was the son of a wealthy yeoman, and his brother, Thomas Hole, was a gentleman.

I trouble you that I may learn, through your kindness, whether *groom*, in these instances, was used with the meaning which we attach to it; or at that time, or in the English language, or the vernacular tongue of central Devonshire, meant anything else. E. DAVIES PROTHEROE." 1st S. v. 57. 1852.

(*b*) "*Guma* in Anglo-Saxon, and the *Codex Argenteus*, means simply man. Horne Tooke derives bridegroom from it. 'Consider groom of the chambers, groom-porter.'—*Nares*.

Herd grooms, in Spenser's *Pastorals*, and a passage in Massinger: Gifford, vol. iii. p. 435.

Grome is quoted by Halliwell, as meaning a man. Also *gome*, which he says lasted till the civil wars. C. B." 1st S. v. 92. 1852.

(*c*) "May not *groom* be the literal English of the French *écuyer*, and have in the places quoted the same meaning as *esquire*, which is evidently the Anglicised French? W. C. TREVELYAN, Wallington." 1st S. v. 348. 1852.

231. HACCOMBE. 13 *b. c. d.*, 51. C., 332. *a.*
232. HAIR. 333 C.
233. HALDON. 532. B.
234. HALLE. 490, A.
235. HALLET. 191. B. *c.*
236. HALWELL. 505. C. *c.*
237. HAMLYN. 76. *c.*
238. HAMSTEAD. 505. C. *c.*
239. HARBERTON. 505. C. *c.*
240. HARDING. 90. *b.*
241. HARFORD. 332. *a.*

242. HARRISERS, or Arrishers.

(*a*) "In Devon a corn-field, which has been cut and cleared, is called an 'arrish.' A vacant stubble-field is so called the whole of the autumn months. . . . . While I am quite familiar with the word 'arrish,' I never heard 'arrishers,' and I believe it is unknown in Devonshire. J. E." 1st S. iii. 252. 1851.

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(*b*) . . . . "*Arrishers* is the prevailing term in that county [Devonshire] for stubble. . . . . A . . . set of gleaners has been admitted from time immemorial, namely, the *Anser stipularis*, which feeds itself into plump condition for Michaelmas by picking up, from between the stubble, the corns which fell from the ears during reaping and sheaving. The Devonshire designation for this excellent sort of poultry —known elsewhere as 'stubble geese'—is 'arrish geese.' W. H. W." 1st S. iii. 252. 1851.

243. HARRISON. 264. A. *b.*

244. HARVEST.

"The farmer's men have . . . a custom, on cutting the last sheaf of wheat on the farm, of shouting out 'A neck! a neck!' as they select a handful of the finest ears of corn, which they bind up, and plait the straw of it, often very prettily, which they present to the master, who hangs it up in the farm kitchen till the following harvest. I do not know whence this custom arises. WILLIAM COLLYNS, M.R.C.S., Kenton." 1st S. v. 148. 1852.

245. HATHERLEIGH.

(A.) (*a*) "*Hatherleigh Moor, Devonshire:*—I copy the following from an old Devonshire newspaper, and should be obliged if any of your correspondents can authenticate the circumstances commemorated:—

'When John O'Gaunt laid the foundation stone
Of the church he built by the river;
Then Hatherleigh was poor as Hatherleigh Moor,
And so it had been for ever and ever.
When John O'Gaunt saw the people were poor,
He taught them this chaunt by the river;
The people are poor as Hatherleigh Moor,
And so they have been for ever and ever.
When John O'Gaunt he made his last will,
Which he penn'd by the side of the river,
Then Hatherleigh Moor he gave to the poor,
And so it shall be for ever and ever.'

The above lines are stated to have been found 'written in an ancient hand.' BALLIOLENSIS." 1st S. ix. 538. 1854.

(*b*) "The lines quoted by your correspondent (with the important difference of the word 'all,' instead of 'then,' in the last but one), were long preserved in old, but not ancient MS. by an inhabitant of Hatherleigh, and were inserted in

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the *Devonshire Chronicle* by Mr. Edwards, the respected parish clerk, in 1849. It does not appear that the facts therein stated can be strictly authentic. Hatherleigh belonged to the Abbey of Tavistock from before the period of the Domesday survey, and it is not improbable that these were traditionary lines arising from the fact that the waste lands of the manor were granted to the poor by Ordgar, Earl of Devon, on his foundation of the monastery in the year 961; or that having been comprised in his grant to the Abbey, the Moor may have been assigned by one of the abbots to the use of the poor tenants of the manor. That a *part* of the Moor *was* so granted by the Abbey is asserted by Risdon in his *Survey of Devon*. The facts of the case could probably be determined only by reference to the chartulary of the monastery, formerly in the hands of Serjeant Maynard, and said afterwards to have been in the possession of the Duke of Bedford, but now not to be found. It is just possible that some intimation of the circumstances may be discovered in the MS. No. 152. in the Library of Queen's College, Oxford, which contains extracts from the chartulary above mentioned. S. J. D." 1st S. x. 55. 1854.

(B.) For *Hatherleigh* see also 353. A. *c.*

246. HAUL. 167. B.

247. HAWKER.

(A.) "'*Firm was their faith*,' *&c.*:—These lines are to be found in a poem called 'Morwennæ Statio, hodie Morwenstow,' published by Masters in 1846, with the title of *Echoes from Old Cornwall*, and written by the Vicar of Morwenstow. . . . . hitherto they have been but little appreciated by the public. A time will come, however, when these and other compositions of the author will be better known and more duly valued by the English mind. SAXA." 1st S. ix. 17. 1854.

(B.) For *Hawker* see also 133. F. *a. b.*

248. HAYDON, Benjamin.

(A.) "Fourteen or fifteen years ago, I called one morning at . . . [Hurst's] place of business (then 65. St. Paul's Churchyard, which has been subsequently absorbed into the 'Religious Tract Depository'); and, as was my custom, I walked through the shop to his private room. He was 'not

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in'; but a gentleman, who first looked at me and then at a portrait of me on the wall, accosted me by my surname as familiarly as an intimate acquaintance of twenty years would have done. He and Hurst, it appeared, had been speaking of me, suggested by the picture, before Hurst went out. The familiar stranger did not keep me long in suspense—he intimated that I had 'probably heard our friend speak of Ben Haydon.' Of course I had; and we soon got into an easy chat. Hurst was naturally a common subject with us. Amongst the remarks he made were the following, and in almost the words:—

'When my troubles came on, I owed Hurst a large sum of money; and the circumstances under which I became his debtor rendered this peculiarly a debt of honour. He lent it me when he could ill spare it; yet he is the only one of all my creditors who has not in one way or other persecuted me to the present hour. When he first knew of my wreck, he called upon me—*not to reproach but to encourage me*—and he would not leave me till he felt sure that he had changed the moody current of my thoughts. If there be any change in him since then, it is in his increased kindness of manner and his assiduity to serve me. He is now gone out to try to sell a bit of daub for me.' . . . . . T. S. D., Shooter's Hill." 1st S. ii. 291. 1850.

(B.) For *Haydon* see also 412. C. *a.*

249. "HEALING."

"I may mention another Devonianism. The cover of a book is called its *healing*. A man who lays slates on the roof of a house is, in Devonshire, called a *hellier*. N. W. S. (2)." 1st S. viii. 44. 1853.

250. HEATH-HOUNDS.

"The *brutende heer* are sometimes heard near Dartmoor, and are known by the appellation of 'Heath-hounds.' They were heard in the parish of St. Mary Tavy several years ago by an old man called Roger Burn: he was working in the fields, when he suddenly heard the baying of the hounds, the shouts and horn of the huntsman, and the smacking of his whip. This last point the old man quoted as at once settling the question. 'How could I be mistaken? why I heard the very smacking of his whip.' J. M. (4), St. Mary Tavy." 1st S. iii. 404. 1851.

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251. Hell-Rake.

"I cannot dispossess my mind of the impression that, like the theological word *hell*, so the agricultural term *hell-rake* is derived from the well-known Saxon word signifying to *cover*.

Every Devonshire vestryman or mason well enough knows what is meant by the 'helling' or 'heleing,' or 'heeling' of a church, viz. the covering of the roof; and every farmer or labourer in the west will tell you, that the *second-helling* of potatoes is the covering them with earth a second time. Query: Was not the *hell-rake* originally an implement used in husbandry for the purpose of *covering* the broad-cast seed, and for other kindred purposes? J. Sansom." 1st S. v. 162. 1852.

252. Heltor. 418.
253. Hempseed. 526.
254. Hempstin. 505. C. *c.*

255. Hen and Chickens.

"In a parish adjoining Dartmoor is a green fairy ring of considerable size, within which a black hen and chickens are occasionally seen at night-fall.

The vicar of a certain Devonshire parish was a distinguished student of the black art, and possessed a large collection of mysterious books and manuscripts. During his absence at church, one of his servants visited his study, and finding a large volume open on the desk, imprudently began to read it aloud. He had scarcely read half a page when the sky became dark, and a great wind shook the house violently; still he read on; and in the midst of the storm the door flew open, and a black hen and chickens came into the room. They were of the ordinary size when they first appeared, but gradually became larger and larger, until the hen was of the bigness of a good sized ox. At this point the vicar suddenly closed his discourse, and dismissed his congregation, saying he was wanted at home, and hoped he might arrive there in time. When he entered the chamber the hen was already touching the ceiling. But he threw down a bag of rice, which stood ready in the corner; and whilst the hen and chickens were busily picking up the grains, he had time to reverse the spell.—(Ceridwer takes the form of a hen in the *Hanes Taliesin.*) I believe a hen and chickens is sometimes found on the bosses of early church roofs. R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 512. 1850.

256. Herbs. 395.

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257. HERRICK, Rev. Robert.

(A.) [*Death*]:—"In the summer of 1844, I visited Dean Prior in company with my brother, in order to ascertain if we could add any new fact to the scanty accounts of the *Life of Herrick* recorded by his biographers. The events of his life have been related by Dr. Drake (*Literary Hours*, vol. iii., 1st edit. 1798—3rd edit. 1804), by Mr. Campbell, by Dr. Nott (*Select Poems from the Hesperides*, &c. Bristol, 1810), by a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. iv. 1810, by Mr. Wilmot in his elegantly written *Lives of Sacred Poets*, vol. i. 1834, and in the memoirs prefixed to the recent edition of *Herrick's Poems* published by Clarke (1844), and Pickering (1846). On examining any of these biographies, it will be found that the year and place of Herrick's death have not been ascertained. This was the point which I therefore particularly wished to inquire into.

Dean Prior is a village about six or seven miles from Totnes: the church, with the exception of the tower, had been recently rebuilt. The monuments and inscribed stones were carefully removed when the old fabric was taken down, and restored as nearly as could be to corresponding situations in the new building. I sought in vain, amongst these, for the name of Herrick. On making inquiry of the old sexton who accompanied us, he said at first in a very decided tone, 'Oh, he died in Lunnun,' but afterwards corrected himself, and said that Herrick died at Dean Prior, and that an old tombstone in the churchyard, at the right hand side of the walk leading to the south side of the church, which was removed several years ago, was supposed to have covered the remains of the former vicar of Dean Prior.

Being baffled in our search after 'tombstone information,' we called at the vicarage . . . and the vicar most courteously accorded us permission to search the registers: . . . . which were in his custody. The portion of the dilapidated volume devoted to the burials is headed thus:

'Dean Prior. The names of all those y^{t} have been buried in ye same parish from the year of our Lord God 1561, and so forwards.'

After some careful search we were gratified by discovering the following entry:—

'Robert Herrick Vicker was buried ye 15th day October, 1674. J. MILNER BARRY, Totnes." 1st S. i. 291. 1850.

(B.) [*Family Letters*]: "A voluminous collection of family letters of early date is now in the possession of William

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Herrick, Esq., of Beau-manor Park, the representative of that ancient and honourable house. JAYTEE." 1st S. ii. 269. 1850.

(C.) [*Hesperides*]:—"There can be few among your subscribers who are unacquainted with the sweet lyric effusion of Herrick 'to the Virgins to make much of Time,' beginning—

'Gather you rose buds while ye may,
Old Time is still a flying;
And this same flower, that smiles to-day,
To-morrow will be dying.'

The following 'Answer' appeared in a publication not so well known as the *Hesperides*. I have therefore made a note of it from *Cantos, Songs, and Stanzas*, &c., 3rd ed., printed in Aberdeen, by John Forbes, 1682.

'I gather, where I hope to gain,
I know swift Time doth fly:
Those fading buds methinks are vain,
To-morrow that may die.

'The higher Phœbus goes on high,
The lower is his fall;
But length of days gives me more light,
Freedom to know my thrall.

'Then why do ye think I lose my time,
Because I do not marrie;
Vain fantasies make not my prime,
Nor can make me miscarrie.'

J. M. GUTCH, Worcester." 1st S. i. 350. 1850.

(D.) [*Parallel Passages*]:—"*Herrick and Milton*:—I am not going to speak of plagiarism, but of 'great resemblances.' Who that reads the exquisite opening of Old Herrick's Epithalamium on Sir Clipseley Carew and his Lady—

'What's that we see from far! the spring of day
Bloom'd from the east; or fair enjewell'd May
Blown out of April; or some new
Star filled with glory to our view,
Reaching at Heaven,
To add a nobler planet to the seven?
Say; or do we not descry
Some goddess, in a cloud of tiffany
To move; or, rather, the
Emergent Venus from the Sea?
'Tis she! 'tis she! or else some more divine
Enlighten'd substance. Mark how from the shrine
Of holy saints she paces on,
Treading upon vermillion
And amber, spicing
The chafed air with fumes of paradise!'

but must feel that Milton's soul was deeply-dyed with the

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beauty of Herrick's verse when he wrote descriptively, in the 'Samson Agonistes,' of the approach of Dalila?—

> 'But who is this? what thing of sea or land?
> Female of sex it seems,
> That so bedeck'd, ornate, and gay
> Comes this way sailing,
> Like a stately ship
> Of Tarsus, bound for the isles
> Of Javan or Gadire,
> With all her bravery on, and tackle trim,
> Sails fill'd and streamers waving,
> Courted by all the winds that hold them play.
> An amber scent of odorous perfume
> Her harbinger.'

Both passages are redolent of the same voluptuous beauty, and seem to issue from one and the same gorgeous imagination. A DESULTORY READER." 1st S. xii. 164. 1855.

(E.) [*Poor Robin's Almanack*]: . . . . "At Dean Prior, the former vicar, Robert Herrick, has the reputation of being the author of *Poor Robin*. J. M. B., Totnes." 1st S. i. 470. 1850.

(F.) [*Salt on Corpses*]:—"The custom of placing salt on the chest of a corpse when laid out is . . . . of general practice. . . . . Herrick, in his *Hesperides*, thus addresses Perilla:—

> '*Per.* Dead when I am, first *cast* in *salt*, and bring
> Part of the creame for that religious spring, &c.
> Then shall my ghost not walk about, but keep
> Still in the cold and silent shades of sleep.'
>
> N. L. T." 1s S. x. 395. 1854.

(G.) [*Works*]:—(*a*) "I fancy I met with a selection from *Herrick's Poems* edited by *Mr. Singer*, several years ago, comprised in a small neat volume. Can any of your readers inform me whether there is such a book? . . . . J. MILNER BARRY, Totnes." 1st S. i. 292. 1850.

(*b*) "The selection from Herrick, noticed by Mr. Milner Barry, was made by Dr. Nott of Bristol, whose initials, J. N., are on the title page. 'The head and front of my offending' is the Preface to Mr. Pickering's neat edition of Herrick in 1846. S. W. S." 1st S. i. 459. 1850.

(*c*) "There is a little volume entitled *Selections from the Hesperides and Works of the Rev. Robert Herrick (Antient) Vicar of Dean-Prior, Devon.* By the late Charles Short, Esq., F.R.S. and F.S.A., published by Murray in 1839. I believe it

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was recalled or suppressed, and that copies are rare. J. W. H." 1st S. ii. 421. 1850.

(*d*) "The article in the *Quarterly Review* for 1810, on Dr. Nott's *Herrick*, was not written by Southey, to whom it is commonly attributed, but by the late Mr. Barron Field, the friend of Charles Lamb, and, I have pleasure in adding, my friend as well. Your able correspondent Mr. SINGER (as the editor of *Herrick*) may be glad to know this. Mr. SINGER has followed the common report, but my informant was Mr. Field himself. If Mr. Field had lived another year, I was to have accompanied him on his *second* visit to Dean Prior. PETER CUNNINGHAM, Kensington." 1st S. x. 27. 1854.

(G.) For *Herrick* see also 12. A. *c*.

258. HIGH BICKINGTON. 416. A.
259. HOLDEN. 51, B.
260. HOLE. 230. *a*.
261. HOLNE. 38.
262. HOLSWORTHY. 99. *a*.
263. HONE. 48. *b*.

264. HONITON.

(A.) [*Fire*]:—(*a*) "I am solicitous to learn the particulars of a fire which occurred at Honiton, in Devonshire, in the year 1765, when the chapel and school-house were burned down, and the former thereupon rebuilt by *collections* under a *brief*.

In a review of Mr. Digby Wyatt's 'Industrial Arts of the Nineteenth Century' (in the *Athenæum* for June 18th of the current year), reference is made by Mrs. Treadwin of Exeter to 'a *book* mentioning two great fires which occurred in 1756 and 1767 in Honiton,' but it is not stated who was the author of that book.

Can you or any of your readers furnish me with the *title* of the book intended, or direct me to any other sources of information on the subject of the Honiton Fires? S. T." 1st S. viii. 367. 1853.

(*b*) "Notices of fires at Honiton occur in the following works: *The Wisdom and Righteousness of Divine Providence.* A sermon preached at Honiton on occasion of a dreadful fire, 21st August, 1765, which consumed 140 houses, a chapel, and a meeting-house. By R. Harrison, 4to, 1765.—Shaw, in his *Tour to the West of England*, p. 444., mentions a dreadful fire, 19th July, 1747, which reduced three parts of the town to ashes.—Lysons' *Devonshire*, p. 281., states that Honiton

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has been visited by the destructive calamity of fire in 1672, 1747, 1754, and 1765. The last mentioned happened on the 21st August, and was the most calamitous; 115 houses were burnt down, and the steeple of Allhallows Chapel, with the school, were destroyed. The damage was estimated at above 10,500*l.*" EDITOR 'N. & Q.' 1st S. viii. 368. 1853.

(B.) [*Schoolmasters*]:—"From the *Report of Commissioners of Inquiry concerning Charities* (vol. iv. p. 14), it appears that the Rev. Richard Lewis was appointed master of the Grammar School at Honition in the year 1801. Can any correspondent or reader of 'N. & Q.' inform me *where* I can find a list of the masters of this school prior to 1801? Or *can any one supply a list* up to the date of the rebuilding of the school-house in 1765? Also, at what date was Philip Prince Master of Honiton School? Any one who could supply these particulars would greatly oblige S. J. B." 1st S. xii. 383. 1855.

(C.) For *Honiton* see also 320, 321.

265. HOOKER.

[*Ancient Philosopher*]:—"Who was the ancient philosopher to whom Hooker alludes in *Eccles. Polity*, b. iii. ch. xi. (iii.)? and the Puritan champion of the Church Service, cited b. v. ch. xxvii. (i.)? MACKENZIE WALCOTT, M.A." 1st S. ix. 77. 1854.

"The ancient philosopher is Philemon: see the passage quoted by the Rev. John Keble, edit. Hooker, 1836, vol. i. p. 496, from *Fragm. Incert.*, xliii., ed. Cler. The Puritan champion is Edward Dering: see his work against Harding, entitled *A Sparing Restraint of many lavish Untruths*, &c., 4to. 1568. EDITOR 'N. & Q." 1st S. ix. 77. 1854.

[*Unpublished Particulars*]:—" . . . . I should . . . . feel greatly indebted for any *unpublished* particulars in the life of the 'Judicious Richard Hooker' after his marriage. . . . . W. HASTINGS KELKE, Drayton Beauchamp, Tring." 1st S. i. 400. 1850.

For *Hooker* see also 51. A. *h.*, 329. A.

266. HORN. 423.
267. HORTON. 91. A.
268. HOTCHKYS. 76. *c.*
269. HOUND. 392.
270. HUDDERSFIELD. 332. *b.*

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271. ? Humming-Bird.

"I was staying at the house of a friend at Uffculme, near Cullompton, in July last year (1853): and one day as I was standing near the porch, which was overgrown with honeysuckle, my attention was attracted by the appearance of a humming-bird, as it appeared, hovering over the flowers. It visited different blossoms in succession, hovering near them, and extracting the honey without alighting, by means of a long proboscis, as undoubted humming-birds are described to do. I have seen humming-birds in North America, but not so small as this, which was no larger than the minute kinds of the torrid zone. The body of it may have been about an inch and a half long. Being anxious to secure so great a prize before it should leave the spot, I approached cautiously, and made a blow at it with the stick I held in my hand. I struck it hard and full; for I felt the blow I gave, and heard the sound. It fell upon the path; but it instantly darted away sideways a yard or more into a flower bed. For half an hour I hunted diligently, and was assisted by others who witnessed the occurrence; but although the search was assiduously made, and renewed afterwards, we never could find the little creature. The whole circumstance only occupied a few seconds, so that there was not much time for observation. To the best of my recollection, it was dark brown in colour —that is, the upper part, which alone is what I remember seeing; the beak, or proboscis, tapering away from the head, and about two-thirds the length of the body. I thought I heard the sound of the wings, and the tone appeared to resemble that of the whirr produced by feathered animals— such, for instance, as that of sparrows in their flight. This peculiar whirr impressed me with the idea that the little creature was a genuine bird, covered with feathers; but I may have been mistaken. Query, What could this have been? Was it a humming-bird, or the hawk-moth? Peter Hutchinson." 1st S. x. 136. 1854.

272. Ilfracombe. 315. *a. c. d.*
273. Imps. 91. A.
274. Inscriptions. 174, 498. A. *a. b.*
275. Iscanus. 29. *b.*, 281.
276. Izaack. 64. *b.*, 191. D. *b. c.*, 353. A. *b.*

277. Jeffrey, Judge.

"*Judge Jeffrey's Ground*:—I have met with a curious instance of traditionary influence in Devonshire, and on

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inquiry find it current in the neighbouring counties; it is this. The children, in playing at a game called, in this part of the country, 'Tom Tiddler's Ground,' . . . . . instead of calling the auriferous territory 'Tom Tiddler's Ground,' style it 'Judge Jeffrey's Ground;' and as the holder of the territory is supposed to be an ogre of vindictive and sanguinary habits, is it supposing too much that the memory of the terrible judge of the 'Black Assize' is still retained in the very sports of the children in the districts over which he exercised his fearful sway? . . . . . S. J. R." 1st S. vi. 432. 1852.

278. JENKINS. 547. A. *b.*

JEWEL, Bishop of Salisbury.

279 (A.) "*Jewell and Hardinge:*—(*a*) What is a Jewell and Hardinge? It occurs in many entries of church goods in olden times, and in churchwardens' accounts. It was evidently a book in great request at one time, as I have noticed it in many entries about the year 1600, described as—

'One boke . . . . Hardinge and Jewell;'

or,—

'Payd for a Jewell and Hardynge.'

But I am not sufficiently versed in ecclesiastical matters to know its contents. R. W. HACKWOOD." 1st S. xii. 267. 1855.

(*b*) "This is one of the works published during the keen controversy between Thomas Harding and the Apologist of the Church of England. Harding was first called forth by the challenge pronounced by Jewel from St. Paul's Cross, in the Lent of 1560. The *Answer* of Harding to that defiance was put forth in January, 1563; and was followed, in about two years and a half, by A Reply to *Mr. Harding's Answer to the Challenge of Bishop Jewel, in Twenty-Seven Articles, 1565;* which produced a rejoinder from Harding. A few months, however, before the publication of this *Reply*, Harding had been again in the field; for his principal work, the Confutation of a *Book called An Apology for the Church of England*, had come forth in April, 1565. The *Confutation* again gave rise to Jewel's great performance, *A Defence of the Apology of the Church of England against Harding*, 1567. In the course of the next year, 1568, Harding published the following work: *A Detection of Sundry foul Errors, Lies, Slanders, Corruptions, and*

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other false Dealings, touching Doctrine, and other Matters, uttered and practised by Mr. Jewel, in a Book entitled a Defence of the Apology, &c. Jewel delayed all notice of this *Detection* till the appearance of the second edition of the *Defence*. This edition was completed in December, 1569, together with a Preface, in which Harding's *Detection* is calmly refuted. The paragraphs, or passages, from Harding's books are always printed before the answers to them; so that the reader is enabled to compare the disputants with each other. See Strype's *Annals*, and Le Bas's *Life of Bishop Jewel*." EDITOR "N. & Q." 1st S. xii. 267. 1855.

(B.) [*Hounds*:—Under the head of "*King's Prerogative and Hunting Bishops*," the following statement occurs respecting Jewel]:—

"It is evident that Bishop Jewel possessed his 'muta canum.' See a curious account of a visit to him by Hermann Falkerzhümer, in the *Zurich Letters*, second series, pp. 84, &c. H. GOUGH, Lincoln's Inn." 1st S. ix. 432. 1854.

(C.) [*Library*]:—"What became of Bishop Jewell's library? Cassan mentions (*Lives of Bishops of Salisbury*, vol. ii. p. 55) that 'He had collected an excellent library of books of all sorts, not excepting the most impertinent of the Popish authors, and here it was that he spent the greatest and the best part of his time.' &c.

Bishop Jewell died Sept. 22, 1571.

In the Account Books of Magdalen College, Oxford, I find the following items:—

'A.D. 1572. Solut. D^no^ Præsidi equitanti Sarisbur. pro libris per billam, iij^li^ xvi^s^

'Solut. pro libris D^ni^ episcopi Sar., c^li^

'A.D. 1574. Solut. per Dom. Præsidem pro libris M^ri^ Jewell xx^li^'

Whether these books were a portion only, or the whole of the library of Bishop Jewell, I am unable to discover; nor am I aware at present whether Bishop Jewell's autograph is in any of the books of Magdalen College Library. The president was Lawrence Humphrey, author of a Life of Jewell. MAGDALENENSIS." 1st S. ii. 54. 1850.

(D.) "*Papers*:—It is generally understood that the papers left by Bishop Jewel were bequeathed to his friend Dr. Garbrand, who published some of them. The rest, it has been stated, passed from Dr. G. into the possession of New

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College, Oxford. Are any of these still preserved in the library of that college? or, if not, can any trace be found of the persons into whose hands they subsequently came, or of the circumstances under which they were lost to New College? A. H." 1st S. i. 351. 1850.

(E.) "*Prayer in One Tongue*:—Bishop Jewel, in his celebrated sermon preached at Paul's Cross, quotes the following argument as used by Gerson, sometime Chancellor of Paris:

'There is but one only God; ergo, all nations throughout the world must pray to him in one tongue.'

The editor of the Parker Society's edition of Jewel cannot discover the argument in the works of Gerson; but if any of your readers can point out where it may be found, I shall be much obliged. N. E. R. (a Subscriber.)" 1st S. iv. 116. 1851.

(F.) [*Works*]: (*a*) "I send, with some explanation, a few Notes, taken from among others that I had marked in my copy of the edition of Bishop Jewel's Works, issued by the Oxford university press, 8 vols. 8vo., 1848.

Vol. ii. p. 352, l. 6. has, in Jewel's *Reply to Harding's Answer*, article v., 'Of Real Presence,' seventh division, the following: 'And therefore St. Paul saith, 'That I live now, I live in the flesh of the Son of God.' To this the following is appended by the Oxford editor:

'Galatians ii. 20.' . . . . And the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me?' It cannot be denied that Jewel is here guilty, to say the least, of very unjustifiable carelessness.'

The true state of the case is, that Bishop Jewel, in the original *Reply to Harding*, published in his lifetime, 1565, had given the text with entire correctness—'That I live now in the flesh, I live in the faith of the Son of God:' but this, long after the Bishop's death, was misprinted in the editions of 1609 and 1611; The Oxford Jewel, moreover, of 1848 does not even profess to follow the editions of 1609 and 1611; and it is stated, vol. i. p. 130, that 'this edition of the Reply in passing through the press has been collated with the original one of 1565.' Still in this vital case, where the very question was, what Jewel himself had written, it is plain that the edition of 1565 was never consulted. The roughness of the censure might surely in any case have been spared. It may be noted (vol. iii. p. 195. Oxf. Edit.),

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that Jewel in 1568 wrote to Archbishop Parker: 'I beseech your grace to give strait orders that the Latin Apology be not printed again in any case, before either your grace or some other have well perused it. *I am afraid of printers: their tyranny is intolerable.*'

In vol. iv. p. 92, l. 1. *et seq.*, in the *Recapitulation of Jewel's Apology*, the words of the original Latin, 'quid de Spiritu sancto,' marked in the following extract by Italics, are omitted in the Oxford edition: 'Exposuimus tibi universam rationem religionis nostræ, quid de Deo Patre, quid de ejus unico Filio Jesu Christo, quid *de Spiritu sancto*, quid de ecclesia, quid de sacramentis . . . sentiamus.' And in vol. vi. p. 523, l. 6, where Bishop Jewel gives that passage as rendered by Lady Bacon, namely: 'We have declared at large unto you the very whole manner of our religion, what our opinion is of God the Father, and of his only Son Jesus Christ, *of the Holy Ghost*, of the church, of the sacrament,' the following is appended:—'In the Latin Apology no words occur here relating to the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity.'

A similar notice is also given in vol. viii. p. 385.—The fact is, that the words 'quid de Spiritu sancto' do occur in the Latin Apology, 1562, which was the first edition of that work, and, so far as I am aware, the only edition printed in Jewel's life, from which too the Oxford reprint professes to be taken, and a copy of which any one can consult in the British Museum. Those words will also be found, within six or eight pages of the end, in the various later editions, as for example those of Vautrollier, London, 1851; Forster, Amberg, 1606; Boler, London, 1637; and Dring, London, 1692 (which are in my own possession); as also in the edition's of Bowier, 1584; Chard, 1591; and Hatfield, London, 1599. The editions of Jewel's works printed in 1609 and 1611, edited by Fuller, under the sanction of Archbishop Bancroft, did not contain the Latin Apology. There is not a shadow of authority for the omission. All the modern reprints too, with which I am acquainted, only excepting a small edition printed at Cambridge, 1818, p. 140, give the words in question. It would seem that the Oxford editor must have used the very inaccurate reprint of 1818, for supplying copy for the printer,* and reference either to that first edition of 1562, which the reprint of 1848 pro-

* "I have observed another error in the Cambridge edition, 1818, p. 115, last line but five, 'domum manere,' instead of the classical reading, 'domi manere.' That misprint of 1818 is followed by the Oxford edition of 1848, vol. iv. p. 77. l. 12, Apol. pars vi. cap. 8, div. 1."

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fesses to follow, or to any early edition, even in this case, where the context clearly requires the omitted words, was neglected.

I have said that the Oxford Jewel of 1848 professes to follow the Latin Apology of 1562, as a copy of the Latin title, with the date 1562, is prefixed to the Oxford edition, vol. iv. p. 1; but the colophon appended to that reprint, p. 95, is strangely dated 1567. Was there any Latin edition of the Apology printed in that year? And, if so, why are different dates given for the title and colophon of the Oxford reprint? One can only conclude that the date 1567 is itself an error.

The following is printed in vol. viii. p. 290, l. 11, from Lady Bacon's translation of Jewel's Apology, 1564, part ii. ch. 7, div. 5: 'As touching the Bishop of Rome, for all his parasites state and ringly sing these words in his ears, 'To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' &c. This case is different from those mentioned above, in the respect that the words 'state and ringly' do occur in the printed edition of 1564; but it scarcely need be observed that the words 'state and ringly' are a misprint for 'flatteringly,' when it is added that Jewel himself, in his revised edition of Lady Bacon's translation, in the *Defence of the Apology*, 1567 and 1570, reads: 'for all that his flattering parasites sing these words in his ears.' The original Latin is 'quamvis illi suaviter cantilentur illa verba a parasitis suis.'

There are also various errors and several omissions in the Oxford Jewel, in the verification of the numerous references. Among various notes (I would however add) which are inaccurate, and several that appear to me superfluous, there are some which are most useful, as, for example, that in vol. ii. p. 195, on the Gloss in the Canon Law, 'Our Lord God the Pope.' COLET." 1st S. iv. 225. 1851.

(*b*) "Colet speaks of the editions of Jewel published in 1609 and 1611 as 'edited by Fuller.' On meeting with the statement elsewhere, I supposed it to be a mistake, as Fuller was born in 1608; but I found it apparently countenanced by the notice of Jewel in Fuller's *Abel Redivivus* (Camb. 1651, p. 313), I was much puzzled, until, on turning to the Introduction, § ii., I discovered that the writer of that notice, and editor of the folios, was not *Fuller* but *Featley*. J. C. R." 1st S. iv. 301. 1851.

(G.) For *Jewel* see also 52. A. *a. b. c. d. e. f. g. h.*

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280. Jones's Botanical Tour.

(A.) "*Jones's 'Botanical Tour through Cornwall and Devon'*: (*a*) This book was not published in London. Can you name the place of publication? An early reply will greatly oblige . . . . Tempera et Scribe." 1st S. xii. 29. 1855.

(*b*) "This work is by the Rev. J. P. Jones, one of the editors of *Flora Devoniensis*. It was printed at Exeter in 1820, and we suspect only for private circulation, as it is not to be found in our public libraries." Editor "N. & Q." 1st S. xii. 29. 1855.

(B.) For *Jones* see also 132. A. *b*., 187. A.

281. Joseph Iscanus.

"*Joseph of Exeter de Bello Antiocheno.*—Joseph of Exeter, or Iscanus, was the author of two poems: 1st, *De Bello Trojano;* 2ndly, *De Bello Antiocheno.* The *first* has been printed and published. The *second* was only known by *fragments* to Leland. See his work *De Scrip. Brit.* p. 239. Mr. Warton, in his *History of English Poetry* (1774), affirms, that Mr. Wise, the Radcliffe librarian, had informed him that a MS. copy of the latter was in the library of the Duke of Chandos at *Canons.* Query, where is it? It was not at Stowe. It is not in Lord Ashburnham's collection, nor in the British Museum; nor in the Bodleian Library, nor in the archives of Sir Thomas Phillipps. For the honour of the nation, we earnestly hope that it may be discovered and committed to the press. Exoniensis." 1st S. iii. 447. 1851.

282. July. 34. A.

283. Kelley.

"*Armorial Bearings*:—The coat of arms [Sa. a lion ramp. or, betw., three fleur-de-lys ermine. Crest, a sea-horse. Motto, 'Fortior vi virtus.' See 1st S. iv. 58.] . . . is given by Robson and by Burke to the family of Kelley of Terrington co. Devon, and the crests are similar, but I find no authority for the coat in any work relating to that county. The ancient family, Kelly of Kelly, in Devon, bore a very different coat and crest. There is no such place as Terrington in the county, unless Torrington be meant, but no family of note bearing the name of Kelley had possessions there. I conclude, therefore, that

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there must be a mistake as to the county. S. S. S." 1st S. iv. 330. 1851.

284. KENNERLEIGH.

"*The Manor of Kennerleigh, near Crediton in Devonshire, lost by a Game at Cards*:—In the year 1848 I was staying with a friend at Kennerleigh, who knowing I was fond of old places and old things, took me to Dowrish House, belonging to Captain Clayfield, built in the time of King John, the centre only remaining. It is approached through a gate-house. Mrs. Clayfield showed us some portraits of the Dowrish family, and a marble table inlaid with cards and counters, showing the two hands of Piquet held by Mr. Dowrish and an ancestor of the present Sir Stafford Northcote who were playing together, when Mr. Dowrish, thinking he had won the game, betted the Manor of Kennerleigh, and lost it. The Northcotes hold it at the present time. The marble table was made to commemorate this event. JULIA R. BOCKETT, Southcote Lodge." 1st S. xii. 102. 1855.

285. KENTISBERE. 332. *a.*
286. KENTON. 532. B.
287. KING. 295. *b.*
288. KINGSTEIGNTON. 176. *c.*, 187. D.
289. KINGWELL. 230. *a.*
290. KIRTON. 136. A. B.
291. KNOWLES. 392.
292. LACY. 192. D. *b.*
293. LADDER. 457.

294. LAKE FAMILY.

"Information is solicited respecting the ancestors, relations, and localities of the three undermentioned persons, but more particularly as to the following points.

James Lake, where born and when? He was a canon of Exeter, died Sept. 30, 1678, buried in the cross aisle behind the communion table in the cathedral.

Mary Gibbyns, widow. What was her maiden name? She was married to the above-named James Lake, and had issue Edward Lake, born at Exeter, Nov. 1642, D.D., Archdeacon and Canon of Exeter, Chaplain and Tutor to the Princesses Mary and Anne, daughters of the Duke of York, afterwards James II., and whose *Diary* was published by the Camden Society in 1846; two other sons and a daughter.

Margaret. What was her maiden name, where born, when and where married? She was wife of Archdeacon Lake just mentioned, was born in 1638, and died April 4, 1712, her husband Feb. 1, 1704, both buried in St. Katherine's Church, now pulled down; leaving, among others, a daughter Frances,

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married to the Rev. William Taswell, D.D, Rector of Newington Butts, &c.

And also, what relation, if any, was Archdeacon Lake to Sir Edward Lake, created baronet by Charles I. 'for his loyalty and valour signalized at Edge Hill fight,' as appears by the tomb of his nephew, Thomas Lake, Esq., Utter Barrister of the Middle Temple, in the Temple Church? . . . . . JOHN TANSWELL, 5, King's Bench Walk, Temple." 1st S. xi. 282. 1855.

295. LAMBERT, General.

(*a*) "Mr. Hallam (*Court. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 26, ed. 1850), after some remarks on the execution of Vane, who was brought to trial together with Lambert in 1661, asserts that the latter, 'whose submissive behaviour had furnished a contrast with that of Vane, was sent to Guernsey, and remained a prisoner for thirty years.' Mr. Hallam does not quote his authority for this statement, which I also find in the older biographical dictionaries. There exists, however, in the library of the Plymouth Athenæum, a MS. record which apparently contradicts it. There is a volume called *Plimmouth Memoirs collected by James Yonge*, 1684. It contains 'a Catalogue of all the Mayors, together with the memorable occurrences in their respective years,' beginning in 1440. Yonge himself lived in Plymouth, and the latter entries are therefore made from his own knowledge. There are two concerning Lambert:

'1667. *Lambert, the arch-rebell, brought prisoner to this Iland.*' (The Island of St. Nicholas at the entrance of the harbour, fortified from a very early period.)

'1683, Easter day. My Lord Dartmouth arrived in Plimm^{o} from Tangier. In March, Sir G. Jeffry, the famously (Query, *infamously*) loyal Lord Chief Justice, came hither from Launceston assize: lay at the Mayor's: viewed ye citadells, Mt Edgecumbe, &c.

'The winter of this yeare proved very seveare. East wind, frost, and snow, continued three moneths: so that ships were starved in the mouth of the channell, and almost all the cattel famisht. Y^{e} fish left ye coast almost five moneths. All provisions excessive deare: and had we not had a frequent supply from ye East, corne would have been at 30^{s} per bushell,—above 130,000 bushells being imported hither, besides what went to Dartm^{o}, Fowy, &c.

'The Thames was frozen up some moneths, so that it became a small citty, with boothes, coffee houses, taverns,

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glasse houses, printing, bull-baiting, shops of all sorts, and whole streetes made on it. The birdes of the aire died numerously. *Lambert, that old rebell, dyed this winter on Plimm^o Island, where he had been prisoner 15 years and mo.*'

The trial of Lambert took place in 1661. He may have been sent first to Guernsey, but could only have remained there until removed in 1667 to Plymouth.

Lambert's removal to Plymouth has, I believe, been hitherto unnoticed. Probably it was thought a safer (and certainly, if he were confined in the little island of St. Nicholas it was a severer) prison than Guernsey. RICHARD JOHN KING." 1st S. iv. 339. 1851.

(*b*) "Myles Halhead, as member of the Society of Friends, being at Plymouth in the year 1673, conceived that it was his duty to pay a visit to Lambert, who was then a prisoner on the island of St. Nicholas in Plymouth Sound. Myles' own account of this visit and of his conversation with Lambert may interest the readers of 'N. & Q.,' not only inasmuch as it illustrates the valuable Note made by Mr. RICHARD JOHN KING, but also because it places the character of the unfortunate old general in a favorable light. The account runs thus:

'So I went to a Friend to desire him to procure a vessel that I might pass over to a little island near the King's great fort in Plymouth, that I might speak to John Lambert, who was a prisoner in that island, and a vessel we procured and passed to the island the same day, and there we found a strong guard of soldiers. A lieutenant asked me, What was my business to the island? I said I desire to speak to John Lambert: and then he asked me, If I was ever a captain under his command? And I said, No. The soldiers were very quiet and moderate: I desired the lieutenant to bring me to John Lambert; and so he did; and when I came before him I said, Friend, is thy name John Lambert? And he said, Yea: then said I unto him, Friend, I pray thee hear what the servant of the Lord hath to say to thee.

Friend, the Lord God made use of thee and others for the deliverance of His people; and when you cryed to Him He delivered you in your distresses, as at Dunbar and other places, and gave you an opportunity into your hands to do good, and you promised what great things you would do for the Lord's people; but truly John Lambert you soon forgot your promises you made to the Lord in that day and time of your great distress, and turned the edge of your sword against the

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Lord's servants and hand-maids whom He sent forth to declare His eternal truth; and made laws, and consented to laws, and suffered and permitted laws to be made against the Lord's people.

Then John Lambert answered and said, Friend, I would have you to know, that *some of us never made nor consented to laws to persecute you nor none of your friends, for persecution we ever were against.*

I answered and said, John Lambert, it may be so; but the Scripture of truth is fulfilled by the best of you; for although that thee and some others have not given your consent to make laws against the Lord's people, yet ye suffered and permitted it to be made and done by others; and when power and authority was in your hands, you might but have spoken the word and the servants and hand-maids of the Lord might have been delivered out of the devourer's hands; but *none was found amongst you that would be seen to plead the cause of the innocent;* so the Lord God of life was grieved with you, because you sleighted the Lord and His servants, and began to set up your self-interest, and lay field to field, and house to house, and make your names great in the earth; then the Lord took away your power and authority, your manhood and your boldness, and caused you to flee before your enemies, and your hearts fainted for fear, and some ended their days in grief and sorrow, and some lie in holes and caves to this day; so the Lord God of Heaven and Earth will give a just reward to every one according to his works: so my dear Friend, prize the great love of God to thee, who hath not given thy life into the hands of the devourers, but hath given thee thy life for a prey, and time to prepare thyself, that thou mayst end thy days in peace. . . Glory and honour, and living eternal praises be given and returned to the Lord God and the Lamb for ever.

So when I had cleared myself, he desired me to sit down, and so I did; and he called for beer, and gave me to drink; and when he had done, he said to me, Friend, I do believe thou speakest to me in love, and so I take it. Then he asked me, If I was at Dunbar fight? I answered, No. Then he said to me, How do you know what great danger we were in at that time? I answered, A little time after the fight I came that way and laid me down on the side of the mountain for the space of two hours, and viewed the town of Dunbar and the ground about it, where the English army lay; how great the ocean sea was on the one hand of them, and the hills and mountains on the other hand, and the great Scotch

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army before and behind them: then I took it into a serious consideration the great danger the English were in, and thought within myself, how greatly Englishmen were engaged to the great Lord of life for their deliverance, to serve Him in truth and uprightness of heart all the days of their appointed time. Truly, John, I never saw thy face before that I knew thee, although I have been brought before many of our English commanders in the time of Oliver Cromwell.

Then John said, I pray you what commanders did you know? I knew Fleetwood, and have been before him when he was deputy in Ireland, and I knew General Disborrow, and have often been before him; and I knew Collonel Phenick, and hath been before him when he was governour of Edenbrough and the town of Leeth, in Scotland, and many more.

John Lambert said, I knew the most of these men to be very moderate, and ever were against persecution.

And I said, Indeed they were very moderate, and would not be much seen to persecute or be severe with the Lord's people; but truly John, they could suffer and permit others to do it, and took little notice of the suffering of the people of God; so *none were found to plead our cause*, but the Lord God of life and love. Glory be given and returned to his name for evermore.

Then Lambert answered and said, Altho' you and your friends suffered persecution, and some hardship in that time, your cause therein is never the worse for that. I answered and said, That was very true, but let me tell thee John, in the plainness of my heart, that 's no thanks to you, but glory to the Lord for ever.

So he, and his wife, and two of his daughters, and myself, and a Friend of Plimouth, discoursed two hours or more in love and plainness of heart; for my heart was full of love to him, his wife, and children; and when I was free, I took my leave of them, and parted with them in love.' *Sufferings and Passages of Myles Halhead*, 1690. . . . . J. LEWELYN CURTIS." 1st S. vi. 103. 1852.

(*c*) "*General Lambert*:—The following traces him a little later. In the *Macclesfield Correspondence* (vol. ii. p. 31.) is a letter from the Rev. Thomas Baker to Collins, as is supposed, dated Sept. 4, '78, which ends thus:

'Major-General Lambert, prisoner at Plymouth, hath sent me these problems to be solved. I desire the solutions of them (having sent mine to him):

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'Prob. 1. $a : b :: c : d$.

$$aa + bb + cc + dd = 250.$$
$$b + 5 = c.$$
$$a + 9 = d.$$

Qu. a, b, c, d?

'Prob. 2. $aa + bb + cc + dd = 756$.

$$b + 6 = c.$$
$$b - 9 = a.$$

Qu. a, b, c, d?
M." 1st S. vi. 183. 1852.

296. LAMMAS FAIR. 191. D. *d.*
297. LANGETON. 332. *a.*
298. LANGWORTHY. 412. A.
299. LARDNER. 98.

300. LAVINGTON, Bishop of Exeter.

Coat of Arms: (*a*) "I should feel indebted to any of your correspondents who would give me the coats of arms of the following prelates . . . . . .
Lavington, Exeter, 1747. . . . . .
MACKENZIE WALCOTT, M.A." 1st S. xi. 124. 1855.

(*b*) "*Lavington*, Exeter, 1747. Argent, a saltire gules, on a chief of the second three boars' heads or. F. M." 1st S. xi. 214. 1855.

(*c*) "The monumental tablet to Bishop Lavington, in the south aisle to the choir of Exeter Cathedral, which bears an elegant but over-laudatory inscription, exhibits the following as the coat armour of the bishop impaled with that of the see: Argent, a saltire gules; on a chief of the last three boars' heads couped or. J. D. S." 1st S. xi. 235. 1855.

301. LENT.

"*Lent Crocking*:—The children in this neighbourhood have a custom of going round to the different houses in the parish, on the Monday before Shrove Tuesday, generally by twos and threes, and chanting the following verses, by way of extracting from the inmates sundry contributions of eggs, flour, butter, halfpence, &c., to furnish out the Tuesday's feast:—

'Lent Crock, give a pancake,
Or a fritter, for my labour,
Or a dish of flour, or a piece of bread,
Or what you please to render.
I see by the latch,
There 's something to catch;
I see by the string,
There 's a good dame within.
Trap, trapping throw,
Give me my mumps, and I 'll be go' (gone).

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The above is the most popular version, and the one indigenous to the place; but there is another set, which was introduced some few years ago by a late schoolmistress, who was a native of another part of the county, where her version was customary:—

'Shrove-tide is nigh at hand,
And we are come a-shroving;
Pray, Dame, give something,
An apple, or a dumpling,
Or a piece of crumple cheese,
Of your own making;
Or a piece of pancake.
Trip, trapping throw;
Give me my mumps, and I'll be go.'

PHILIP HEDGELAND, Bridestow, Okehampton." 1st S.v.77. 1852.

302. LEWIS. 264. B.

303. LILY OF THE VALLEY.

[In Devonshire] "it is not considered safe to plant a bed of lilies of the valley; the person doing so will probably die in the course of the next twelve months. R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 512. 1850.

304. LITTLEHAM. 51. C.

305. LITTLE SILVER.

"There are several places in Devonshire so called, villages or hamlets. It is said, they are always situated in the immediate neighbourhood of a Roman, or some other ancient camp. Hence, some people suppose the name is given to these localities from the number of silver coins frequently found there.

Will any of your correspondents throw light on this subject?

As every one knows, there is also a Silverton in Devonshire —Silver-town *par excellence*. Is it in any way connected with the 'Little Silvers'? A. C. M., Exeter." 1st S. viii. 150. 1853.

306. LORD'S PRAYER. 192. E.
307. LOVER. 556.
308. LYDFORD. 63., 528 *b*.
309. LYNTON. 195. A.
310. LYSONS. 543. B. *c*.

311. LYTE, Farnham Maxwell.

(A.) [*Collodion*]. "In 'N. & Q.' Feb. 18 [vol. ix. pp. 156–8], Mr. F. MAXWELL LYTE furnished our readers with a detailed plan of his mode of preparing collodion. In that

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article, written from Pau, that gentleman was so good as to promise us that when he had an opportunity he would send us a couple of specimens of his workmanship. He has more than fulfilled his promise, for we have received from him this week four photographs, which, for general beauty and minuteness of detail, cannot be surpassed. The subjects are, I. Study of Trees, No. 2; II. Study of Trees, No. 5, Old Pollard Oak; III. Study of Trees, Peasants collecting Leaves; IV. Old Church Porch, Morlâas, Monogram of the Eleventh Century. Mr. Lyte, who is a first-rate chemist, has shown himself by these to be also a first-rate practical photographer. From him, therefore, the art may look for much future progress." EDITOR "N. & Q." 1st S. ix. 333. 1854.

(B.) [*New Instantaneous Process*]: . . . . . "By Mr. Lyte's kindness, who has shown us a number of the pictures taken by this new process, we are enabled to bear our testimony to its beautiful results. We are glad to learn also, that there is a probability that the admirers of photography may soon be enabled to purchase specimens of the productions of this accomplished amateur, who is about to return to the Pyrenees for the purpose of securing photographic views of the splendid scenery and various objects of interest which are to be found there." EDITOR "N. & Q." 1st S. ix. 510. 1854.

312. LYTTLETON, Dean of Exeter.

(*a*) "*MS. Diary of the Convention Parliament in* 1660.—The editors of the *Parliamentary History* give some passages from a MS. Diary of the Convention Parliament of the Restoration, and state that the Diary was communicated to them by the Rev. Charles Lyttleton, Dean of Exeter (vol. iv. p. 73). I am anxious to know where this Diary now is, and if it may be seen by C. H." 1st S. i. 470. 1850.

(*b*) "*The Great Charter, and that of the Forest,* 9 *Henry III.: Judge Blackstone's Remarks upon the Character and Authenticity of Dean Lyttleton's Copy*:—In Clitherow's 'Life of Sir William Blackstone,' prefixed to the edition of his *Commentaries* in 1843 (4 vols. 12mo), it is stated that Dr. Lyttleton, Dean of Exeter, and afterwards Bishop of Carlisle, possessed a curious Roll containing these Charters, which he showed to Judge Blackstone, the editor of the printed copy of them; but he, not deeming it to be original, did not adopt or use the various readings of that Roll. The Dean vindicated

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their authenticity in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries in 1761, and Blackstone delivered an answer thereto, dated May 28, 1762, which was read before the Society, and contained much antiquarian criticism, but had never then (1781) been made public.

The MS. was some years since remaining in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, and I am informed was examined with a view to being published; but that it was discovered to be at that time in *print*, though my informant forgets *where*. The entry on the minutes of the Society, it seems, contains nearly a *verbatim* transcript; but can any of your readers inform me *where* the remarks of Blackstone upon the subject are to be found already in print? G." 1st S. xi. 244. 1855.

(*c*) "Both Dean Lyttleton's 'Memoir concerning the autheticity of his Magna Carta,' and Mr. Blackstone's 'Memoir in Answer to the late Dean of Exeter, now Bishop of Carlisle, May 29, 1762,' will be found in Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. ii. pp. 354, 357." EDITOR "N. & Q." 1st S. xi. 244. 1855.

313. MACAULAY. 547. A.

314. MAGPIE.

[In Devonshire] "it is proper to make a low bow whenever a single magpie is seen. R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 512. 1850.

315. MAIDEN-HAIR FERN.

(*a*) "Allow me to add to" . . . [the] "list of the localities of the lovely Adiantum (*Capillus Veneris*), that of Ilfracombe, Devon, in England, where, though rare, it exhibits the greatest luxuriance of growth. . . . W. J. BERNHARD SMITH, Temple." 1st S. vi. 108. 1852.

(*b*) "The only species of the genus *Adiantum* that has been discovered in Britain . . . . . is the *Capillus Veneris*. It is found in several parts of . . . . . Devonshire . . . . . EIRIONNACH." 1st S. vi. 180. 1852.

(*c*) "It may be useful to add the following localities as those in which the Adiantum (*Capillus Veneris*) has been found:

Ilfracombe, Rillidge Point, White Pebble Bay, in the North of Devon.—*Newman*.

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Brinham [no doubt a misprint for "Brixham"], South of Devon.—*Ibid.*

SELEUCUS." 1st S. vi. 180. 1852.

(*d*) "I beg to add two specific localities to the lists you have already furnished where this graceful *Adiantum* is to be found.

1. "Ilfracombe, near the Whistling Stone, North Devon. I found it here, in company with *Asplenium Marinum*, in great abundance, fringing the rocks which overhang the small cove, about twelve feet from the shingle.

2. Ilfracombe, Sampson's cave, North Devon, ... 'the maiden-hair spleenwort,' grows here in great quantities: but *Adiantum Capillus veneris* grows here also, but very sparingly. C. MANSFIELD INGLEBY, Birmingham." 1st S. vi. 280. 1852.

316. MALHERBE. 192. D. *a.*
317. MANATON. 227.
318. MARGARET. 532. C.
319. MARRIAGE. 194. *a.*

320. MARWOODE, John.

(*a*) "A house in the town of Honiton, Devon, has the following inscription carved above the dining-room mantelpiece:

'John. Marwood. Gēt. Phisition. Bridget. Wife. Buylded.'

From a marble tablet in the porch, J. M. appears to have been 'Gentleman Physician' to Queen Elizabeth. Any information respecting him will be acceptable to C.P.PH.***"

(*b*) "Dr. Thomas Marwood, of Honiton, was a physician of the first eminence in the West of England, and succeeded in effecting a cure in a diseased foot of the Earl of Essex, for which he received from Queen Elizabeth, as a reward for his professional skill, an estate near Honiton. From an inscription on his tomb in the parish church, it appears that 'he died the 18th Sept., 1617, aged *above* 105.' The house mentioned by our correspondent was erected in 1619 by John Marwood, who was also a physician, and by Bridget his wife. For further particulars respecting the family of the Marwoods, see *Gentleman's Magazine*, vols. lxi. p. 608.; lxiii. 113; lxxix. 3; lxxx. pt. i. 429; pt. ii. 320." EDITOR "N. & Q." 1st S. iii. 450. 1851.

321. MARWOOD, Thomas.

"In the old church of Honiton, co. Devon, is a monument with the following inscription:

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'Here lieth the body of THOMAS MARWOOD, gent., who practised physick and chirurgery about seventy-five years; and being zealous of good works, gave certain houses, and bequeathed by his will to the poor of Honiton 10*l.*; and being aged above one hundred and five years, departed in the Catholick faith, September ye 18th anno domini 1617.'

The physician thus commemorated was in many points of view a person of considerable interest. To say nothing of the astounding period (seventy-five years) during which he practised physic, and the patriarchal age at which he arrived, he is the earliest physician practising in the county of Devon of whom we have any records; and was, as we learn from another monument in the same church (to the memory of his great-grand-daughter Bridget, relict of Edward Ford, Bachelor of Physick), physician to Queen Elizabeth. His grandson Thomas, and great-grandson James, were also of the medical profession: the former resided at Honiton. And it was in his house, still standing, that King Charles I., in his progress towards the west, took up his quarters, and passed the night of Thursday, July 25, 1644. To these two physicians, a late resident in the house, and a descendant *ex parte materna* of the Marwood family, the Rev. William John Tucker, refers in his poem entitled *Honiton Hill*:—

> 'Here Marwood liv'd, my mother bore that name—
> Pardon the boast: 'twas from that line I came.
> Still on the house he built, his name is seen,
> The fam'd physician to the Virgin Queen.
> Inviolate his loyalty he kept;
> Under his roof the royal martyr slept.'

I have reason to think that the second Thomas Marwood, who had the honour of receiving Charles I., had been physician to King James I.; and that many records yet remain in private hands of this family of distinguished physicians. I am engaged collecting materials for a History of the Medical Worthies of Devon, and should be obliged could any of the readers of 'N. & Q.' favour me with any particulars of these physicians, or refer me to the records, if such there be, above alluded to. Doubtless, information could be afforded by some of your Devonshire correspondents.

James Marwood, M.D., the great-grandson of the 'physician to the Virgin Queen,' was buried in the church of the neighbouring parish of Widworthy. W. MUNK, M.D., 26, Finsbury Place." 1st S. xii. 203. 1855.

322. MARY TAVY. 250., 480. A.

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323. Mathew Family.

(*a*) *Mathew:* " . . . . . The descent of a family of the name [of Matthew] . . . . . in an old recueil of Devonshire families, is headed 'nuper de Wallia;' and a visitation of that county ascribes their bearing (a stork) to a marriage with an heir of Starkey, which I have been unable to verify . . . . I doubt not that many of your readers . . . . . can readily answer my Query, and I trust to their kindness to do so. B. Birkenhead." 1st S. ix. 222. 1854.

(*b*) " . . . . . It is extraordinary how shy some men seem to be of their *cognomen* and habitat. . . . . B. of Birkenhead asks about the family of Mathew. A great-great-grandmother of mine was of that Devon family, and I should be delighted to learn more than I know of her, and perhaps B. of Birkenhead might instruct me. Do try to draw him from his *cover*. H. T. Ellacombe, Rectory, Clyst St. George, Topsham, Devon." 1st S. ix. 289, 1854.

(*c*) " Mr. Ellacombe will find by the Heralds' Visitation that *both* of the West of England branches settled before 1650 in Cornwall, the one at Tresingher, the other at Milton; but that of the former, William married Elizabeth Wellington, and John married Rebecca Soame, both reverting to settle in Devonshire. . . . . B., Birkenhead." 1st S. ix. 551. 1854.

324. May. 34. A.
325. Maynard. 245. A. *b.*
326. Meath. 212. *c.*
327. Membury. 441.
328. Mint. 191. E.

329. Miserable.

"*Miserable* is very commonly used in Devonshire in the signification of *miserly*, with strange effect until one becomes used to it. Hooker the Judicious, a Devonshire man, uses the word in this sense in the *Eccl. Polity*, book v. ch. lxv. p. 21:

'By means whereof it cometh also to pass that the mean which is virtue seemeth in the eyes of each extreme an extremity; the liberal-hearted man is by the opinion of the prodigal *miserable*, and by the judgment of the *miserable*, lavish.' J. M. B., Tunbridge Wells." 1st S. vii. 544. 1853.

330. Moles.

"It is believed in Devonshire that moles begin to work

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with the flow, and leave off with the ebb of the tide. F. S. Q." 1st S. iii. 74. 1851.

331. MONDAY. 160. A.

332. MONUMENTAL BRASSES.

(*a*) " . . . . . I trust a very slight sketch of . . . . . [the monumental brasses] left in Devon may not prove too lengthy for your pages. . . . . The parishes in the churches, of which brasses remain are arranged alphabetically for the convenience of reference.

Atherington. A brass consisting of three figures, on a knight in plate armour and two ladies, commemorating members of the Bassett family. Date, A.D. 1586.

Bigbury. The effigy of a lady in a heart-shaped head dress. The male figure has been removed. The slab is *powdered* with scrolls bearing 'Jhu mercy,' 'Ladye helpe.' Date —.

Braunton. Here is a very curious brass of Lady Elizabeth Bowcer, wyfe of Edward Cheechester, Esq. She is kneeling before a desk, and from her head, incised in the stone in which the brass is embedded, is a cross. Date, August 23, 1548.

Chittlehampton. In this church is a brass consisting of three figures, a civilian and two females of the Cobleigh family. Date, 1480.

Clist St. George. A brass of the seventeenth century, in memory of Julian Osborne, who is represented kneeling before a desk, on which is an open book. Date, 1614.

Clovelly. In this church is a most curious brass of George Cary, who is represented in full armour save a helmet, the head being bare, with his hands joined in prayer. The figure is lying on a richly ornamented *incised* cross, which has at its base a coat of arms, also incised, being three wings, two and one. There is an inscription round which states it to have been the burial-place of Hugo Myghel. Michelstow bore, Sable, three wings argent, two and one. The cross and inscription are very much earlier than the brass, which bears date 1540. Altogether this is a most curious monument.

Dartmouth, St. Saviour's Church. A very fine brass of Sir John Hawley and his two wives; date circa 1334. This is engraved in Mr. Boutell's *Monumental Brasses of England.*

Dartmouth, St. Saviour's Church. A female figure in a heart-shaped headdress, without date or inscription.

Dartmouth, St. Saviour's Church. An effigy of Gilbart Staplehill, once mayor of the town, in a civilian's furred

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robe; a very good specimen of costume. The date is gone from the brass. He died on 15th Feb., 1637.

Dartmouth, St. Petrock's Church. A brass dated 1609, to the memory of John Roupe Merchant in the costume of a civilian.

Ermington. Here is a brass plate, on which are three figures, a male in a civilian's dress, and two females kneeling at desks, on which are open books. They represent William Strachleigh and Anne his wife, and Christian, their only daughter. Date, 1583.

Exeter Cathedral. Here is the splendid brass of Sir Peter Courtenay, Knight of the Garter, in full armour under a canopy. Date, 1455. This is engraved in the *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society.* Here is also in the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, a finely executed brass of William Langston, a canon of that church. He is represented in a rich cope fastened by a morse; from between the hands joined in prayer rises a graceful scroll, on which are these words: 'Dñe Jhū scdm actū meū noli me iudicare.'

Filleigh. A brass to the memory of Richard Fortescue, who is represented kneeling with a helmet and gauntlet at his feet. Date, 1570.

St. Giles, near Torrington. A fine brass of Alyenore Pollard. Date, 1430.

Haccombe. Here are a series of brasses of the Carew family, five in number. The first is Nicholas Carew, a splendid figure in plate armour. Date, 1469. The second, Thomas Carew, in plate armour. Date, 1586. The third, Maria Carew. Date, 1589. The fourth, Elizabeth Carew, A.D. 1611. The fifth consists of figures, and a long inscription to the memory of Thomas Carew and Ann his wife, who died the 6th and 8th December, 1656.

Harford. Here is a brass of Thomas Williams, Esq., in armour, his head bare, and resting on a tilting helmet. The date is 1566.

Kentisbear. Here are two figures of John Whiting, in armour, and Anne his wife, date 1629.

W. R. CRABBE. East Wonford, Heavitree, near Exeter." 1st S. xii. 121. 1855.

(*b*) "*Ottery St. Mary.* In this church are three figures in brass of members of the Sherman family. The dates of two remain, 1542 and 1583.

Otterton. Here are two brass plates, on each of which are arms with figures at the side, in memory of members of the Duke family. 1641.

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Petrockstow. In this church is a curious brass, containing twelve male and eleven female children, all kneeling, in memory of Henry Rolle and Mary his wife. 1591.

Stoke-in-Teignhead. Here is a very fine brass of a priest, without name or date remaining. It is engraved in Mr. Boutell's work; he assigns as a date circa 1375.

Shillingford. Under an arch in this church is a brass plate, on which is represented Sir William Huddersfield and his wife Dame Kateryn and three children. He is in armour, over which is an heraldic tabard bearing his arms. The mantle of the lady is emblazoned with the bearings of the house of Courtenay. One shield only of five remains, bearing Huddersfield impaling Courtenay, 1499. This is lithographed in Oliver's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities.*

Sandford. Here is a curious though late brass, dated 1604, in memory of Mary Dowish.

Stoke Fleming. In this church is the oldest brass in the county. It commemorates John Corp, who is dressed in a loose gown. Over the right shoulder is a richly ornamented baldrick, whence descends an umlace; the hair is long and curled, and the beard forked. There is a female figure; but the inscription is wanting at the place which would describe her relationship to the male; the word Elyenore alone remains. The whole is surmounted by an elegant battlemented canopy with lantern lights at the ends and in the centre. Date, 1391.

Sampford Peverel. A late brass to the memory of Margaret Lady Poulet, who died 1602.

Thorncombe. Here is a very fine brass to the memory of Sir Thomas Brooke and his wife. Date, 1437.

Tiverton. In this church is the brass of John Greenway, merchant, and Joan his wife. 1529.

Washfield. Here is a late brass plate, on which are the effigies of a man and two women of the Worth family, kneeling at a desk, on which lies an open book; above are the arms of Worth.

Yealmpton. In this church is a very well executed brass to the memory of Sir John Crocker, Knt., cup and standard bearer to King Edward IV. 1508. W. R. CRABBE, East Wonford, Heavitree, Exeter." 1st S. xii. 198. 1855.

333. MOON.

(A.) [*Apples*]:—"It is a very common custom among the farmers and peasantry of Devonshire, to gather in the hoard

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fruit at the 'shrinking of the moon.' I should also add the reason given for this custom, viz. that apples, when bruised in the gathering in, do not decay afterwards. L. DE CAUDEVILLE." 1st S. x. 156. 1854.

(B.) [*New Moon*]:—[It is believed in Devonshire that]

"A new moon over the right shoulder is lucky, over the left shoulder unlucky, and straight before prognosticates good luck to the end of the moon. . . . . .

When you first see the new moon in the new year, take your stocking off from one foot, and run to the next style; when you get there, between the great toe and the next, you will find a hair, which will be the colour of your lover's.

When you first see the new moon after midsummer, go to a stile, turn your back to it, and say,—

> 'All hail, new moon, all hail to thee!
> I prithee good moon, reveal to me
> This night who shall my true love be:
> Who he is, and what he wears,
> And what he does all months and years.'

J. M. (4.)" 1st S. iv. 99. 1851.

(C.) [*Waning Moon*]:—"Hair and nails should always be cut during the waning of the moon. J. M. (4)" 1st S. iv. 99. 1851.

334. MORCHARD BISHOP. 90. *c.*
335. MORGAN. 15.
336. MOTTOES. 432.
337. MOW. 406.
338. MYGHEL. 332. *a.*
339. NAILS. 333. C.
340. NECK. 244.
341. NEWTON ST. CYRES. 212. *c.*
342. NINE STONES. 418.
343. NORTHAM. 90. *c.*
344. NORTH BOVEY. 227.
345. NORTHCOTE. 284.
346. NORTHLEW. 551.
347. NORTH MOLTON. 90. *c.*
348. NYMPTON ST. GEORGE. 90. *c.*
349. NUTS. 442.
350. OGWELL. 51. C.
351. OKEHAMPTON. 418., 429. *a.*
352. OLD CHRISTMAS DAY. 12. A.

353. OLDHAM, Bishop of Exeter.

(A.) [*Arms and Pedigree*]:—(*a*) "Is any pedigree extant of the family of Hugh Oldham? Baines speaks of him (*Hist. of Lanc.*, vol. ii. p. 579) as 'descended from an ancient family,' born, according to Wood and Godwin, at Manchester, but, according to Dodsworth, at Oldham.

What arms did he adopt? J. B." 1st S. vii. 14. 1853.

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(*b.*) "Hugh Oldham bore for his arms, Sa. a chevron or, between three owls proper on a chief of the second, three roses gu. (See Isaacke's *Memorials of the City of Exeter;* and also Burke's *Armory*, under the name *Oldom.*) I have endeavoured to find some pedigree or particulars of this family, but as yet without success. The following Notes from what I have collected may, however, assist J. B. in his inquiries. He was of Queen's College, Cambridge, and chaplain to the Countess of Richmond (King Henry VII.'s mother), and by her interest was installed Bp. of Exeter, April 3, 1507. He was a great benefactor to Brazenose College, Oxford, and joint founder (with Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester) of Corpus Christi. He also founded and endowed a school at Manchester for educating boys in good and useful literature. He died June 25, 1523, under sentence of excommunication, in consequence of an action at law then pending between him and the Abbot of Tavistock; but the Pope's sanction being obtained, he was buried in a chapel built expressly for the purpose, at the upper end of the south aisle of his own cathedral. J. T——T." 1st S. vii. 164. 1853.

(*c*) "No pedigree of this prelate's family is known to have been referred to by any of the Devonshire historians. The arms used by the bishop, and still remaining in several churches of the diocese, were: Sable, a chevron or, between three owls proper; on a chief of the second as many roses gules.

Burke, in the *Encyclopedia of Heraldry*, gives a different coat as borne by Oldham of Hatherleigh in the co. of Devon. J. D." 1st S. vii. 189. 1853.

(*d*) "Bishop Hugh Oldham, B.C.L., was one of the family of Oldenham, of Oldenham, co. Lancaster, which gave for arms, Sable, between three owls arg., a chevron or: in chief, of the third, three roses, gules. . . . . .

Hugh was born in Goulburn Street, Oldham, and educated at Exeter College, Oxford, and at Queen's College, Cambridge: he was Rector of St. Mildred's, Bread Street, Sept. 19, 1485; Swineshead, Feburary 3, 1493; Wareboys, March 31, 1499; Shitlington, August 17, 1500; Vicar of Cheshunt, July 27, 1494; Overton, April 2, 1501; Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster, 1493; Prebendary of South Aulton in Sarum, September, 1495; of Newington in St. Paul's, March 11, 1496; of South Cave in York, August 26, 1499; Archdeacon of Exeter, February 16, 1503; Chaplain to Margaret, Countess

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of Richmond, and Master of St. John's, Lichfield, 1495; and St. Leonard's Hospital, Bedford, January 12, 1499.

He was the founder of Manchester High School, and was consecrated between December 29 and January 6, 1504. He was a great benefactor to Corpus Christi College in Oxford; and the intimate friend of Bishop Smyth, co-founder of Brasenose College, with whom he had been brought up in the household of Thomas, Earl of Derby. He died June 25, 1519, and was buried in St. Saviour's Chapel in Exeter Cathedral.

These notes are taken from a MS. History of the English Episcopate, which it is my hope to give to the public. MACKENZIE WALCOT, M.A." 1st S. vii. 271. 1853.

(*c*) "Mr. Walcott will be interested to learn, that Bishop Hugh Oldham was *not* a native of Oldham, but was born at Crumpsall, in the parish of Manchester; as appears from Dugdale's *Visitation of Lancashire*, and the 'Lancashire MSS.,' vol. xxxi. T. HUGHES, Chester." 1st S. viii. 183. 1853.

(B.) [*Descendants*]:—(*a*) "Information is requested relative to the descendants of Dr. Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter, who died June 15, 1519. THOS. P. HASSALL, 59, Lord Street, Chetham, Manchester." 1st S. xi. 64. 1855.

(*b*) "It will perhaps be a sufficient answer to this Query, to advert to what I should have conceived to have been a universally known fact, that in 1519, and for centuries previously, the clergy were prohibited from marrying, and could not therefore have any descendants. THOMPSON COOPER, Cambridge." 1st S. xi. 135. 1855.

354. OLIVER, The Rev. Dr.

(A.) "What ground is there for Dr. Oliver the author of *Historic Collections relating to the Monasteries of Devon*, published in 1820, ... supposing that De Pratellis is the same name as Prideaux? Dr. Oliver says (p. 123.), Adam Prianho or De Pratellis al Prydeaux appointed prior. G. P. P." 1st S. v. 248. 1852.

(B.) For *Oliver* see also 13. *d.*, 36. B. *b.*, 132. A. *b.*, 174., 191. D. *c.*

355. ORANGE. 501.

356. ORDGAR. 245. A. *b.*

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357. "ORTS."

"This old word is used hereabouts by many people when speaking of broken victuals left by children; but there is, perhaps, an equal number of persons who look at the word as a corrupt and unauthorised one. It is curt and expressive; for instance, a child asked by another to eat what he has left, will say, 'No, I shall not eat your *orts*.' The word is to be found in *Troilus and Cressida*, but I forget the passage.* Is it not worthy of being revived? I. W. N. KEYS." 1st S. xi. 501. 1855.

358. OSBORNE. 332. *a.*
359. OSMOND. 498. A. *a.*
360. OTTERTON. 332. *b.*
361. OTTERY ST. MARY. 48. *b.*, 117. *b.*, 212. *c.*, 332. *b.*
362. OWEN. 498. A. *b.*

363. PAIGNTON.

(A.) "*Plum-pudding*:—Can any of your readers inform me of the origin of the following custom, and whether the ceremony is still continued? I can find no mention of it in any topographical dictionary or history of Devon, but it was copied from an old newspaper, bearing date June 7, 1809.

'At Paignton Fair, near Exeter, the ancient custom of drawing through the town a plum-pudding of an immense size, and afterward distributing it to the populace, *was revived* on Tuesday last. The ingredients which composed this enormous pudding were as follows: 400 lbs. of flour, 170 lbs. of beef suet, 140 lbs. of raisins, and 240 eggs. It was kept constantly boiling in a brewer's copper from Saturday morning to the Tuesday following, when it was placed on a car decorated with ribbons, evergreens, &c., and drawn along the street by eight oxen. EVERARD HORNE COLEMAN." 1st S. vii. 66. 1853.

(B.) For *Paignton* see also 210.

364. PALLACE.

(*a*) "*The Meaning of 'Pallace*:'—A lease granted by the corporation of Totness in Devon, in the year 1703, demises premises by this description: 'All that cellar and the chambers over the same, and the little *pallace* and landing-place adjoining to the river Dart.' Can your readers give an explanation of the term 'pallace'? J. R. ROGERS." 1st S. i. 202. 1850.

* [The passage is Act v. sc. 2. See also *Tim. Ath.* Act iv. sc. 3.]

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(*b*) "Mr. Halliwell, in his *Dictionary of Archaic, &c., Words*, explains this word as used in Devonshire:—'*Palace*, a Storehouse.' *Devon.* 'At Dartmouth, I am told there are some of these storehouses, called palaces, cut out of the rock, still retaining the name.' *MS. Devon. Gloss.* C. W. G." 1st S. i. 233. 1850.

(*c*) " . . . . The term 'Pallace' . . . . is applied in Totnes to denote a landing-place inclosed by walls, but not roofed in. Many of these 'pallaces' have been converted into coal-cellars. Perhaps *pales* may have been used originally to form these inclosures in lieu of walls;—and hence the word 'pallace' would mean a place paled in. I find repeated mention made of 'pallaces' in a schedule attached to a deed of the Corporation of Totnes bearing date September 18th, 1719, a copy of which is now before me, and from it the following extracts are taken:—

'One linney and two *pallaces* or yards.'

'All those houses, rooms, cellars and *pallaces*.'

'All that great cellar lately rebuilt, and the *plott of ground or pallace* thereto belonging lately converted into a cellar.'

'All that little cellar and *pallace* lately rebuilt, and the kay or landing place thereto belonging, and near adjoining unto and upon the river Dart.'

'And the little *pallace* or *landing-place*.'

J. Milner Barry, M.D., Totnes, Devon, Jan., 30, 1850." 1st S. i. 233. 1850.

(*d*) "*Pallace, Meaning of* . . . — Put out of all doubt by the following article in Phillips's *World of Words*. '*Pallicia*, in old records, Pales or paled fences.' C." 1st S. i. 284. 1850.

(*e*) "Bishop Horsley seems to throw some light on this point by his note on the 9th verse of the 45th Psalm. The learned prelate says—

'Out of the ivory palaces whereby they have made thee glad,'—rather, from 'cabinets of Armenian ivory they have pleasured thee.' From *cabinets* or *wardrobes*, in which the perfumes, or the garments were kept.'

This meaning of the word, derived from the Hebrew, corroborates the sense given to it in Mr. Halliwell's *Dictionary of Archaic, &c., Words*, viz. *a storehouse.* Alfred Gatty, Ecclesfield." 1st S. i. 284. 1850.

365. Palmer. 412. C. *d.*
366. Pancrasweek. 481. *b.*
367. Parker. 501.
368. Parkhouse. 192. D. *a.*

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369. PASSEMER, The Rev. George.

"*Passemer's 'Antiquities of Devonshire':*—In Bagford's MS. Collections on Writing, Printing, &c., in the British Museum (*Ayscough's Cat.* No. 885), at fo. 102, among writers on Devonshire appears the following:

'Id. Ye antiquitates of ye same countey is collected out of ye antient bookes belonging to ye Bishopprick of Exeter, by one Mr. George Passemer, vicar of Awliscombe, in ye said countey.'

Can either of your correspondents state whether Mr. Passemer's work is known to be in existence. J. D. S." 1st S. v. 511. 1852.

370. PATH. 209.
371. PEEL. 20.
372. PEIRCE. 191. B. *c.*
373. PENGELLY. 176. *c.*

374. PENNYCOMEQUICK.

(*a*) "*Pennycomequick, adjoining Plymouth:*—The Bath and West of England Agricultural Society held their recent annual meeting here. Will any one of your correspondents oblige me with the derivation of this remarkable word. R. H. B." 1st S. viii. 8. 1853.

(*b*) "In days gone by, when the boundaries of the town were much more circumscribed than at the present day, a well-known old female (a perfect character in her way) had long fixed her abode in a curiously built hut-like cot in the locality in question; the rusticity of which, together with the obliging demeanour of its tenants, had gradually induced the good folk of Plymouth to make holiday bouts to this retired spot for the purpose of merry-making. As years rolled on, the shrewd old dame became a general favourite with the pleasure-seekers; the increasing frequency of these pic-nics suggesting to her an opportunity which might be turned to good account, viz. that of providing her visitors with the cheap requisite, boiling water, for the brewing their sober afternoon's beverage, at the low rate of a penny a head. Still later in the autumn of life . . . she would . . . recount to her pleased auditory how many a time and often she had made the 'penny come quick' by the above-recited inexpensive vocation; until at length her saying became a by-word in the neighbourhood, and universal consent fixed on the . . . triplet as a fitting appellation for the then nameless and retired little nook, but now thickly studded grounds of

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Pennycomequick. . . . . HENRY H. HELE, Ashburton." 1st S. viii. 113. 1853.

(*d*) "Your correspondent R. H. B. is informed that the name of this village is Welsh, viz. *Pen y cwn* [*? cwm*] *gwich*, and signifies a village at the head of a valley. H. C. K.—Rectory, Hereford." 1st S. viii. 113. 1853.

(*e*) "A similar story to that related by . . . . Mr. HELE is told of Falmouth . . . . . The old Cornish word *ick*, signifies a 'creek;' and as it became a village it was called 'Pennycomequick,' which . . . . . H. C. K. clearly explains. The Welsh and Cornish languages are in close affinity. The name 'Pennycomequick' is evidently a corrupted old Cornish name: see Pryce's *Archæologia Cornu-Britannica*, v. 'Pen,' 'Coomb,' and 'Ick,' the head of the narrow valley, defile or creek. . . . JAMES CORNISH, Falmouth." 1st S. viii. 184. 1853.

375. PETER PINDAR. 532. A. 377. PETROCKSTOW. 332. *b*.
376. PETHERWYN. 53.

378. PIGS.

"A sow and pigs certainly are" [sometimes found on the bosses of early church roofs in Devonshire]. "A black sow and pigs haunt many cross roads in Devonshire. R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 512. 1850.

379. PILLOW. 134.

380. PILM.

(*a*) "What is the derivation of *pilm* = dust, so frequently heard in Devon, and its derivatives *pilmy*, dusty: it *pilmeth*. J. M. B., Tunbridge Wells." 1st S. vii. 544. 1853.

(*b*) "*Pillom* is the full word, of which *pilm* is a contraction. It appears to have been derived from the British word *pylor*, dust. N. W. S. (2.)" 1st S. viii. 44. 1853.

381. PILTON. 36. B. *c*.

382. PIXIES, or PISKIES.

(*a*) "At Chudleigh Rocks I was told . . . by the old man who acts as guide to the caves, of a recent instance of a man's being pixy-led. In going home, full of strong drink, across

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the hill above the cavern called the 'Pixies' Hole,' on a moonlit night, he heard sweet music, and was led into the whirling dance by the 'good folk,' who kept on spinning him without mercy, till he fell down 'in a swoon.'

On 'coming to himself' he got up and found his way home, where 'he took to his bed, and never left it again, but died a little while after.' . . . . . In the tale I have above given he persisted (said the old man), when the medical attendant. . . inquired of him the symptoms of his illness. This occurrence happened, I understood, very recently, and was told to me in perfect good faith.

I have just been told of a man who several years ago lost his way on Whitchurch Down, near Tavistock. The farther he went the farther he had to go; but happily calling to mind the antidote 'in such cases made and provided,' he turned his coat inside out, after which he had no difficulty. 'He was supposed,' adds my informant, 'to be pixy-led.' H. G. T., Launceston." 1st S. ii. 510. 1850.

(*b*) "The *puckie*-stone is a rock above the Teign, near Chagford. . . . . .

In some parts of Devonshire the pixies are called 'derricks,' evidently from the A.-S 'doeorg.' . . . . R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 514. 1850.

383. PLUM.

(*a*) "*Plum*, adj.—I am at a loss for the origin of this word as employed in Devonshire in the sense of 'soft,' *e.g.* 'a *plum* bed:' meaning a soft, downy bed.

Query: Can it be from the Latin *pluma?* And if so, what is its history?

There is also a verb *to plum*, which is obscure. Dough, when rising under the influence of heat and fermentation, is said to be *plumming* well; and the word *plum*, as an adjective, is used as the opposite of *heavy* with regard to currant and other cakes when baked. If the cake rises well in the oven, it is commonly said that it is 'nice and plum;' and *vice versâ*, that it is heavy. ISAIAH W. N. KEYS, Plymouth, Devon." 1st S. viii. 65. 1853.

(*b*) "Surely it" [*plum*] "is the same word as *plump*, although employed in a somewhat different sense. *Plum* or *plump*, as applied to a bed, would certainly convey the idea of softness or downiness. As to the employment of the word as a verb, I conceive that is analogous to an expression which

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I have often heard used by cooks, in speaking of meat or poultry, 'to plump up.' A cook will say of a fowl which appears deficient in flesh, 'it is a young bird; it will plump up when it comes to the fire.' A native of Devonshire would simply say 'It will plum.' EDGAR MACCULLOCH, Guernsey." 1st S. viii. 654. 1853.

384. PLYM. 169.

385. PLYMOUTH.

(A.) "*The Plymouth Calendar*:—To your collection of verses . . . illustrative of local circumstances, incidents, &c., allow me to add the following:

'The West wind always brings wet weather,
The East wind wet and cold together;
The South wind surely brings us rain,
The North wind blows it back again.
If the Sun in red should set,
The next day surely will be wet;
If the Sun should set in grey,
The next will be a rainy day.'

BALLIOLENSIS." 1st S. ix. 585. 1854.

(B.) "'When Plymouth was a furzy down,
Plympton was a borough town.'

R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 511. 1850.

(C.) For Plymouth see also 76. *a. b. c.*, 176. *c.*, 205., 295. *a. b.*, 408. O. *d.*, 431. *b.*, 465. *c.*, 523.

386. PLYMPTON. 385. B., 412. A.
387. PLYMSTOCK. 475.
388. POLE. 176. *c.*
389. POLLARD. 332. *a.*
390. POLTIMORE. 15. A.
391. POLWHELE. 90. *c.*

392. POOL OF THE BLACK HOUND.

"In the parish of Dean Prior is a narrow wooded valley, watered by a streamlet, that in two or three places falls into cascades of considerable beauty. At the foot of one of these is a deep hollow called the Hound's Pool. Its story is as follows.

There once lived in the hamlet of Dean Combe a weaver of great fame and skill. After long prosperity he died, and was buried. But the next day he appeared sitting at the loom in his chamber, working diligently as when he was alive. His sons applied to the parson, who went accordingly

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to the foot of the stairs, and heard the noise of the weaver's shuttle in the room above. 'Knowles!' he said, 'come down; this is no place for thee.' 'I will,' said the weaver, 'as soon as I have worked out my quill,' (the 'quill' is the shuttle full of wool). 'Nay,' said the vicar, 'thou hast been long enough at thy work; come down at once!' So when the spirit came down, the vicar took a handful of earth from the churchyard, and threw it in his face. And in a moment it became a black hound. 'Follow me,' said the vicar; and it followed him to the gate of the wood. And when they came there, it seemed as if all the trees in the wood were 'coming together,' so great was the wind. Then the vicar took a nutshell with a hole in it, and led the hound to the pool below the waterfall. 'Take this shell,' he said; 'and when thou shalt have dipped out the pool with it, thou mayest rest —not before.' And at mid-day, or at midnight, the hound may still be seen at its work. R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 515. 1850.

393. POOR ROBIN. 257. F. 394. POULET. 332. *b.*

395. POULTICE.

[It is held in Devonshire that] "seven different herbs must be used for making a herb poultice. R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 512. 1850.

396. PRAED, Winthrop Mackworth.

(A.) [*Charades*]:—(*a*) "Can any of your correspondents inform me of either the authorship or the answer of the following:

'Sir Hilary charged at Agincourt—
Sooth! 'twas a fearful day!
The Rufflers of the camp and court
Had little time to pray.
'Tis said Sir Hilary uttered there
Two syllables, by way of prayer—
The first to all the young and proud
Who'll see to-morrow's sun;
The next, with its cold and quiet cloud,
To those who'll meet a dewy shroud
Before to-day is gone:
And both together to all bright eyes,
That weep when a warrior nobly dies!

. . . . . .B. H. C." 1st S. ii. 158. 1850.

(*b*) "Your correspondent B. H. C., who . . . . . inquires after the author and answer to this charade, might have easily ascertained that the author was the late Mackworth Praed, and that the answer is 'Good-night.' I believe your corres-

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pondent has been guilty of some verbal inaccuracies, which make the answer appear not so pertinent to his version as it really is. . . . Some few years ago, the charade appeared in a Cambridge paper, with a story about Sir Walter Scott having sent it anonymously to Queen Adelaide. This was contradicted, and the real author named in a subsequent number of the newspaper, and a metrical solution given, amongst others, of the charade. . . . . I think the charade first appeared in a cheap periodical, which was set on foot by the parties concerned in Knight's *Quarterly*." J. H. L." 1st S. ii. 190. 1850.

(*c*) "This enigma was written by the late Winthrop Mackworth Praed, and appeared in Knight's *Quarterly Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 469.: whether solved or soluble, I cannot say. C. H. COOPER, Cambridge." 1st S. ii. 190. 1850.

(*d*) "Can any of your correspondents tell me the answer to the following charade by W. M. Praed?

'My first's an airy thing,
Joying in flowers;
Evermore wandering,
In Fancy's bowers;
Living on beauteous smiles
From eyes that glisten;
And telling of love's wiles
To ears that listen.

'But if, in its first flush
Of warm emotion,
My second come to crush
Its young devotion,
Oh! then it wastes away,
Weeping and waking,
And, on some sunny day,
Is blest in breaking.'

I have several of Praed's charades, but this is the only one of which I have not the answer. E. C." 1st S. iv. 368. 1851.

(B.) "*Knight's Quarterly Magazine.*" "I shall feel exceedingly obliged if you or any of your correspondents will inform me who were the writers in Knight's *Quarterly Magazine*, bearing the following fictitious signatures . . . . . .

Peregrine Courtenay was the late Winthrop Mackworth Praed, who was, I believe, its editor. . . . . E. H. Leeds." 1st S. ix. 103. 1854.

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(C.) "*Renown*:— (*a*) Where shall I meet with a piece of which the following is a **verse**?

'I think the thing you call **renown**,
That unsubstantial vapour,
For which the soldier burns a town,
The sonnateer a taper,
Is like the mist, which as he flies
The horseman leaves behind him,
He cannot mark its wreaths arise,
Or if he can, they blind him.'

R. Y. T." 1st S. xii. 9. 1855.

(*b*) "R. Y. T. will find the lines he wants in an admirable poem of Winthrop Mackworth Praed. Unfortunately his excellent poems seem never to have been collected in England; but there is a small 8vo. volume published in Boston, U.S.A. Many of the poems, charades, &c. (and probably the above), reappeared in the two volumes of the new series of the *Penny Magazine*, which may be bought on any bookstall. Is it necessary to say that Praed was a coadjutor of Charles Knight, and Macaulay, and others in *Knight's Quarterly Magazine*? ESTE, Birmingham." 1st S. xii. 93. 1855.

(D.) [*Works*]:—(*a*) ". . . May I here express my concurrence in an opinion expressed in a very recent number of the *Examiner*, that a collected edition of Mr. Praed's poems is wanted? C. H. COOPER, Cambridge." 1st S. ii. 190. 1850.

(*b*) "Your Cambridge correspondent, Mr. COOPER, will be glad to know that Praed's *poems* are published in a collected form; *Poetical Works of Winthrop Mackworth Praed, now first collected by Rufus W. Griswold: New York*, 1844. This collection contains some thirty-six pieces. The longest poems, 'Lillian' and 'The Troubador,' each in two cantos, display passages of great beauty and exquisite musical flow. Among the charades, five in number, 'Sir Harry, he charged at Agincourt,' is not to be found. W. M. KINGSMILL." 1st S. ii. 238. 1850.

(*c*) "Can any reader of NOTES AND QUERIES inform me if there be a collected edition of the works of Praed? Many of your readers are familiar with his fugitive pieces published in Knight's *Quarterly Magazine*, *The Etonian*, and other periodicals. And all, I am sure, who are acquainted with him, would be glad to see his graceful and elegant productions published in a collected form. K. S." 1st S. iv. 256. 1851.

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(*d*) "Some three years ago I saw a prospectus announcing that they would be published by Mr. Parker of Oxford, under the direction of Mrs. Praed; but I believe nothing has been done in the matter since. W. J." 1st S. iv. 327. 1851.

(*e*) "About five years since I saw in the travelling library of an American lady a very good edition of Praed's *Poems*, small 8vo. clear type, published (I believe) in the *States* . . . I have asked for the book in vain in London; but if your correspondent K. S. is very anxious to procure a copy, I would suggest an order for it, given through *Chapman in the Strand*. . . . YUNAF." 1st S. iv. 453. 1851.

(*f*) "This collection was published by Griswold of New York in 1844. We saw a copy at Tupling's, No. 320 Strand, a few days since." EDITOR "*N. & Q.*" 1st S. iv. 453. 1851.

(E.) For *Praed* see also 432. *d.*

397. PRAYER. 192 E., 486.

398. PRIDEAUX, Bishop of Worcester.

(A.) "*Doctrine of Conscience*:—Who was the author of the address to the reader in the *Doctrine of Conscience*, by Bishop Prideaux, publised in 1656? it is signed Y. N. Bishop Prideaux died in 1650. G. P. P." 1st S. v. 273. 1852.

(B.) "*Experto crede Roberto*:—Dr. John Prideaux, Rector of Exeter College (1612–1642), appears during these years to have lost three sons. On the gravestone of the second, in the chapel of the college, was inscribed the following epitaph: 'Quam subito, quam certo, experto crede, ROBERTO PRIDEAUX, fratri Matthiæ minori, qui veneno infeliciter comesto intra decem horas misere experavit, Sept. 14. 1627.'

Is it possible that the words *experto crede Roberto* (especially when connected with the unhappy death of the poor boy above-mentioned) became a familiar phrase with the Oxford men of that generation, and has thus been transmitted to the present day?

When Dr. Prideaux, afterwards Regius Professor of Divinity, and Bishop of Worcester, was a very young man, he was a candidate, being of humble origin, for the place of parish clerk of Ugborow, near Hereford [Correctly, near Plymouth,

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in Devonshire], but which he lost, as he says, to 'his very great grief and trouble.' The reflection which he afterwards made, 'If I could have been clerk of Ugborow, I had never been Bishop of Worcester,' may be no useless lesson to those who are disposed to repine under early disappointments. J. H. M." 1st S. vi. 107. 1852.

399. PRINCE. 13. *d.*, 48. *c.*, 49. *b.*, 50. *b.*, 64. *b.*, 90. *c.*, 159. *b.*, 176. *c.*, 264. A.

400. PROVERBS.

(A) "*Unregistered Proverbs*:—The following I find among the poor parishioners of Tor-Mohun in Devonshire, and they were new to me. In answer to some remarks of mine on the necessary infirmities of old age, one of them replied, 'You cannot have two forenoons in the same day.' And on another occasion, in answer to my saying that something *ought* to be done, although it was not, there came '*Oughts* are nothings unless they've strokes to them.' WM. FRASER, B.C.L." 1st S. ix. 527. 1854.

(B.) For *Proverbs* see also 20., 406., 442.

401. PUCKIE STONE. 382. *b.* 402. PUDDING. 365. A.

403. PURSGLOVE, Bishop (Suffragan) of Hull.

"This prelate is buried in Tideswell Church, Devonshire, and a copy of his monumental brass is given in *Illustrations of Monumental Brasses*, published in 1842 by the Cambridge Camden Society. Perhaps some reader of '*N. & Q.*' who has access to that work will send the inscription for insertion in your columns. Any information also as to his consecration, character, and period of decease, would be acceptable. . . . . A. S. A., Punjaub." 1st S. vii. 65. 1853.

404. PYLE. 187. C.

405. PYNCOMBE.

[*Family of Pyncombe*]:—". . . I trust some correspondent will . . . . . intimate where descendants can be found of the family of . . . Pyncombe of Devonshire. . . . . DE. C." 1st S. xii. 449. 1855.

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406. "QUIET SOW, QUIET MOW."

Is "a saying with reference to land or lease held on lives. If the seed is sown without notice of the death of the life, the corn may be reaped, although the death took place before the sowing. R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 512. 1850.

407. RAINBOW.

[It is said in Devonshire that] "where the rainbow rests is a crock of gold. R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 512. 1850.

408. RALEIGH, Sir Walter.

(A.) *Bust*:—"Is there an authentic bust of Sir Walter Raleigh in existence? and if so, where is it to be found? J. B." 1st S. i. 76. 1849.

(B.) [*Countess of Desmond*]:—(*a*) . . . . . "I have at this moment before me . . . a . . . copy of Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*, published in 1614. . . . . In this volume, Chapter v. (of the 'first Booke of the first Part') page 66, 'Of the long lives of the Patriarchs, and some of *late memory*' . . . Raleigh thus speaks of the old Countess :—

'I myself knew the old Countess of Desmond of Inchiquin, in Munster, who lived in the yeare 1589, and many years since, who was married in Edward IV.'s time, and held her joynture from all the Earls of Desmond since then; and that this is true, all noblemen and gentlemen of Munster can witnesse.' . . . . ANNA ELIZA BRAY, The Vicarage, Tavistock, Devon." 1st S. v. 564. 1852.

(*b*) "In a 'Life of Old Parr,' *Harl. Misc.*, vol. vii. p. 79, are the following lines about the old Countess . . . . :—

> 'Sir Walter Raleigh, a most learned knight,
> Doth of an Irish Countess (Desmond) write,
> Of sevenscore years of age; he with her spake;
> The Lord St. Alban's doth more mention make,
> That she was married in fourth Edward's reign;
> Thrice shed her teeth, which three times came again.'
>
> . . . . . ERICA." 1st S. v. 565. 1852.

(C.) [*Descendants*]:—(*a*) "In the discussions on the copyright question some years ago, Sir Walter Raleigh was mentioned as one of the authors whose posterity is totally extinct; but in his Life, as given in *Lodge's Portraits*, his descendants are given as far down as his great-grandchildren, of whom

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many were still living in 1699, at which period, says Mr. Lodge, my information ceases. It seems unlikely that a family then so numerous should have utterly perished since, both in its male and female branches; and perhaps some of your correspondents may be able to trace their subsequent history: the *name* is certainly not extinct, whether its bearers be his descendants or not. Is the gallant Sir Walter Raleigh Gilbert descended from one of Sir Walter's half brothers? J. S. WARDEN." 1st S. viii. 78. 1853.

(*b*) " . . . . . My maternal grandfather, the late Henry Staniforth (or Stanyford) Blanckley, Esq., formerly a major in the army, and for many years consul-general in the Balearic Islands and at Algiers, was lineally descended from Sir Walter Raleigh, and possessed many interesting relics of his great ancestor. He also possessed some portion of Sir Walter's estates in the county of Cork; these, however, came to him with his wife, who was his first cousin, and also of the Raleigh line. Her name was Rogers. . . . . A small estate called Cooly-cussane is all that now remains in the Blanckley family of this Irish property. My grandfather possessed the ring which Sir Walter wore on the scaffold, and it is now in the possession of his eldest son's son, Captain Edward James Blanckley, of the 6th Foot. He also had an iron-gilt despatch-box, covered with velvet, once crimson; this, together with Sir Walter's teapot of red earth, silver mounted, went to his younger son, the late Captain Edward Blanckley, R.N., and both articles are now in the hands of his widow.

I remember to have heard of two ladies of the name of Raleigh . . . . and they were, I believe, the last descendants who bore the name." . . . . L. R. J. T. 1st S. x. 373. 1854.

(D.) [*History*]:—(*a*) "What is the story of Raleigh's burning the second volume of his History? RECNAC." 1st S. vii. 287. 1853.

(*b*) "The story is this:—A few days previously to his death, Raleigh sent for Walter Burre, who printed his History; and asking him how the work had sold, received for answer, 'so slowly that it had undone him.' Upon which Sir Walter brought from his desk a continuation of the work to his own time, and, throwing it into the fire, said to Burre, 'the second volume shall undo no more; this ungrateful world is unworthy of it.' (Winstanley's *English Worthies*, p. 256.) There is, however, no satisfactory authority for the truth of this

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anecdote; and it has been rejected by Arthur Cayley, and his other biographers." EDITOR "N. & Q." 1st S. vii. 287. 1853.

(E.) "*Milo:*"—(*a*) "Bishop Hall extols in his *Heaven upon Earth* the valour of a countryman in a Spanish bull-fight (see p. 335, *Works*, ed. 1622). Of whom does he speak? R. C. WARDE, Kidderminster." 1st S. viii. 495.

(*b*) "If we may offer a conjecture, in the passage cited the bishop seems to refer to that 'greatest scourge of Spain' Sir Walter Raleigh, and not so much to a bull-fight as to the Spanish Armada. The bishop is prescribing Expectation as a remedy for Crosses, and says, 'Is it not credible what a fore-resolved mind can do—can suffer? Could our English Milo, of whom Spain yet speaketh, since their last peace, have overthrown that furious beast, made now more violent through the rage of his baiting, if he had not settled himself in his station, and expected?' Sir Walter's 'fore-resolved and expectant mind' was shown in the publication of his treatise, *Notes of Direction for the Defence of the Kingdom*, written three years before the Spanish invasion of 1588." EDITOR "N. & Q." 1st S. viii. 495.

(F.) [*Portrait*]:—"I have a drawing, *supposed* to be of Sir W. Raleigh by himself when in the Tower: it came from Daniel's *History of Henry VII.*, and below it was written,

'R. Ferrer
Nec Prece nec Pretis.'

Could the 'NOTES AND QUERIES' ask if anything is known of this R. F.? H. W. D." 1st S. ii. 494. 1850.

(G.) [*Ring*]:—(*a*) "Can any of your correspondents inform me what has become of the ring Sir Walter Raleigh wore at his execution, and in whose possession it now is, as I have reason to believe it is still in existence as a heir-loom? BOSQUECILLO." 1st S. v. 538. 1852.

(*b*) "Sir Walter Raleigh's ring, which he wore at the time of his execution, is, I believe, in the possession of Capt. Edward James Blanckley, of the 6th Foot, now serving at the Cape of Good Hope. It is an heir-loom in the Blanckley family, of which Captain Blanckley is the senior representative, who are directly descended from Sir Walter, and have in their possession several interesting relics of their great

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ancestor, viz. a curious tea-pot, and a state paper box of iron gilt and red velvet. A DESCENDANT OF SIR WALTER'S." 1st S. v. 621. 1852.

(H.) [*Sale of Family Property*]:—A document connected with a matter of some historic interest has just come into my hands, which, as it may not have been published, I copy for preservation in your pages:—

'*Decimo Septimo die Februarii Anō 1616.*

'Received, the day and yeare above written, in part paymēt of a greater som, for a certeyne tenemēt wth the appurtenance lyinge in Micham, in the countye of Surrey, from Thomas Plummer, Esquire, the som of six hundred pounds of lawfull English monye £vj.00

'Witnes our hands,

'W. RALEGH,
E. RALEGH,
W. RALEGH.'

The sale of this property of Lady Raleigh was made to enable Sir Walter to fit out his ship the 'Destiny,' then preparing for the expedition to Oronoco. The gentleman to whom I am indebted for this interesting scrap remarks:—'The case no doubt is this: Ralegh exhausted his own personal means in fitting out his fleet, and then resorted to his wife's property. The Mitcham property was sold, and Lady Ralegh joined in the sale. The money was wanted, and an arrangement made for the sale to the Plummer family, and this money was obtained upon a simple receipt, leaving it to the lawyers employed to prepare at their leisure the deed, and the fine and recovery necessary to vest the property legally in the purchaser.'

The general similarity between the signatures of father and son, both Walters, is striking; whilst Lady Raleigh (Elizabeth Throgmorton) seems to have imitated the hand writing of her Mistress, Queen Elizabeth. W. DENTON." 1st S. xi. 262. 1855.

(I.) [*Scepticism*]:—"I find the following remonstrance in defence of this distinguished man, against the imputation of Hume, in a letter addressed by Dr. Parr to Charles Butler:—'Why do you follow Hume in representing Raleigh as an infidel? For Heaven's sake, dear Sir, look to his preface to his *History of the World;* look at his *Letters*, in a little 18mo, and here, but here only, you will find a tract (entitled The Sceptic), which led Hume to talk of Raleigh as an unbeliever. It is an epitome of the principles of the old

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sceptics; and to me, who, like Dr. Clarke and Mr. Hume, am a reader of Sextus Empiricus, it is very intelligible. Indeed, Mr. Butler, it is a most ingenious performance. But mark me well: it is a mere *lusus ingenii.*'

Mr. Butler appends this note:—'Mr. Fox assured the Reminiscent, that either he, or Mrs. Fox to him, had read aloud the whole, with a small exception, of Sir Walter Raleigh's History.'—Butler's *Reminiscences*, vol. ii. p. 232. BALLOLIENSIS." 1st S. viii. 267. 1853.

(J.) [*Silent Lover*]:—(*a*) "Who is the author of the following graceful lines?

'Wrong not, deare empress of my heart,
The merit of true passion,
By thinking hee can feele no smart,
That sues for no compassion.

'For since that I do sue to serve
A saint of such perfection,
Whome all desire, yet none deserve
A place in her affection,

'I'd rather chuse to wante releife,
Than hazard ye revealing;
Where glory recommends ye greefe,
Dispare dissuades ye healing.

'Since my desires doe aime too high
For any mortall lover,
And reason cannot make them dye,
Discretion shall them cover.

'Silence in love doth show more woe
Than words, though none so witty.
The beggar that is dumb, you knowe,
Deserveth double pity.'

T. Q. C., Polperro, Cornwall." 1st xi. 101. 1855.

(*b*) "The lines given by T. Q. C. . . . . are by Sir Walter Raleigh. The poem is entitled *The Silent Lover*, and consists of nine stanzas, of which those given by C. are the 2nd, 4th, 5th, and 8th. The variations are so numerous, that your correspondent has probably given the lines from memory. This poem has been hardly treated. Ellis and Campbell give seven stanzas only; Ritson eight, omitting the first. . . . . Sir Egerton Bridges speaks of this poem as,—'A most extraordinary one; terse, harmonious, pointed, often admirably expressed. It seems to have anticipated a century in its style.' The eighth stanza, Sir Egerton tells us in 1814,—'was, by some strange anachronism, current about fifty years ago, amongst the circles of fashion, as the pro-

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duction of the late celebrated Earl of Chesterfield.' It is quoted in his 183rd letter with this preface:—'A man had better talk too much to women than too little; they take silence for dulness, unless where they think the passion they have inspired occasions it, and in that case they adopt the notion that—

'Silence in love bewrays more woe
Than words, though ne'er so witty;
A beggar that is dumb, you know,
May challenge double pity.'

J. H. M." 1st S. xi. 171. 1855.

(K.) [*Snuff-box*]:—(*a*) "What has become of Sir Walter Raleigh's snuff-box? It was a favourite box, in constant use by the late Duke of Sussex, and was knocked down at his sale for 6*l*. It is the box out of which Raleigh took a pinch of snuff on the scaffold. L. H. L. T." 1st S. v. 78. 1852.

(*b*) ". . . . . Sir Walter Raleigh's snuff-box is in my possession. It was bought when the Duke of Sussex's collection was sold at Messrs. Christie's, in 1843, by a gentleman of the name of Lake. Mr. Lake having died, his effects were sold by Messrs. Christie, either in 1849 or 1850, when it was purchased by me. . . . . R. POLWARTH, 8, Queen's Row, Pimlico." 1st S. v. 136. 1852.

(L.) [*Soul's Errand*]:—(*a*) "I will thank any one to tell me on what grounds the stanzas called the *Soul's Errand* are reported to have been written by Sir Walter Raleigh the night before his execution. The first stanza is (memoriter)

'Go, soul, the body's guest,
Upon a thankless errant!
Fear not to touch the best,
The truth shall be thy warrant.
Go, since I needs must die,
And give the world the lie.'

It will be satisfactory to hear at the same time in what work they are to be found. . . . . ÆGROTUS." 1st S. iv. 274. 1851.

(*b*) "This beautiful little poem is assigned by Bishop Percy to Sir Walter Raleigh, by whom it is said to have been written the night before his execution; this assertion is, however, proved to be unfounded, from the fact that Raleigh was not executed till 1618, and the poem in question was printed in the second edition of Francis Davidson's *Poetical Rhapsody*, in 1608. 'It is nevertheless possible,' observes Sir Harris Nicolas (*Introduction to Poetical Rhapsody*, p. ci.), 'that it

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was written by Raleigh the night before he *expected* to have been executed at Winchester, November, 1603, a circumstance which is perfectly reconcileable to dates, and in some degree accounts for the tradition alluded to.' This ground must be now abandoned, as it is certain that MS. copies of the poem exist of a still earlier date. Malone had a MS. copy of it dated 1595 (*Shakspeare by Boswell*, vol. ii. p. 579); Brydges speaks of one in the British Museum dated 1596 (*Lee Priory edit. of Raleigh's Works*, vol. viii. p. 725); and Campbell says 'it can be traced to a MS. of a date as early as 1593' (*Specimens*, p. 57. second edit.).

'The Soul's Errand' is found in the folio edition of Joshua Sylvester's *Works*, and also in the poems of Lord Pembroke. Ritson, whose authority merits some attention, peremptorily attributes it to Francis Davison. '*The Answer to the Lye*,' he observes, 'usually ascribed to Raleigh, and pretended to have been written the night before his execution, was in fact by Francis Davison (*Bib. Poet.* p. 308.).

The evidence in favour of these three claimants has been well examined by the Rev. John Hannah (see *Poems by Sir Henry Wotton, Sir Walter Raleigh, and others*, 12mo. 1845, pp. 89–99) and completely set aside. The same gentleman has printed a curious poetical piece, from an old MS. Miscellany in the Chetham Library at Manchester (8012. p. 107), which does something to establish Raleigh's claim. It commences as follows:—

> 'Go, Eccho of the minde;
> A carcles troth protest;
> Make answere y^t *rude Rawly*
> No stomack can digest.'

In these verses (remarks Mr. Hannah) three points especially deserve attention; first, that they assign the disputed poem to Raleigh *by name;* next, that they were written *when he was still alive*, as is plain from the concluding stanza; and lastly, that they give the reason why it has been so difficult to discover its true author, for the 13th stanza intimates that 'The Lie' was anonymous, though its writer was not altogether unknown.'

Many MS. copies of the 'Soul's Errand' exist. Two of them have been printed at the end of Sir Harris Nicolas's edition of Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody;* the one from Harl. MS. 2296, the other from a manuscript in the same collection, No. 6910; the readings of which not only differ materially from each other, but in a slight degree also from the printed copies. The title in Davison is 'The Lie,' which is retained

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by Percy; that of 'The Soul's Errand' was taken by Ellis from Sylvester's *Works*. In some copies it is called 'The Farewell.' EDWARD F. RIMBAULT." 1st S. iv. 353. 1851.

(*c*) "The lines reported to have been written by Sir Walter Raleigh the night before his execution were *not*, I think, those alluded to by ÆGROTUS. In the *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ* are some 'few poems found amongst the papers of Sir Henry Wotton,' one of which is headed 'Sir Walter Raleigh the Night before his Death,' and is this:

'Even such is *time* that takes on trust
Our *youth*, our *joyes*, our all we have,
And pays us but with *age* and *dust*;
Who in the dark and silent grave
(When we have wandered all our ways)
Shuts up the story of our days.
But from this *earth*, this *grave*, this *dust*,
My God shall raise me up, I trust.'—W. R.
P. 396, 3d edition, London, 1672.

'In the *Collection of Sacred Poetry*, edited for the Parker Society by Mr. Farr (vol. i. p. 236), the lines I have adduced are headed 'An Epitaph,' and attributed to Sir W. Raleigh on the above melancholy occasion.

'The Soul's Errand,' which ÆGROTUS quotes from, is entitled 'The Farewell' in the same collection; but so much ambiguity rests upon Sir Walter's poetry that I shall merely add my conviction that the 'Epitaph' is only a fragment—'judicent peritiores.' RT., Warmington." 1st S. iv. 353. 1851.

(*e*) "I have a cotemporaneous MS. of this wonderfully-fine poem, that came into my possession with a certain rare bunch of black-letter ballads, printed between the years 1559 and 1597, and all of them unique . . . . . which contains two additional verses not to be found in *A Poetical Rhapsodie*, compiled by Francis Davison, and 'printed by William Stansby for Roger Jackson, dwelling in Fleet Street, neere the great Conduit, 1611;' nor in *Poems by Sir Henry Wotton, Sir Walter Raleigh, and others*, carefully edited by the Rev. John Hannah, M.A., and published by my friend William Pickering in 1845. They are prefaced by the word 'Additions.' They are written on the same leaf, and in the same quaint hand, and are as follow:

'Tell London of their stewes,
Tell marchants of their usury;
And, though it be no newes,
Tell courtyers of their lechery;
And if they will reply,
They best deserve the lye.

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'Let cuckolds be remembred,
I will not dye theyr debtor;
Theire heads beying armed,
Theyl beare the brunt the better;
And if they chaunce reply,
Theyr wives know best they lye.'

Having compared this MS. with the poem as it is printed in the above-mentioned volumes . . . . I find it contains several variations, not however very important. Though these 'Additions,' in good taste, expression, and power, do not equal the noble verses that precede them, they are interesting and curious, and well worthy of preservation. After much inspection and inquiry, I have not discovered that they have ever yet appeared in print. The cabinet in which they slept, and the company they kept (undisturbed, it would appear) for more than two centuries, assure me that they have not been published . . . . . GEORGE DANIEL, Canonbury." 1st S. vii. 175. 1853.

(*f*) "Your correspondent is mistaken in thinking that his 'additions' are a new discovery. Both stanzas were printed, with slight variations from this copy, by Sir H. Nicolas, at the end of his edition of Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*, 1826, pp. 413–415; and both are mentioned by Mr. Hannah, when he says (p. 103):

'In E (the mark by which Mr. H. designates that copy in Nicolas), one stanza is interpolated after line 36, and a second at the end.'

As I entirely agree with Sir H. Nicolas that the lines in question are 'a wanton interpolation,' I think Mr. Hannah was perfectly justified in contenting himself with this acknowledgment of their existence. R." 1st S. vii. 343. 1853.

(M.) [*Teapot*]:—(*a*) "Among the articles enumerated as relics of Sir Walter [1st S. x. 374), your correspondent mentions a teapot. I wish to know if tea-pots were invented before tea was introduced, or the relic in question be no relic of Sir Walter Raleigh at all? He died in 1618; tea was introduced about 1650. B. H. C." 1st S. x. 475. 1854.

(*b*.) "I . . . . fear, as B. H. C. observes, that the family relic mentioned cannot be the great Sir Walter's; but it may have very well belonged to his grandson, another Sir Walter Raleigh, who survived the Restoration some time, and whom there is no improbability in supposing to have been possessed of a tea-pot. J. S. WARDEN." 1st S. xii. 34. 1855.

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(N.) [*Verification*]:—"In speaking of the difficulty which exists in obtaining a perfect knowledge of any event, reference is often made to Sir Walter Raleigh having witnessed an occurrence, while confined in the Tower, and that two witnesses gave such a different account from each other as well as from himself, that he threw his MS. into the fire. In what contemporary work is this recorded?

A similar discrepancy in evidence is mentioned with reference to the celebrated tourney at Tiani, in 1502, in Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. iii. p. 45. H. J." 1st S. iii. 105. 1851.

(O.) [*Virginia*]:—(*a*) "I remember having read, some time ago, a statement in the public prints, to the effect that the popular belief, as to Sir Walter Raleigh having visited Virginia, was unfounded: the fact being, that he had projected such a voyage, and that the vessels equipped by him for that purpose had actually reached that country; but that the illustrious voyager himself was prevented by some circumstance from conducting the expedition. This statement seemed to have been elicited by one of the subjects proposed for the decorations of the new Houses of Parliament, namely, 'Sir Walter Raleigh landing in Virginia,' and the idea was exploded with so much assurance that I had ceased to give it any credence. I find, however, in Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, 2nd edition, vol. iii. p. 179, that the fact of Sir Walter's having been in Virginia is relied upon by that historian, in the following passage:—

'Harriott, the companion of Sir Walter Raleigh in Virginia, and the friend of the Earl of Northumberland, in whose house he spent the latter part of his life, was destined to make the last great discovery in the pure science of algebra.'

Are there any data to support Mr. Hallam's opinion? . . . . HENRY H. BREEN, St. Lucia." 1st S. iv. 190. 1851.

(*b*) "That Mr. Hallam should have forgotten to correct an incidental allusion is natural enough; and that Raleigh in person discovered Virginia *was* commonly believed. Sir Walter Scott, for instance, believed it, as appears by a passage at the end of *Kenilworth*. But the very title-page of Hariot's account of the discovery of Virginia (whether in the English of 1588, or the Frankfort Latin of 1590), negatives the idea of Raleigh assisting in person. And the *Biographia Britannica*, or, I believe, any similar work of authority, will show that no biographer of note has affirmed it. It was an

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expedition *fitted out* by Raleigh which discovered Virginia. M." 1st S. iv. 241. 1851.

(*c*) "It appears by the *Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia*, by Strachey, so ably edited by Mr. Major for the Hakluyt Society, that Sir Walter Raleigh sent out his first expedition to Virginia in 1584, under Captain Amadas; in 1585 a fleet under Sir R. Grenville, which he intended to have commanded in person, but jealousy at court prevented him. In 1587 a second fleet was sent to Roanoak under Captain White, and in 1602 he sent Samuel Mace. Neither Oldys nor Cayley mention his having gone there; and as they carry on the events of his life pretty clearly year by year, I think . . . . that there is pretty good evidence to show that he never was there. E. N. W., Southwark." 1st S. iv. 242. 1851.

(*d*) "Raleigh never visited Virginia. The numerous expeditions thither, set on foot by him, and in which he had so large a concern as to cause them to be called *his* voyages, no doubt gave rise to the popular error.

We first find Raleigh's name, in connexion with discovery in North America, in 1579. In that year Sir Humphrey Gilbert, his step-brother, prevailed upon him to join in a projected voyage. The accounts of this voyage are very scanty: all, I believe, that is known on the subject is to be found in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 146, in the following words:

'Others failed of their promises contracted, and the greater number were dispersed, leaving the Generall with few of his assured friends, with whom he adventured to sea; where having tasted of no lesse misfortune, he was shortly driven to retire home with the losse of a tall ship, and (more to his grief) of a valiant gentleman, (Miles Morgan).'

It will be observed that Raleigh's name is not mentioned, the 'Generall' being Gilbert. It appears, however, to be generally assumed by his biographers that he did accompany this expedition in person. It may, at all events, be predicated with tolerable certainty, that Raleigh was not amongst those who deserted Sir Humphrey. Tytler adds the following particulars, in his *Life of Raleigh* (Edinburgh, 1833), p. 27, on the authority of Oldys's *Life of Raleigh*, pp. 28, 29:

'On its homeward passage the small squadron of Gilbert was dispersed and disabled by a Spanish fleet, and many of the company were slain; but, perhaps owing to the disastrous

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issue of the fight, it has been slightly noticed by the English historians.'

Schomburgk adds, in the Introduction to his reprint of Raleigh's *Guiana*, published for the Hakluyt Society in 1848, also on the authority of Oldys, that during the engagement 'Raleigh was exposed to great danger.'

We may therefore assume that he did sail with Gilbert on this occasion. There is no appearance, however, of the expedition having reached America at all; and most certainly Virginia was not then visited.

The next voyage undertaken by Gilbert was in 1583. Raleigh took a great interest in this expedition, and fitted out a barque of two hundred tons, which bore his name; and although the 'most puissant' vessel in the fleet, it only ranked as 'Vice-admirall.' The 'Delight *alias* the George, of burthen 120 tunnes, was Admirall, in which went the Generall.'

They 'began their voyage upon Tuesday, the eleventh day of June, in the yere of our Lord 1583;' but 'about midnight of the 13th June, the Vice-admirall forsooke us, notwithstandinge that we had the wind east, faire, and good. But it was after credibly reported that they were infected with a contagious sickness, and arrived greatly distressed at Plimmouth. . . . . Sure I am no cost was spared by their owner, Master Raleigh, in setting them forth.' So writes worthy Master Hayes, who commanded the Golden Hinde, the 'Rear-admirall' of the expedition. It may be easily believed that Raleigh was not on board of the vessel which belonged to him. Sir H. Gilbert, who was ignorant of the cause of desertion, wrote thus to Sir George Peckham, after his arrival in Newfoundland:—'On the 13th the bark Raleigh ran from me, in fair and clear weather, having a large wind. I pray you solicit my brother Raleigh to make them an example to all knaves.' . . . . . Gilbert reached Newfoundland, but was lost in returning on board the *Squirrel* of ten tons!

On the 25th March, 1584, Raleigh obtained letters patent from Queen Elizabeth authorizing him to establish a colony in North America, South of Newfoundland. 'The first voyage made' under this patent 'to the coasts of America' was 'with two barks, wherein were Captains M. Philip Amadas, and M. Arthur Barlowe, who *discovered* part of the countrey now called Virginia, anno 1584': The account of which voyage is stated to have been 'written by one of the said Captaines, and *sent* to Sir Walter Raleigh, knight, at whose charge and direction the said voyage was set forth.' *Hak.* vol. iii. p. 246.

The next voyage is called (p. 251) 'The voyage made by

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Sir Richard Grenvill *for* Sir Walter Raleigh to Virginia, in the yeere 1585.' Sir Richard left a colony under the government of Master Ralph Lane. A list of all the colonists, to the number of 107, 'as well gentlemen as others, that remained one whole yeere in Virginia,' is given in Hakluyt, at p. 254. The first name is 'Master Philip Amadas, Admirall of the countrey'; the second is 'Master Hariott.' On the 10th June of next year the colony was visited by Sir Francis Drake, with no less than twenty-three sail of vessels, 'in his prosperous returne from the sacking of Saint Domingo.' Sir Francis gave the colonists . . . . . the means of returning to England, which they did, leaving Virginia on the 18th of June, and arriving at Portsmouth on the 28th of July, 1586. Governor Lane was greatly blamed for his precipitate desertion of the colony. Hariot wrote a description of the country, which occupies fifteen folio pages of Hakluyt. Hallam (in the passage quoted by MR. BREEN) is correct in describing Hariot as the companion of Raleigh; . . . but he is wrong in making it appear that they were together in Virginia.

In the meantime Raleigh at home . . . . got ready no less than four vessels: various delays, however, occurred to retard their sailing; and Raleigh at last getting anxious started off one of them as a 'bark of aviso,' or despatch boat, as it is called in one of the old accounts. It arrived at the site of the colony 'immediately after the departing of our English colony . . . . . and not finding them, it returned . . . . into England.' Thus Hakluyt page 265, who also states that it was 'sent and set forth at the charges of Sir Walter Raleigh and his direction'; expressions surely inconsistent with any supposition that he was on board of this bark of aviso; and yet it would appear, from the Introduction of Sir Robert Schomburgk, already referred to, that *this* was the identical occasion on which Raleigh was erroneously supposed to have visited Virginia. As what Sir Robert says is very important, and bears very directly on the question, I quote his words: 'It has been asserted by Theobald and others, that Sir Walter Raleigh himself accompanied this vessel; . . . . . such may have been his intention, as Captain Smith states in the first book of his *General History of Virginia;* but we have so many proofs that Sir Walter did not leave England in that year, that we are surprised that such an erroneous statement has found credence up to the present day.'

This is a strong opinion of Sir Robert, and if borne out by evidence, would be conclusive; but, in the first place, his reference to Smith's *Virginia* is incorrect; and besides, Smith,

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for anything he relates prior to 1606, is only secondary evidence. His book was published in 1624, and is reprinted in Pinkerton's *Voyages* (1812). On reference to it there I can find no such *intention* attributed to Raleigh. . . . . In the second place, it would have been well if Sir Robert had mentioned some distinct proof that Raleigh was in England on some one day that the vessel was absent. . . . In Hakluyt it is stated that she did not sail until 'after Easter:' in 1586 Easter Sunday was by my calculation, on the 3rd April. The 20th of May is therefore a liberal meaning to attach to the expression 'after Easter.' She arrived in Virginia 'immediately after' Drake sailed, on the 18th of June. Say then that she even arrived on the 19th June; only spent one day in searching for the colony; and took thirty days to go home; this would bring us to the 20th July. It will be noticed that I narrow the time as much as possible, to strengthen the evidence that would be gained by proving an *alibi* for Sir Walter. If it can be shown that he was in England on any day between the 20th May and the 20th July, the supposition that he went on this occasion to Virginia must be given up as untenable. . . . In the sketch of the life of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, given in Lodge's *Portraits* . . . . I find the following statement:

'His (Cumberland's) fleet consisted of three ships, and a pinnace, *the latter commanded by Sir Walter Raleigh.* . . . . . It sailed from Gravesend on the 26th of June, 1586; but was repeatedly driven back by contrary winds, and could not finally leave England till the end of August.'

Now, if this were quite correct, it would be conclusive, that if Sir Walter Raleigh sailed from Gravesend on the 26th June, he could not have started from Virginia to return to England on the 20th of the same month. I . . . . had recourse to my old friend Hakluyt as usual. I there found (vol. iii., pp. 769. et seq.) that on starting from Gravesend, there were only two vessels . . . . . these vessels arrived at Plymouth on the 24th of July, and were there detained by westerly winds until the 17th of August, when they—'Then departed with another ship, also for our Rear-admirall . . . . and a fine pinnesse also, called the Dorothie, *which was Sir Walter Raleigh's.*'

It therefore follows, that the pinnace might have joined them immediately before the 17th of August, a date too late for our purpose. Nay more, the only authority for Mr. Lodge's statement, that the vessel was commanded by Sir Walter, rests upon the words which I have put in italics; his

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name is not mentioned in the subsequent account of the expedition, although, on the 7th of February, 1587, it was found necessary to hold a council of war, at which no less than eighteen officers assisted, all of whom, beginning with the admiral, are named. Raleigh's name does not occur; and is it conceivable that he, if present in the fleet, would have been absent on such an occasion? . . . . . In . . . . the *Leicester Correspondence*, pulished for the Camden Society in 1844, I find his [Raleigh's] name occurring several times. On the 29th of March, 1586, Raleigh writes 'from the court' to the Earl of Leicester . . . in the Low Countries: he states that he had moved the Queen to send Leicester some pioneers, and found her very willing; but that since, the matter had been stayed, he knew not for what cause. He then goes on to protest against certain rumours which had been afloat as to his having been acting a treacherous part with the Queen against the Earl. Leicester had been in some disgrace with her Majesty. . . . . .

On the 1st of April the Queen herself writes to Leicester . . . And on the same day, Walsingham, at the express instance of the Queen, signifies to Leicester that Rawley, 'upon her honor,' had done Leicester good offices; and that, during the time of her displeasure, he dealt as earnestly for him as any other of his friends. All this shows Raleigh in high favour and standing at the court; and it is most improbable that he could, at such a moment, absent himself no less than three months from it. . . . . .

On the 31st of May, Leicester writes to Walsingham, and speaks of Rawley's pioneers; saying that he had written to him saying that they were ready to come. This could not refer to Raleigh's letter of 29th of March, because in it he states that the matter had been stayed; it must refer to one of a later date, which does not appear, but which was written, in all probability, some time on in May; it could not have been in Leicester's possession on the 29th of May, because on that day he writes to Walsingham and mentions the same subject; namely, his wish for a reinforcement of 1,000 men, which led him to speak of Rawley's pioneers on the 31st. . . . . .

In a letter from Burleigh to Leicester, dated 20th of June, 1586, occurs the following:

'In Irland all thynges are quiet, and a nombre of gentilmen of Somersett, Devon, Dorset, Cheshyre, and Lancashyre, are making themselves to go to Monster, to plant two or three thousand people, mere English, there this year.'

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In a note to this, Mr. Bruce . . . states, that Stow records the names of the honourable and worshipful gentlemen who made the attempt to colonize Munster, and names, amongst others, Sir Walter Raleigh. . . . . .

Now I think that most people will agree with me in thinking that the whole of this, Raleigh's movements so far as they can be traced, his position at court, and the busy and stirring nature of the time, make it altogether improbable that Raleigh was absent in the month of June, 1586, on a voyage to Virginia. Hakluyt's not mentioning that he was in the vessel, would of itself be convincing to my mind, knowing the extent of his information on all subjects connected with Raleigh, and his minute and painstaking accuracy. Knowing, however, that *this* was the voyage in which Raleigh was stated to have visited Virginia, I have thought it worth while to search for more positive evidence. How far I have succeeded may be seen, but it is open to others to fix the fact of Raleigh's having been in England within the time I have limited. . . . . .

I cannot refrain, however, from adding a word or two of purely speculative conjecture. There is something rather suspicious in Drake visiting Virginia with the whole of his armament, and losing time in doing so, when the whole nation, from the queen downwards, was on the very tenter-hooks of anxiety for intelligence of him and of his success. The question arises, was it a rendezvous? and did the 'bark of aviso' bear other and more important despatches than those addressed to Master Ralph Lane? Might not its arrival a day or two earlier have directed Drake to strike a blow at some defenceless but important part of the Spanish empire, deadly in proportion to its being unexpected? These are questions which I can in no wise answer, but they have arisen in my mind; and if it were so, we might be fain to believe, in spite of every thing that I have been able to bring forward, that Raleigh was indeed on board his gallant little bark, but that the mark not having been hit, the attempt was kept secret. . . . . .

About fourteen or fifteen days after the departure of the bark, Grenvil made his appearance with the other three vessels. After making every search he returned home, leaving fifteen men on the island of Roanoke. . . . . No one has ever asserted that Raleigh was on board of this fleet.

Nothing daunted by these failures—'In the yeere of our Lord 1587, Sir Walter Raleigh, intending to persevere in the planting of his country of Virginia, prepared a newe colonie

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of one hundred and fiftie men to be sent thither, under the charge of John White, whom hee appointed Governour, and also appointed unto him twelve assistants, unto whom he gave a charter, and incorporated them by the name of the Governour and Assistants of the Citie of Raleigh in Virginia.' *Hak.* vol. iii. p. 280.

This colony . . . . did not thrive; and in August of the same year White was . . . induced to return to England for assistance. He failed in his first attempt to go back with aid. In 1593 he gives . . . an account of a voyage he made thither in 1590, but which quite failed in its object. The men with whom he embarked showed a greater disposition towards buccaneering, than to assist him in his search for the unfortunate colonists. He found traces of their having gone to the Island of Croatan; but his associates would not prosecute the search, and poor White . . . was obliged to leave them, if they even then survived, to their fate. From that day to this no intelligence has ever been got as to what became of them. This voyage was made, if not under Raleigh's auspices, at all events with his assistance. It has been supposed by some that this voyage of White in 1590 was the *last* attempt made by Raleigh to succour his colonists. . . . This, however, was not the case. At p. 1563, vol. iv. of Purchas, a very brief account is given of a ship having been purchased by Raleigh and sent out under the command of 'Samuell Mace (a sufficient marriner who had been twice before at Virginnia), to fynd out those people which he had sent last thither by Captain White in 1587.'

The ill success of the previous attempts to communicate with the colony seems to have been ascribed to the practice which prevailed in that day of engaging seamen for the voyage with a share in the profits; this Raleigh attempted to remedy by hiring 'all the cumpanye for wages by the month.' I quote from Strachey's *Virginia*, printed by the Hakluyt Society from an original MS. . . . . In spite of Raleigh's precautions as to the hiring, the people behaved ill, and—'They returned, and brought no comfort or new accesse of hope concerning the lives and safety of the unfortunate English people, for which only they were sett forth, and the charg of this employment was undertaken.'

Here ends the history of Sir Walter Raleigh's connexion with Virginian discovery and colonization. . . . . T. N. Demerary." 1st S. iv. 448. 1851.

(P.) For *Raleigh* see also 118. A*., 216. A.

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409. RAM FEAST. 58.
410. RAYNER. 212. *c.*
411. REDVERS. 15. A.

412. REYNOLDS, Sir Joshua.

(A.) [*Baptism*]:—"I have been favoured by the incumbent of Plympton S. Maurice with a copy of the following entry in the Register of Baptisms of that parish, together with the appended note . . .:—

'1723. Joseph, son of Samuel Reynolds, clerk, baptized July the 30th.'

On another page is the following memorandum:

'In the entry of baptisms for the year 1723, the person by mistake named *Joseph*, son of Samuel Reynolds, clerk, baptized July 30th, was *Joshua* Reynolds, the celebrated painter, who died February 23, 1792.'

Samuel Reynolds, the father, was master of Plympton Grammar School from about 1715 to 1745, in which year he died. During that period his name appears once in the parish book, in the year 1742, as 'minister for the time being' (not incumbent of the parish): the Rev. Geo. Langworthy having been the incumbent from 1736 to 1745, both inclusive.

Query, Was Sir Joshua by mistake baptized *Joseph?* or was the mistake made after baptism, *in registering the name?* J. SANSOM, Oxford." 1st S. viii. 513. 1853.

(B.) [*Baretti's Portrait*]: (*a*) "Can any of your correspondents inform me where the portrait of Barretti, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, now is? GEO. R. CORNER." 1st S. viii. 411. 1853.

(*b*) "In reply to Mr. G. R. CORNER'S Query regarding Sir Joshua Reynold's picture of Baretti, I can give him the information he requires.

This very interesting portrait is now at my brother's, Holland House, Kensington.

My late father, Lord Holland, had a pretty picture of the late Lord Hertford's mother (I believe), or some near relation of his. Not being connected with that family, my father offered it to Lord Hertford, leaving it to his lordship to give him such pictures as he might choose in exchange. Some time afterwards this portrait of Baretti was sent, and was much prized and admired. It represents Baretti reading a small book, which he holds close to his face with both hands; he is in a white coat, and the whole carries with it a certainty

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of resemblance. This occurred about twenty-five years ago. . . . . C. Fox, Addison Road." 1st S. viii. 477. 1853.

(C.) [*Lectures*]:—(*a*) "On looking into a Memoir of Edmund Burke, in Walker's *Hibernian Magazine* for 1810, I was startled by the following statement, and am desirous of knowing whether it has any foundation to rest upon:

'In 1769, the Royal Academy was opened; Sir Joshua Reynolds was appointed President, and Mr. Burke wrote that address which made the name of the amiable President so justly celebrated. Every one of those addresses, which have so much delighted the artists of Europe, was written by Mr. Burke from hints furnished him by Sir Joshua. For this service, Mr. Burke was known to receive 4000*l.*, and it is probable he received much more. Sir Joshua's sight grew dim; and the necessity of a fair copy being made out for him, not being able to read Mr. Burke's crowded page, led to this discovery.' Αλιεύς, Dublin." 1st S. xii. 325. 1855.

(*b*) "The statement made, in Walker's *Hibernian Magazine* for 1810, of Mr. Burke being the author of Sir Joshua's *Lectures*, seems entirely corroborated by that given in the *Memoirs of Burke* by Charles M'Cormick, L.L.B. (2nd edit., London, 1798.) At pp. 91–4, 96, and 97, it is stated:

'If we turn our attention to a public discourse delivered at the opening of the Royal Academy, a few months before, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, but written by Mr. Burke, we shall find new reasons to admire the versatility of his talents, the almost unbounded expansion of his genius. . . . . As the Academy was to be opened on the second of January, 1769, with an address from the President, Mr. Burke prepared for the task with all the enthusiastic ardour which friendship, gratitude, and a noble consciousness of his equality to the attempt could inspire. . . It is not easy to resist the temptation of making larger extracts from this wonderful performance, and from the other discourses prepared by the same writer, executed in the same style, and delivered by the President at the annual distribution of prizes during his continuance in the chair. . . . . Sir Joshua first made out a sketch of the subject, and furnished such hints as chiefly related to painting and sculpture. These Mr. Burke took for his text; but did not restrain the effusions of his own genius upon any topic arising out of, or naturally connected with them. A copy was then sent to Sir Joshua, who, at his leisure, superadded any new ideas that occurred to him; and

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returned the performance, interlined with those further suggestions. . . . . It must be observed, that Sir Joshua himself was very willing to encourage the idea of his being under an obligation of that sort to Dr. Johnson, with a view, no doubt, of diverting conjecture from his real assistant. 'Whatever merit,' says he, speaking of his discourses, 'they have, must be imputed in a great measure to the education which I may be said to have had under Dr. Johnson. I do not mean to say he contributed even a single sentiment to them, but he qualified my mind to think justly.' . . . . . Sir Joshua died 23rd Feb., 1792, ... not forgetting to give Mr. Burke a strong proof of his liberal and sincere regard. He cancelled a bond for two thousand pounds he had lent to Mr. Burke, and added to that favour a bequest of two thousand pounds more. G. N." 1st S. xii. 393. 1855.

(*c*) . . . We are now called upon to believe that Sir Joshua Reynolds did not write his admirable Discourses. This is too bad. McCormick is poor authority; and, in an ill-judged zeal for the honour of his countryman Burke, has asserted more than is true. I am happy to have it in my power to vindicate the memory of our illustrious artist, who was incapable of deceit, and who has shown, by some admirable notes on Shakspeare, that he needed no assistance, although his extreme modesty might make him defer to judgments even inferior to his own.

Among the manuscripts of the late James Boswell, which were sold by Messrs. Leigh and Sotheby after his decease, there was, among other interesting papers, a letter from Sir Joshua Reynolds to Edward Malone, in which is the following passage:

'I have sent by my servant my Discourse, which I shall take as a great favour if you will not only examine critically, but will likewise add a little elegance.'

I neglected, in making this extract, to note the date; but the letter is doubtless still in existence, and may be traced to its present possessors. Burke survived Reynolds five years, and therefore must have been as accessible as Malone, had Sir Joshua been in the habit of seeking his assistance.

But let us hear Burke himself, in a letter to Malone, after the publication of Sir Joshua's Life and Works. He says:

'I have read over some parts of the Discourses with an unusual sort of pleasure, partly because, being a little faded from my memory, they have a sort of appearance of novelty; partly by reviving recollections mixed with melancholy and

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satisfaction. The Flemish journal I had never seen before. You trace in that everywhere the spirit of the Discourses, supported by new examples. *He is always the same man, the same philosophical, the same artist-like critic, the same sagacious observer, with the same minuteness, without the smallest degree of trifling.*'

Is this the language of one who had himself written the Discourses? It is to libel Burke as well as Sir Joshua Reynolds to give currency to this falsehood. Northcote, his pupil, who lived some years in his house, had, however, effectively answered the scandalous fiction long since in his Memoirs. He tells us:

'At the period when it was expected he should have composed them (the lectures), I have heard him walking at intervals in his room till one or two o'clock in the morning, and I have on the following day, at an early hour seen the papers on the subject of his art which had been written the preceding night. *I have had the rude manuscript from himself in his own handwriting,* in order to make a fair copy from it for him to read in public. I have seen the manuscript also, after it had been revised by Dr. Johnson, who has sometimes altered it to a wrong meaning, from his total ignorance of the subject and of art; *but never, to my knowledge, saw the marks of Burke's pen in any of the manuscripts.*'

As your pages will give currency to this base M'Cormick fiction, it is but proper that they should also contain its full and ample refutation, although those who are well acquainted with the literature of the last half century will be aware that it had not the slightest foundation in fact, and that it had been more than once satisfactorily answered. S. W. SINGER, Mickleham." 1st S. xii. 472. 1855.

(*d*) "Two statements, to the effect that Burke was the author of those Discourses, have lately been quoted in 'N. & Q.' They do not, indeed, profess to rest upon any authority; and the internal evidence furnished by the Discourses themselves is amply sufficient to disprove such an unfounded assertion. But I may be allowed to state that the original MSS., in Sir Joshua's own handwriting, are still preserved at Great Torrington, Devon, where Sir Joshua's nephew, and my maternal grandfather, the Rev. John Palmer, resided. FREDERICK T. COLBY, Exeter College, Oxford." 1st S. xii. 473. 1855.

(*e*) "Mr. R. Arnott has kindly pointed out to us that, in the

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Art Union Journal for 1844, at p. 45, will be found a letter from R. B. Haydon in reply to *The Times* of Dec. 26, 1843, wherein, incorporated in a review of the *Life of Wilkie*, this question had been mooted. Haydon completely demolishes the argument, both positively and inferentially. And, at p. 67, adduces further proof in a letter communicated to him by a *then living* niece of Sir Joshua's." EDITOR. "N. & Q." 1st S. xii. 473. 1855.

(D.) [*Literary Works*]:—(*a*) "Sir Joshua Reynolds was a painter among painters, and a man of letters among men of letters; and as long as the literature of this country endures, his name will be held in remembrance and in honour. In giving, therefore, to the world a new edition of *The Literary Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, the first President of the Royal Academy; to which is prefixed a Memoir of the Author, with Remarks on his Professional Character illustrative of his Principles and Practice*, by Henry William Beechey, Mr. Bohn has conferred a boon, not only upon the professional student, but upon all who would acquire a knowledge of the presiding principle which regulates every part of art, and who can appreciate the eloquent and admirable manner in which the great president conveyed that knowledge." EDITOR. "N. & Q." 1st S. v. 190. 1852.

(*b*) "We have received the second volume of Bohn's reprint of *The Literary Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, edited by H. W. H. Beechey, which completes the work. No President ever filled the Chair of the Royal Academy with greater benefit to the students than did Sir Joshua; and this cheap and useful edition of the invaluable legacy which he bequeathed to them is well calculated not only for their use, but for more general circulation, now that the arts of design are receiving such deserved attention in this country." EDITOR. "N. & Q." 1st S. v. 430. 1852.

(E.) [*Nephew*]:—(*a*) "In the Correspondence of David Garrick, vol. i. pp. 664, 658., 4to, 1831, there are letters of Sir Joshua Reynolds regarding a play written by his nephew. Can you tell me whether this was the Rev. Mr. Palmer, minister of the Temple Church, and who was afterwards Dean of Cashel; or had Sir Joshua any other nephew? The letters are dated 1774, and the author appears to have been resident in London about that time. A. Z." 1st S. viii. 102. 1853.

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(*b*) "I think I can certify A. Z. that two distinct branches of the Palmer family, the Deans, and another claiming like kindred to Sir Joshua Reynolds, still exist; from which I conclude that Sir Joshua had at least two nephews of that name. I regret that I cannot inform your correspondent as to the authorship of the piece about which he inquires; but, in the event of A. Z. not receiving a satisfactory answer to his Query through the medium of your publication, if he will furnish me with any farther particulars he may possess on the subject, I shall be happy to try what I can do towards possessing him with the desired information. J. SANSOM, Oxford." 1st S. viii. 232. 1853.

(F.) [*Works*]:—"Having the early catalogues of the Royal Academy before me, I see that in 1773 and following years, Sir Joshua exhibited twelve or thirteen works. You will find they stand as current Nos. in the list. Can you inform me whether they hung on the line, that is, in the space of privilege, or took their chance with the many? Had they, under his own eye, been grouped together, what a treat it must have been to see them! What an evidence of the industry of the man! Though too late in the day to obtain these details from actual observation, enough may be recorded or remembered through others, to assist in throwing light on the rules and customs of past days, which never can be deficient in interest while they tend to illustrate the habits and characters of great men. . . . . A LAYMAN, Athenæum Club." 1st S. iv. 406. 1851.

(G.) For *Reynolds* see also 212. *c.*, 552 A.

413. RILLIDGE POINT, 315. *c.* 415. RINGS. 432. *a. b.*
414. RINGMORE. 510.

416. RISDON, Tristram.

(A.) "*Athelstane's form of Donation*:—Tristram Risdon, in his quaint *Survey of the Co. of Devon*, after mentioning the foundation of the church of High Bickington by King Athelstane,

'Who,' he says, 'gave to God and it one hide of land, as appeareth by the donation, a copy whereof, for the antiquity thereof, I will here insert: 'Iche Athelstane King, grome of this home, geve and graunt to the preist of this chirch, one yoke of mye land frelith to holde, woode in my holt house

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to buyld, bitt grass for all hys beasts, fuel for hys hearth, pannage for hys sowe and piggs, world without end.' . . . . .

Whence did Risdon derive his copy of King Athelstane's form of donation? J. SANSOM." 1st S. ii. 120. 1850.

(B.) [*Somagia*]:—"'Sir John Willington gave *Weeksland* . . . . unto Robert Tolla, *cum 40 somagia annuatim capiend in Buckenholt* (so be the words of the grant) in the time of K. Ed. I.' [From Risdon's *Survey of Devon.*]

The Willingtons were lords of the manor of Umberleigh, where Athelstane's palace stood, with its chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity, formerly rich in ancient monuments, and having a chantry near to it. Some of the monuments from this chapel are still preserved in the neighbouring church of Atherington.

. . . . . .

What is the precise meaning of the word *Somagia?*

. . . . . .

J. SANSOM." 1st S. ii. 120. 1850.

(*b*)—"This is the plural of 'somagium,' 'summagium,' and means 'horseloads.' It is a word frequently found in documents relating to agrarian matters, and may signify the load packed upon the horse's back (whence the name 'sumpter-horse'), or in a cart drawn by a horse. Mr. SANSOM will find a full explanation of the derivatives of its root, 'sagma,' at p. 50, vol. vii., of Ducange. J. BT." 1st S. ii. 187. 1850.

(C.) For *Risdon* see also 176. *c.*, 245. A. *b.*, 528. *a. e.*

417. ROBIN. 257. E.

418. ROCK LEGENDS.

"Rock and stone legends abound [in Devonshire]. A great quoit on the top of Heltor is said to have been thrown there by the Devil during a fight with King Arthur. Adin's Hole (Etin's) is the name of a sea cavern near Torquay; another is Daddy's Hole. The Devil long hindered the building of Buckfastleigh Church, which stands on the top of a steep hill. A stone, at about the distance of a mile, has the marks of his finger and thumb. The stone circles, &c. on Dartmoor, are said to have been made 'when there were wolves on the hills, and winged serpents in the low lands.' On the side of Belstone Tor, near Oakhampton, is a small grave circle called 'Nine

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Stones.' It is said to dance every day at noon. R. J. K." 1st. S. ii. 512. 1850.

419. ROLLE. 332. *b.*
420. ROUPE. 332. *a.*
421. ROWE. 227., 528. *b.*
422. RYDER. 505. B. *b.*

423. SABBATH.

[The following is a Devonshire saying]:—

"'Who on the Sabbath pares his horn
'Twere better for him he had never been born.'

R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 511. 1850.

424. SALT.

"To spill *salt* on the table is considered unlucky" [in Devonshire]. "Ks. Plymouth." 1st S. vi. 193. 1852.

425. SAMPFORD PEVERELL. 332. *b.*
426. SANDFORD. 332. *b.*
427. SATURDAY. 160. A.
428. SAUL. 167. *b.*

429. SAVILLE of Okehampton.

(*a*) "While staying a short time ago in the neighbourhood of Oakhampton, I fell in with a tradition respecting this family, to the effect that, several generations back, its then representative, who was a government contractor, brought upon himself the displeasure of 'the powers that were,' and was consigned to the pillory, and that he thereupon effected a change of name from Acton (I think) to the present more euphonious cognomen of Saville. Is there any truth in this tradition? and if so, what were the circumstances connected with it? T. HUGHES, Chester." 1st S. x. 509. 1854.

(*b*) "The tradition relates to Mr. Christopher Atkinson, who was accused of mal-practices as agent of the Victualling Office, and on Dec. 4, 1783, expelled the House of Commons for perjury. He was subsequently convicted in the Court of King's Bench on the charge of perjury, and ordered to pay a fine of 2,000*l.*; to stand in the pillory near the Corn Exchange; and to be imprisoned for twelve months. The punishment of the pillory took place Nov. 25, 1785. We believe it was Atkinson's case that occasioned the following epigram:—

'Quoth Ralph to his friend, Here 's a strange rout and pother,
It matters not which they chuse, this man or t'other;

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I'd as soon give my vote for the Indian cornfactor,
As I would for the no less deserving contractor,
They are both rogues alike—I repeat it again,
The one rogue in *spirit*, the other in *grain*.'

Atkinson, however, subsequently received the royal pardon; and on his marriage with Jane, daughter and heir of John Saville, Esq., of Enfield, assumed by royal licence, in 1798, the surname and arms of Saville." EDITOR "N. & Q." 1st. S. x. 509. 1854.

430. SCALD or Burn.

"*Devonshire Charm for*:—

'There were three angels came from the East and West,
One brought fire and another brought frost,
And the third it was the Holy Ghost.
Out fire, in frost, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son
And of the Holy Ghost. Amen.'

H. G. T., Launceston." 1st S. iii. 258. 1851.

431. SELLER, Rev. Abednego.

(*a*) "Any information respecting Ab. Seller, rector of Combentynhead, Devon, and author of *The Devout Communicant, assisted with Rules for the Worthy Receiving of the Blessed Eucharist*, London, 1686, will be much valued by E. D. R." 1st S. v. 587. 1852.

(*b*) "Abednego Seller was a native of Plymouth, educated at Lincoln College, Oxford; minister of Combentynhead, in Devonshire, and subsequently vicar of St. Charles, Plymouth; but was deprived for refusing to take the oaths to William III. In Hearne's *MS. Diaries*, 1710, vol. xxv. occurs a notice of him:—'Mr. Abednego Seller was another Nonjuror, and had also collected an excellent study of books; but as he was a man of less learning than Dr. Thomas Smith (the editor of *Bede*), so his books were inferior to them, and heaped together with less discretion.' Another notice of him occurs in Granger's *Biog. Dict.*, vol. iv. p. 11:—'Mr. Ashby, President of St. John's College, Cambridge, has a copy of *Konigii Bibliotheca*, interleaved and filled with MS. notes by A. Seller.' He was the author of several works which are given in Watts's *Bibliotheca Britan.*, but the following is omitted: *Remarks upon the Reflections of the Author of 'Popery Misrepresented,' &c. in his Answerer, particularly as to the Deposing Doctrine*, Anon., London, 4to. 1686. Another work has also been attributed to him, viz. *Considerations upon the Second Canon in the Book entitled 'Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical,'* &c. Lond., 4to. 1693. Seller died about

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1720, aged seventy-three. A letter from Seller to Humphrey Wanley, concerning Greek music, &c., will be found in the Harl. MSS. No. 3782, Art. 26. Consult also Wood's *Athenæ Oxon*, vol. iv. p. 563., edit. Bliss." EDITOR. "N. & Q." 1st S. v. 587. 1852.

432. SERJEANTS' RINGS AND MOTTOES.

(*a*) "T. P. would be obliged to any of your antiquarian readers who could inform him . . . . whether the custom of serjeants-at-law presenting rings with mottoes, on taking the coif, prevailed so long back as A.D. 1670–80. . . . . ." 1st S. v. 59. 1852.

(*b*) "This custom of giving rings is of very old standing. Chancellor Fortescue, who wrote about 1465, tells us that all Serjeants, at their appointment, 'shall give rings of gold to the value of forty pounds at the least; and your Chancellor well remembereth that at the time he received this state and degree, the rings which he then gave stood him in fifty pounds.' (*Land. Leg.*, c. 59.) . . . . . E. N. W., Southwark." 1st S. v. 92. 1852.

(*c*) [The following occurs in a "correct list of the Serjeants' mottoes during the last twenty years."]

"1832. J. T. Coleridge. *Justo secerne iniquum.* J. B. COLMAN, Eye." 1st S. v. 181. 1852.

(*d*) [The following occurs in "a perfect list from 1786 to the year 1832 when Mr. Colman's list . . . . begins."]

"1801. W. M. Praed. *Fœderis æquas dicamus leges.* J. E." 1st S. v. 563. 1852.

433. SEXTON. 187. F.

434. SEYMOUR.

(*a*) "*Elizabeth Seymour*:—I have lately met with a pedigree in which it is stated that Sir Joseph Tredenham (I presume of Cornwall or Devonshire) married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Seymour, first baronet of the present Duke of Somerset's line, by his wife Elizabeth Champernown; but another pedigree gives this Elizabeth to George Cary of Cockington, co. Devon, Esq. Which is correct? Or did the said Elizabeth marry twice? and, in that case, which was the first husband? PATONCE." 1st S. ix. 174. 1854.

(*b*) "According to Collins,—'Sir E. Seymour, first baronet,

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married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Arthur Champeirion,* of Dartington, co. Devon, by whom he had, besides other issue, a daughter Elizabeth, who married George Cary, of Cockington, co. Devon. Sir Edward Seymour, third baronet, married Anne, daughter of Sir William Portman, and left, besides sons, a daughter, also named Elizabeth, who married Sir Joseph Tredenham, of Tregony in Cornwall, Knight.'

These two ladies, whose similarity of name probably caused the confusion, must have lived at least half a century apart. A. B." 1st S. ix. 313. 1854.

435. SHERMAN. 332. *b.*
436. SHILLINGFORD. 332. *b.*
437. SHROVE TUESDAY. 301.
438. SIDMOUTH. 36. A. *a.*
439. SILVERTON. 44. A., 240.
440. SKIVERTON. 195. A.

441. SLINGS.

"*Use of Slings by the Early Britons:*—Similar discoveries [of small accumulations of shore pebbles, of the size most convenient for slings] to that on Weston Hill [near Weston-super-Mare], have been made in the fortified positions in the south-east of Devon. Among the means adopted by the Romans for the defence of their camps and stations, stones were used, the larger being thrown from engines, and the smaller from slings (Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* l. ii. 19. 24.; iv. 23.; v. 35., &c.); and we learn from Vegetius that they were in the practice of collecting round stones in their fortified places, to be ready for use in case of an attack:

'Saxa rotunda de fluviis, quia pro soliditate graviora sunt et aptiora mittentibus diligentissimè colliguntur, ex quibus muri replentur.'—Lib. iv. c. 8.

Heaps of stones collected for this purpose were found in the hill fortress, now partially destroyed, called Stockland Castle, and others in the neighbourhood of Membury Castle; for particulars respecting which, see a little work entitled *The British and Roman Remains in the Vicinity of Axminster in the County of Devon*, p. 82. For an account of similar stones found in the camp at Camalet, see also Dr. Stukeley's *Itinerary*, p. 142. J. L." 1st S. vi. 17. 1852.

442. SLONES = SLOES.

[The following proverb is used in Devonshire]:—

"Many slones (sloes), many groans
Many nits (nuts), many pits.'

R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 511. 1850.

* [Probably a misprint for *Champernon.*]

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443. Snail.

". . . . . I heard some children singing near Exeter, in July last, ...

'Snail, snail, shut out your horns;
Father and mother are dead:
Brother and sister are in the back yard
Begging for barley bread.'

Geo. E. Frere." 1st S. iii. 179. 1851.

444. Snake. 493.
445. Sokespic. 483.
446. Somagia. 416. B.
447. Somerset. 434. *a.*

448. Southcott, Johanna.

(A.) "A late acquisition to my collection of the hymnologists of Great Britain, is a little square volume entitled:

'Hymns, or Spiritual Songs, composed from the Prophetical Writings of Johanna Southcott. By P. Pullen, and published by her order:

'And I saw an Angel,' &c.—Rev. xx. 1, 2.

London. Sold by W. Tozer, &c., n. d. pp. 223., 172 Hymns.

The 'Little Flock' are thus addressed by their 'Poet Laureat:'

'Fellow Labourers in Christ's Vineyard,

'By permission of our 'spiritual mother,' Johanna Southcott, I have composed the following Hymns from her prophetic writings; and should you feel that pleasure in singing them to the honour and glory of *God*, for the establishment of *His Blessed Kingdom*, and the destruction of Satan's power, as I have felt in the perusal of her writings, I am fully persuaded that they will ultimately tend to your everlasting happiness, and I hope and trust to the speedy completion of what we ardently long and daily pray for, namely, 'His Kingdom *to come, that* His *will may be done on Earth as it is in Heaven, and that we may be delivered from evil*:' that that blessed prayer may be soon, very soon, fulfilled, is the earnest desire of your fellow-labourer, Philip Pullen, London, 16 Sept. 1807.

The vagaries of this sect date a little before my day, and I shall be glad to be directed to the best source of information regarding them, their 'spiritual mother,' and peculiar views.

The reader of these hymns will not feel the spiritual elevation spoken of by Mr. Pullen, unless, perhaps, he has, like him, drunk at the fountain-head, *i.e.* studied the 'prophetic writings:' the songs of the now 'scattered sheep' being rhapsodical to a degree, and intelligible only to such an audience

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as that some of your sexagenarian readers may have found assembled under the roof of 'The House of God.' The leading titles to these hymns are, 'True Explanations of the Bible;' 'Strange Effects of Faith;' 'Words in Season;' 'Communications and Visions, not published;' 'Cautions to the Sealed;' 'Answers to the Books of Garrett and Brothers;' 'Rival Enthusiasts;' and such like. Pullen, their poet, 'was formerly a schoolmaster, and afterwards an accountant in London,' and is called by Upcott, in his *Dict. of Living Authors*, 1816, with reference to a commercial publication of his, 'an empiric,' which, I take it, applies equally to his poetical pretensions as here displayed.

A couplet in the first hymn bears an asterisk, intimating that it is published at the particular request of Johanna Southcott; it is short, and will afford at once a specimen of the poetical *calibre* of the volume, and the *pith* of the 'spiritual mother's' views:

> '*To* FATHER, SON, *and* HOLY GHOST,
> *One* GOD *in power* THREE,
> Bring back the ancient world that 's lost
> To all mankind—and me.'

J. O." 1st S. vi. 265. 1852.

(B) For *Southcott* see also 505. D.

449. SOUTHHAMS. 83.
450. SOUTHMOLTON. 212. *c.*
451. SOUTH TAWTON. 230. *a.*
452. SOW. 406.
453. SPANISH ARMADA. 488. A.
454. SPEKE. 192. F. G.

455. SPINSTER'S ROCK.

"The great Cromlech at Drewsteignton is said to have been erected by three *spinsters* (meaning *spinners*); another legend says by three young men. The first is the more usual saying. The Cromlech is generally called 'The Spinster's Rock.' Rowe (*Dartmoor*, p. 99) suggests that the three spinsters were the Valkyrien, or perhaps the Fates. He is no doubt right. R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 512. 1850.

456. SPITCHWICK. 483.

457. SPITTING.

"*Spitting for Luck*, &c.:—During my boyhood it was a common practice with children, when they saw a grey horse, to 'spit three times,' and 'go where the spit goes' (as the

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initiating phrase expressed it), in order to be *lucky*. The *modus operandi* was to eject spittle as far from the operator as possible, and for him to take his stand for the second ejection upon the spot where the first emission fell; and so for the third. The practice, notwithstanding the progress of education, has not entirely died out, as I find my own children have been taught the charm, or whatever it may be called. Can any of your correspondents explain the origin of this custom?

For two persons to wash their hands in the same water is deemed a cause of *strife*, unless the second person spits in the water. Whence the origin of this?

It is considered unlucky for a person to walk under a ladder, unless he spits three times. Can this be explained? Ks., Plymouth." 1st S. vi. 193. 1852.

458. Sprain.

Devonshire Charm for:—"As our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was riding into Jerusalem, His horse tripped and sprained his leg. Our Blessed Lord and Saviour blessed it, and said,

> 'Bone to bone, and vein to vein,
> O vein, turn to thy rest again!
> M. N. so shall thine, in the Name,' &c.

H. G. T., Launceston." 1st S. iii. 258. 1851.

459. Squab Pie. 10. *a*.
460. Stancombe. 505. C. *c*.
461. Staplehill. 332. *a*.

462. Star.

"Whatever you think of when you see a star shooting, you are sure to have" [according to a belief in Devonshire]. "J. M. (4)." 1st S. iv. 99. 1851.

463. Statuta Exoniæ.

(*a*) "In one of Thorpe's sale catalogues appeared some years ago an article thus: '*Statuta Antiqua Angliæ*, a very early MS. of the fourteenth century, upon vellum, 4to., in the original binding.' That volume . . . . . is said to have comprised *Statuta Exoniæ*. Will any among your readers who may be able to do so, be good enough to state the dates and subjects of the statutes designated by the above title; and as to the MS. itself, where it now is, and whether it be accessible. J. D. S." 1st S. vi. 198. 1852.

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(*b*) "In the 14 Edward I. a statute of this kind was passed, but no heading to it among the obsolete acts; and immediately afterwards follows its provisions, under the term 'Articuli Statuti Exoniæ.'

There may have been other statutes passed at Exeter about the same period, which might give rise to the term 'Statutes of Exeter.' The only one I have seen occurs in the collection of public statutes, published, with an index and appendix, in 1786, by the Queen's Printers, but, as before observed, there may have been other statutes passed at that place which have not come under my notice. JOHN NURSE CHADWICK." 1st S. vi. 329. 1852.

464. ST. BARNABAS. 479.

465. STEPHENS, Rev. W.

(A.) [*Sermons*]:—(*a*) "Amonst the books wanted in your sixth number is a 'Tract or Sermon' of the Rev. Wm. Stephens. It is a sermon, and one of four, all of which are far above the ordinary run of sermons, and deserving of a place in every clergyman's library. They are rarely met with together, though separately they turn up now and then upon book stalls amongst miscellaneous sermons; it is a pity they are not better known, and much is every day republished less deserving of preservation. The author's widow published her husband's sermons in two volumes; but, strange to say, these, which are worth all the rest, are not included in the collection. The titles of the four sermons are—

'The Personality and Divinity of the Holy Ghost proved from Scripture, and the Anti-Nicene Fathers.' Preached before the University of Oxford, St. Matthias' Day, 1716–17. Third Edition, 1725.

'The Catholic Doctrine concerning the Union of the Two Natures in the One Person of Christ stated and vindicated.' Preached at the visitation of the Bishop of Oxford, 1719. Second Edition, 1722.

'The Divine Persons One God by an Unity of Nature: or, That Our Saviour is One God with His Father, by an Eternal Generation from His Substance, asserted from Scripture and the Anti-Nicene Fathers.' Preached before the University of Oxford, 1722. Second Edition, 1723.

'The Several Heterodox Hypotheses, concerning both the Persons and the Attributes of the Godhead, justly chargeable with more Inconsistencies and Absurdities than those

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which have been groundlessly imputed to the Catholic System.' Preached at the visitation of the Bishop of Exeter, 1724.

I shall be glad to learn from any of your readers whether the author published any other sermons or tracts which are not included in the two volumes of his sermons. WM. DENTON. Shoreditch." 1st S. i. 118. 1849.

(*b*) " . . . . . It has struck me that a volume of sermons in my possession may, from the nature of the subjects, be Stephens's. . . . . The volume contains six sermons, each with separate title and separate pagination. A common preface is prefixed, and there has been a common title-page, which unfortunately is missing in my copy.

'Serm. I. The Divinity of Christ argued, from his right to worship, on Rev. v. 13, 14, preached in 1720, at Great Torrington, at the Visitation of the Archdeacon of Barnstaple.'

'II. The necessity of believing the Divinity of the Son of God, John iii. 16, preached at Great Torrington on Christmas Day, 1721.'

'III. The Humiliation and Exaltation of the Son of God considered in a new light, Philipp. ii. 6–12, preached at the primary Visitation of Stephen (Weston) Lord Bishop of Exon, at Great Torrington, 1726.'

'IV. Christ, King of the Jews both before and after his Incarnation, Matt. ii. 1, 2, preached on Christmas Day and first Sunday after Epiphany, 1727.'

'V. The Beginning, Extent, and Duration of Christ's Mediatorial Kingdom, same text, and preached at the same season.'

'VI. The natural Supremacy of God the Son; same text, &c.'"

The three last sermons have a title generally applicable, and repeated before each, viz., 'The Supreme Dominion of God the Son, both Natural, Œconomical, and Judaical, proved from Scripture, in three Sermons.' The separate titles bear date 1729; and the publisher was Samuel Birt, at the Bible and Ball, Ave Maria Lane.

. . . . . .

The author, in the general preface, says, that Sermon ii. was not 'suffer'd to see the light before it had passed through the hands of *Dr. Waterland*.' Was not Stephens subsequently Vicar of St. Andrew's, Plymouth? BALLIOLENSIS." 1st S. i. 334. 1850.

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(*c*) "The sermons referred to by BALLIOLIENSIS, with a suggestion that they may be those of the Rev. W. Stephens, were preached by Rev. Samuel Johnson, vicar of Great, and rector of Little Torrington. Stephens was subsequently vicar of St. Andrew's, Plymouth, a living then in the gift of the corporation. W. DN." 1st S. ii. 451. 1850.

466. STEVEN'S GRAVE. 480. A. 467. ST. GILES. 332. *a.*

468. STICKLE.

[In Devonshire the word *stickle* is] "used to describe the shallow swift running water immediately below a pool. It is thus equivalent to the word *rapids.* It is by no means obsolete, or a mere technical term of the 'patient anglers.' The opposition in the line . . . 'Near to some *stickle* or *deep* bay,' would alone have been a good reason to doubt whether it could be the same as *pool.* G. W. T." 1st S. v. 235. 1852.

469. STILE. 333. B.
470. STILL-BORN CHILDREN. 91. B.
471. ST. JOHN. 194. *a. b.*
472. ST. NICHOLAS ISLAND. 295. *a. b.*
473. STOCKING. 333. B.
474. STOCKLAND. 441.

475. STOKE.

"I think that the towns and parishes of *Tawstock, Culmstock, Tavistock, Plymstock* . . . *Stoke in Teignhead* . . . must have received their names from a *stockade* of some kind *in* the rivers near which they are situated. S. S. S. (2)" 1st S. v. 308. 1852.

476. STOKE and UPTON.

"These names of places are so very common, and in some counties, as Bucks, Worcester, and Devon, apply to adjoining villages, that it would be interesting to know the origin of their names, and of their association. JNO. D. ALCROFT." 1st S. ix. 421. 1854.

477. STOKE FLEMING. 332. *b.*
478. STOKE-IN-TEIGNHEAD. 332. *b.*, 475.

479. STOKENHAM.

"Stokenham (or Stockingham) [Church], county of Devon, diocese of Exeter, is . . . dedicated to St. Barnabas. C. G., Paddington." 1st S. xi. 233. 1855.

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480. Storm.

(A.) "*From Conjuring*:—A common Devonshire remark on the rising of a storm is, 'Ah! there is a conjuring going on somewhere.' The following illustration was told me by an old inhabitant of this parish. In the parish of Mary Tavy is a spot called 'Steven's grave,' from a suicide said to have been buried there. His spirit proving troublesome to the neighbourhood, was laid by a former curate one Sunday afternoon service. A man who accompanied the clergyman on the way was told by him to make haste home, as a storm was coming. The man hurried away home, but though the afternoon had previously been very fine, he had scarcely reached his door before a violent thunder-storm came to verify the clergyman's words. J. M. (4) St. Mary Tavy." 1st S. iii. 404. 1851.

(B.) For *Storm* see also 543. B. *a. b.*

481. Pancras.

(*a*) *St. Pancras*:—"There are twelve churches in England dedicated to St. Pancras. Could any of your clerical readers inform me in what cities, towns, or villages they are to be found? Z." 1st S. x. 508. 1854.

(*b*) [Three of the twelve are in Devonshire—Exeter, Widecomb-in-the-Moor, and Pancrasweek near Holsworthy. See] "Norris Deck, Cambridge," and "F. B—. W." 1st S. xi. 37. 1855.

482. Strachleigh. 332. *a.*

483. Suckbitch = Spitchwick.

". . . The singularly unattractive name of *Suckbitch* . . . is used by more than one branch of a respectable and ancient family in the West of England, and I have traced its existence for at least five centuries. . . . . The earliest form of it known to me is *Sokespic*,—a word which seems to indicate a Saxon origin. The *spic*, or bacon end of it has now generally become *spitch* in the names of places; as in Spitchwick, a well known seat in Devonshire. . . . . E. S." 1st S. v. 425. 1852.

484. Sunday. 160. A. 485. Sundown. 529.

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486. TALATON.

[*Attitude at Church*]:—". . . . At Talaton, Devon, where the congregation turn towards the singing gallery at the west end, during the singing of the 'Magnificat' and other psalms, at the 'Gloria' they all turn round to the *east.* H. T. ELLACOMBE, Rectory, Clyst St. George." 1st S. ix. 257. 1854.

487. TAMAR and TORRIDGE.

(A.) "Westcote" (*View of Devonshire:* Exeter, 1845 (reprint), p. 348) "has a curious story of the Tamar and Torridge. It is worth comparing with a local rhyme given by Chambers, p. 26: 'Annan, Tweed, and Clyde,' &c. R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 511. 1850.

(B.) For *Tamar* see also 53.

488. TAVISTOCK.

(A.) *Spanish Armada:*—[The following entry occurs in the registers of the parish Church of Tavistock, Devon]

"'Receaved of the P'shers (parishioners) of Tavystock, towards a rate made for the setting fforth of souldyers for the guardynge of the Queen's ma'tie's p'son, and towardes the mayntenaunce of the Church this yere, as appeareth by a book of p'ticulars thereof xxx^{li} x^{s} iv^{d}.'

. . . . F. PHILLOTT." 1st. S. xii. 480. 1855.

(B.) For *Tavistock* see also 51. A. *i.* C., 54., 245. A. *b.*, 353. A. *b.*, 475.

489. TAWSTOCK. 90. *c.*, 475.

490. TEIGN.

(A.) "*Letters Historical and Botanical, relating chiefly to places in the Vale of Teign,* &c., by Dr. Fraser Halle, is a small volume which we can conscientiously recommend as a desirable travelling companion to such of our friends as may be about to visit this beautiful district of

'Lovely Devonia, land of flowers and songs.'

It is clearly the production of a thoughtful scholar; and besides its botanical notices and historical illustrations, contains many pleasant snatches of old song, and hints of bygone legends." EDITOR. "N. & Q." 1st S. iv. 143. 1851.

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(B) For *Teign* see also 57., 382. *b.*

491. TEIGNMOUTH. 36. B. *b. d.* 492. TERRINGTON. 283.

493. THORNS.

[*Devonshire Mode of Extracting*]:—"The skin cast by a snake is very useful in extracting thorns, &c., from the body, but, unlike other remedies, it is repellent, not attractive; hence it must be applied on the opposite side to that on which the thorn entered. In some cases where the skin has been applied on the same side, it has forced the thorn completely through the hand. H. G. T., Launceston." 1st S. iii. 259. 1851.

494. THORNCOMBE. 332. *b.*

495. THRUSH.

Cures for:—(*a*) "Take the child to a running stream, draw a straw through its mouth, and repeat the verse, 'Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings,' &c. R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 512. 1850.

(*b*) "On visiting one of my parishioners, whose infant was ill with the thrush, I asked her what medicine she had given the child? She replied, she had done nothing to it but say the eighth Psalm over it. I found that her cure was to repeat the eighth Psalm over the infant three times, three days running; and on my hesitating a doubt as to the efficacy of the remedy, she appealed to the case of another of her children who had suffered badly from the thrush, but had been cured by the use of no other means. If it was said 'with the virtue,' it was, she declared, an unfailing cure. The mention, in this Psalm, of 'the mouths of babes and sucklings,' I suppose led to its selection. W. FRASER, Tor-Mohun." 1st S. viii. 146. 1853.

(*c*) "Take three rushes from any running stream, and pass them separately through the mouth of the infant: then plunge the rushes again into the stream, and as the current bears them away, so will the thrush depart from the child.

Should this, as is not unlikely, prove ineffectual, 'Capture the nearest duck that can be met with, and place its mouth, wide open, within the mouth of the sufferer. The cold breath of the duck will be inhaled by the child, and the

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disease will gradually, and as I have been informed, not the less surely, take its departure. T. HUGHES, Chester." 1st S. viii. 265. 1853.

496. THURSDAY. 160. 497. TIDE. 330.

498. TIVERTON.

(A.) "*Inscriptions on Bells:*—(*a*) In the tower of Tiverton Church, there are eight bells with the following inscriptions on them:

1. 'Glory to God in the highest,'
2. 'And on earth peace,'
3. 'Goodwill towards men.'
4. 'Prosperity to all our benefactors.'
5. 'Wm. Evans of Chepstow, cast us all.'
6. 'Mr. Bartholomew Darey and Mr. James Cross, Churchwardens.'
7. 'Mr. Clement Govett and Mr. Thomas Anstey, Wardens.'
8. 'George Osmond, Esq., Mayor, 1736.'

Are such inscriptions common? ANON." 1st S. x. 255. 1854.

(*b*) "May I be allowed to correct the Note of an anonymous contributor as to the bells in Tiverton tower. Perhaps he has never examined them, but took his account from some local history. I was in the tower last year, and I read the bells thus:

1. W.E. 'Glory to God in the highest, 1737.'
2. Do. 'And on earth peace, 1737.'
3. Do. 'Goodwill towards men, 1737.'
4. Do. 'Prosperity to all our benefactors, 1737.'
5. 'Wm. Evans of Chepstowe cast us all, 1737.'
6. 'Thomas Bilbie of Colompton fecit, 1791.'
7. 'W. E., 1737. Mr. Thos. Anstey, Mr. Clement Govett, Churchwardens.'
8. 'Do., 1737. Mr. John Owen, Churchwarden, and George Osmond, Esq., Mayor, 1736.'

If ANON. will take the trouble to wend his way into a few of our old towers, he will see many similar legends. H. T. Ellacombe, Clyst St. George." 1st S. x. 414. 1854.

(B.) "*West of England Proverb:*—Can any of your correspondents explain the saying, used when a person undertakes what is beyond his ability,—'He must go to Tiverton, and ask Mr. Able?' D. X." 1st S. iv. 24. 1851.

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(C.) [*Library*]:—"At St. Peter's Church, Tiverton, there is . . . . a collection of books, mostly the gift of the Newtes, Richard (ejected in 1646 and restored in 1660), and John his son, rectors of the portions of Tidcombe and Clare in that church. The books are preserved in a room over the vestry. BALLIOLENSIS." 1st S. viii. 275. 1853.

(D.) For *Tiverton* see also 70., 90. *b. c.*, 97., 187. E. *b.*, 212. *c.*, 332. *b.*

499. To.

"While a resident in Devonshire . . . what at first struck me as most peculiar in common conversation, was the use, or rather abuse, of the little preposition *to*. When inquiring the whereabouts of an individual, Devonians ask one another 'Where is he *to?*' The invariable reply is '*To* London,' 'To Plymouth,' &c., as the case may be. . . . T. HUGHES, Chester. 1st S. vii. 630. 1853.

500. TOOTH-ACHE,

[*Devonshire charm for*]:—"All glory! all glory! all glory! be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

As our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was walking in the garden of Gethsemane, He saw Peter weeping. He called him unto Him, and said, Peter, why weepest thou? Peter answered and said, Lord, I am grievously tormented with pain, the pain of my tooth. Our Lord answered and said, If thou wilt believe in Me, and My words abide with thee, thou shalt never feel any more pain in thy tooth. Peter said, Lord, I believe; help Thou my unbelief. In the Name, &c.

God grant M. W. ease from the pain in his teeth. H. G. T., Launceston." 1st S. iii. 259. 1851.

501. TORBAY.

"*The Landing of William Prince of Orange in Torbay. Painted by J. Northcote, R.A.*—Can any of the readers of 'NOTES AND QUERIES' inform me who is the owner of the above-named painting, which was in the Exhibition of the Royal Academy at the end of the last century, and afterwards engraved by J. Parker? A. H. W." 1st S. iv. 294. 1851.

502. TORMOHUN. 400. A. 503. TORRIDGE. 487.

504. TORRINGTON. 187. A., 212. *c.*, 283., 412. C. *d.*, 465. A. *b.*, 548.

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505. TOTNES.

(A.) [*Brutus*]:—(*a*) "It may interest some of your readers to learn that the *very stone* upon which Brutus, the nephew of Æneas, landed at Totnes, still remains! It is inserted in the footway nearly opposite the Mayoralty-house in the Fore Street. From Totnes, the neighbouring shore was heretofore called *Totonese:* and the *British History* tells us, that *Brutus*, the founder of the British nation, arrived here; and *Havillanus* (John de Alvilla or Hauteville, according to Mr. Wright) as a poet, following the same authority, writes thus:—

'Iude dato cursu, *Brutus* comitatus Achate
Gallorum spoliis cumulatis navibus æquor
Exarat, et superis auraque faventibus usus,
Littora felices intrat Totonesia portus.'

'From hence great Brute with his Achates steer'd,
Full fraught with Gallic spoils their ships appear'd;
The Winds and Gods were all at their command,
And happy Totnes shew'd them grateful land.'—*Gibson's Camden.*

Totnes is made mention of [in] the *Lais de Marie:*—

'Il tient sun chemin tut avant.
A la mer vient, si est passer,
En *Toteneis* est arriver.'—*Lai d'Eliduc.*

J. MILNER BARRY, M.D., Totnes, Devon." 1st S. i. 233. 1850.

(*b*) "When Brutus of Troy landed at Totnes, he gave the town its name; thus,—

'Here I sit, and here I rest,
And this town shall be called Totnes.'

R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 511. 1850.

(B) [*Church*] (*a*) "In Totness Church, the N. angle of the church is cut off in the lower part of the building, in order to allow an arched passage from one side of the church to the other outside.

The upper part of the building is supported by a very strong buttress or pier, leaving the diagonal passage between it and the internal wall. Can any one tell whether this was done merely to afford a gangway for want of room outside?

The graveyard has been recently enlarged in that direction, for all the tombstones beyond the line of the chancel appear to be of late date. An old woman informed me, with an air of solemn authenticity, that this arched passage was reserved as a place of deposit for the bodies of persons seized for debt,

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which lay there till they were redeemed. H. G. T." 1st S. ii. 376. 1850.

(*b*) "As the priory of St. Mary stood on the N.E. side of the parish church, it is not improbable that the arched passage . . . . may have been formed between the two buildings, and found needful to allow room for the extension of the chancel on the erection of the church in 1432. Perhaps if H. G. T. could refer to the ancient documents brought to light by the fall of one of the pinnacles into the room over the porch in 1799, he would gain some information in connexion with his inquiry. The following note may have reference to the very gangway in question:—'William Ryder of Totnes, by his will dated 18th Nov. 1432, desires to be buried in the cemetery of the parish church, in itinere processionali juxta ecclesiam prioris et conventus Totton. ex opposito magni altaris ejusdem ecclesiæ.' See Dr. Oliver's *Monasticum Dioc. Exon.* p. 239.

It appears that the present churchyard is the site of the priory; but on this point the labours of the sexton would probably give some intimation. S. S. S." 1st S. ii. 452. 1850.

(C.) "*Etymology of*:—(*a*) Can any of your readers suggest a probable etymology for Totnes, the 'prime town of Great Britain,' as it is called by Westcote,* who supposes it to have been built by Brutus, 1108 years before the Christian æra. Mr. Polwhele, who supposed the numerous *Hams* in Devon to have owed their names to the worship of Jupiter *Hammon*, would, I imagine, have derived Totnes from the Egyptian god Thoth or Taut; or, perhaps, directly from King Thothmes. Westcote observes that some would have the name form the French word *tout-à-l'aise*, which is in English all at ease; as if Brutus at his arrival in such a pleasant soil . . . . should here assure himself and his fellow-travellers of ease, rest, and content; and the *l*, in this long time, is changed into *n*, and so from *tout-à-lesse*, we now call it *tout-à-nesse*, and briefly Totnesse. This would *I willingly applaud, could I think or believe that Brutus spake so good French*, or that the French tongue was then spoken at all. Therefore, I shall with the more ease join in opinion with those who would have it named *Dodonesse*, which signifieth (in what language?) the rocky-town, or town on stones, which is also agreeable with the opinion of Leland.'

* *A View of Devonshire in MDCXXX*, by Thomas Westcote, Esq., Exeter, 1845.

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Totnes is denominated Totenais and Totheneis in *Domesday Book;* and in other old records variously spelt, Toteneis, Totteneys, Toteneys, Totton', Totteñ, Totenesse, Tottenesse, Tottonasse, Totonie, &c. Never Donodesse. J. M. B., Totnes." 1st S. i. 470. 1850.

(*b*) "From the Anglo-Saxon *toten* or *totten,* to project, to rise above, and *ness* or *nes,* nose (French *nez,* German *nase,* Latin *nasus*). Tooting, Tottenham, &c. B. H. K." 1st S. ii. 175. 1850.

(*c*) ". . . . That Totnes is a place of extreme antiquity as a British town cannot be doubted; first, from the site and character of its venerable hill-fortress; secondly, from the fact that the chief of the four great British and Roman roads, the Fosse-way, commenced there—'The ferthe of thisse is most of alle that tilleth from Toteneis . . . From the south-west to north-est into Englonde's end;' and, thirdly, from the mention of it, and the antiquity assigned to it by our earliest annals and chronicles. Without entering into the question of the full authenticity of Brute and the *Saxon Chronicle,* or the implicit adoption of the legendary tales of Havillan and Geoffrey of Monmouth, the concurring testimony of those records, with the voice of tradition, the stone of the landing, and the fact that the town is seated at the head of an estuary the most accessible, the most sheltered, and the best suited of any on the south-western coast for the invasion of such a class of vessels as were those of the early navigators, abundantly warrant the admission that it was the landing-place of some mighty leader at a very early period of our history.

And now to the point of the Etymology of *Totenais,* as it stands in Domesday Book. We may, I think, safely dismiss the derivation suggested by Westcote, on the authority of Leland, and everything like it, derived from the French, as well as the unknown tongue which he adopts in 'Dodonesse.' That we are warranted in seeking to the Anglo-Saxon for etymology in this instance is shown by the fact, that the names of places in Devon are very generally derived from that language; *e.g.* taking a few only in the neighbourhood of Totnes—Berry, Buckyatt, Dartington, Halwell, Harberton, Hamstead, Hempstin, Stancombe.

First, of the termination *ais* or *eis.* The names of many places of inferior consequence in Devon end in *hays,* from the Ang.-Saxon *heag,* a hedge or enclosure; but this rarely,

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if ever, designates a town or place beyond a farmstead, and seems to have been of later application as to a new location or subinfeudation; for it is never found in Domesday Book. In that ancient record the word *aisse* is often found alone, and often as a prefix and as a terminal; *e.g.* Aisbertone, Niresse, Aisseford, Aisselie, &c. This is the Ang.-Saxon *Æsc*, an ash; and it is uniformly so rendered in English: but it also means a ship or boat, as built of ash. *Toten*, the major of the name, is, I have no doubt, the genitive of *Tohta*, 'dux, herzog,' a leader or commander. Thus we have *Tohtanæse*, the vessel of the leader, or the commander's ship,—commemorating the fact that the boat of some great invader was brought to land at this place. S. S. S." 1st S. ii. 237. 1850.

(D.) [*Library*]:—"*Totnes* may be added to the list of places containing parochial libraries. The books are placed in presses in the vestry room of the church, and so preserved from loss and damage to which they were formerly subjected. The collection is principally composed of works of divinity published in the seventeenth century, the age of profound theological literature. I noticed amongst the goodly array of weighty folios, the works of St. Augustine, the *Homilies* of St. Chrysostom, works of St. Ambrose, St. Gregory, &c., the works of the high and mighty King James, Birckbeck's *Protestant Evidence*, and Walton's *Polyglott*. Nothing is known of the history and formation of this library. Inside the cover of one of the volumes is the following inscription:—

'Totnes Library. The guift of Mr. Thomas Southcott, July 10. 1656.'

I found the following incorrect and antiquated piece of information respecting this library in a flimsy work, published in 1850, entitled, *A Graphic and Historical Sketch of the Antiquities of Totnes*, by William Cotton, F.S.A., *note*, p. 38:—

'I know not what the library contains. I believe nothing more than theological lumber. It is always locked up, and made no use of by those who keep it, and it is inaccessible to those who would wish to examine it. I was once there by accident, and looked into some books, which were all on Divinity.' J. M. B. Tunbridge Wells." 1st S. vii. 463. 1853.

(E.) For *Totnes* see also 364. *a. c.*, 543. B. *a.*, 549.

506. Tour. 280. A. *a.*

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507. Town Halls.

(*a*) ". . . The Guildhall at Exeter is partly of the thirteenth century, and partly of the fifteenth. . . . . J. H. Parker." 1st S. v. 295. 1852.

(*b*) "Mr. Parker is reminded of the very curious Town-hall at Ashburton, in Devonshire, constructed entirely of timber. M. Y. R. W." 1st S. v. 427. 1852.

508. Tracy.

"'All the Tracys
Have the wind in their faces,'

[is a proverb] in allusion to the judgment of heaven which is said to have befallen the posterity of Wm. de Traci, one of the assassins of Thos. à Becket. . . . Mark Antony Lower, Lewes." 1st S. v. 326. 1852.

509. Treadwin. 264. A. *a.*

510. Treasure.

[It is said in the neighbourhood that] "whoever shall find the treasure hidden in Ring-more Down, may plough with a golden plough-share, and yoke his oxen with golden cross-sticks. R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 513. 1850.

511. Trelawny, Bishop of Exeter.

(*a*) ". . . . Trelawny, Bishop of Exeter, excommunicated Dr. Bury. When was the living the latter enjoyed 'untouched and even unquestioned by another bishop'? W. Fraser, Tor-Mohun." 1st S. vii. 502. 1853.

(*b*) "Bishop Trelawny, it appears, suspended Dr. Arthur Bury from the rectorship of Exeter College for some heterodox notions in his work, *The Naked Gospel.* The affair was carried by appeal from the King's Bench to the House of Lords, when Bishop Stillingfleet delivered a speech on the 'Case of Visitation of Colleges,' printed in his *Ecclesiastical Cases*, part ii. p. 441. Wood states that Dr. Bury was soon after restored. For an account of the controversy, and the works relating to it, see Gough's *British Topography*, vol. ii. p. 147, and Wood's *Athenæ* (Bliss), vol. iv. p. 483." Editor. "N. & Q." 1st S. vii. 502. 1853.

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512. TRETTENHAM. 434. *a.*
513. TUBERVYLE. 44. A.
514. TUCKER. 321.
515. TUCKETT. 187. B.
516. TUESDAY. 160. A.

517. TURNIPS.

"*Giving turnips*:—The common people here [Plymouth] say, when a damsel has cast off a lover, that she has 'given him turnips.' Is this felicitous expression employed elsewhere? I. W. N. KEYS." 1st S. xi. 501. 1855.

518. TWELFTH DAY. 12. A.
519. TWERTON. 520. *a. b.*

520. TWIVERTON.

(*a*) ". . . . Twiverton in Devonshire is called Twerton, yet I believe Tiverton was never Terton. . . . . W. S. W*****D." 1st S. iv. 55. 1851.

(*b*) "I beg leave to correct a remark of W. S. W.***D as to *Tiverton*, Devon, which was never pronounced *Terton*; it is Twiverton, near Bath, which is pronounced *Twerton*. S. S." 1st S. iv. 164. 1851.

(*c*) "If S. S. will turn again to my remarks . . . he will see that I did not state that *Tiverton* was ever pronounced *Terton*. I accede to what he has said of *Twiverton*; Devonshire was inadvertently written for Somersetshire. . . . . W. S. W." 1st S. iv. 213. 1851.

521. UFFCULME. 271.
522. UGBOROUGH. 398. B.

523. UGBROOKE.

"*St. Cyprian's, Ugbrooke*:—In Dolman's *Metropolitan and Provincial Catholic Almanac* for this year I find, under the head of the Diocese of Plymouth:'—

'Ugbrooke, St. Cyprian, consecrated by Dr. Anthony Sparrow, Bishop of Exeter, July 11, 1671, but converted to Catholic uses in 1779.'

Can you or any of your correspondents inform me under what circumstances the above-named church or chapel of ease was diverted from its original use to its present one? CHARLES GEO. RHODES." 1st S. x. 146. 1854.

524. UMBERLEIGH. 416. B.
525. UPTON. 476.

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526. Valentine's Day.

"*Superstition in Devonshire*:—The peasants and others believe that if they go to the porch of a church, waiting there till half-past twelve o'clock on the eve of St. Valentine's day, with some hempseed in his or her hand, and at the time above-named then proceed homewards, scattering the seed on either side, repeating these lines—

'Hempseed I sow, hempseed I mow,
She (or he) that will my true love be,
Come rake this hempseed after me;'—

his or her true love will be seen behind, raking up the seed just sown, in a winding sheet. Do any of your readers know the origin of this superstitious custom? J. S. A., Old Broad Street." 1st S. v. 55. 1852.

527. Velland Family.

" . . . . The Devon family of Velland bore, Sable, a fesse argent, in chief three fleurs-de-lys of the last; but whether these bearings were ever placed fesse-wise, or . . . . . in a horizontal line, I am not sure. J. D. S." 1st S. ix. 113. 1854.

528. Venville.

(*a*) "*Meaning of Venwell or Venville*:—Will you allow me to make the following Query as to the custom of 'Ven*well*' or 'Ven*ville*'? Risdon, in his *Survey of Devon*, states it to be a right enjoyed by the tenants of land adjoining to Dartmoor of pasturage and cutting turf within the limits of the forest. He calls it 'Fenfield,' antiently Fengfield,' but makes no allusion to the etymology of the word, or to the origin of the custom. Some of your correspondents can most probably afford information on both these points. R. E. G., Lidlington Place, Harrington Square." 1st. S. iii. 38. 1851.

(*b*) " . . . . . The name [*Venville*] is peculiar to that district [round Dartmoor Forest], and is applied chiefly to certain *vills* or villages (for the most part also parishes), and to certain tenements within them, which pay fines to the Lord of Lidford and Dartmoor, viz., the Prince of Wales, as Duke of Cornwall. The fines are supposed to be due in respect either of rights of common on the forest, or of trespasses committed by cattle on it; for the point is a *vexato questio* between the lord and tenants of Dartmoor and the tenants of the Venville lands, which lie along the boundaries of it. In the accounts rendered to the lord of these fines,

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there was a distinct title headed '*Fines Villarum*' when these accounts were in Latin; and I think it cannot be doubted that the lands and tenures under this title came to be currently called *Finevill* lands from this circumstance. Hence Fenvill, Fengfield, or Venvill; the last being now the usual spelling and pronunciation. R. E. G. may see a specimen of these accounts, and further observations on them, in Mr. Rowe's . . . *Perambulation of Dartmoor*, published a year or two ago at Plymouth. E. S." 1st S. iii. 152. 1851.

(*c*) "*Venwell or Venville* appears to me to be a corruption of the word *fengfield;* and the meaning of it seems to be, that custom of delivering possession of land to a purchaser by cutting a piece of turf from the field bought, and delivering it into his hands.

I well remember, when a boy, accompanying my father to receive possession of an outlying field, distant from the main estate which he had bought; the seller's agent, I think, came with us and cut a small piece of turf from the ground, and delivered it into my father's hands, saying (if I recollect right), 'By this turf I deliver this field into your possession.' By this means my father '*fenged*' (took) the 'field' into his own hands and became the legal proprietor of it. P." 1st S. iii. 310. 1851.

(*d*) "The peat or black earth of Dartmoor is still called *ven* or *fen*. Is it not more probable that the adjoining parishes (or parts of them) are said to be in Venville or fengfield, from their being within the peat district, than that an abbreviation of a legal term, *fines villarum—fin. vil.*, should become naturalised among the peasantry, as in the case with the word Venville?

The second part of the word seems akin to the Scottish *fail*, 'a turf, or flat clod covered with grass cut off from the rest of the sward' (Jamieson). K." 1st S. iii. 310. 1851.

(*e*) " . . . . . The *origin* of the word [*venville*] is of course to some extent open to conjecture; but . . . . the meaning of it is not, nor ever has been, within the domain of mere conjecture with those who have had any opportunities of inquiring in the proper quarter. The term has not the slightest reference to the ceremony of delivering possession, which P. has evidently witnessed in the case of his father, and which lawyers call livery of seisin; nor is there on Dartmoor any such word as *ven* signifying peat, or as *fail*,

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signifying turf. No doubt a fen on the moor would probably contain 'black earth or peat,' like most other mountain bogs; and if (as K. says) *fail* means a 'turf or flat clod' in Scotland, I think it probable that a Scotchman on Dartmoor might now and then so far forget himself as to call peat or turf by a name which would certainly not be understood by an aboriginal Devonian. The local name of the peat or other turf cut for fuel is *vaggs*, and this has perhaps been confounded in the recollection of K's. informant with *ven*. At all events, I can assure both P. and K. . . . . that the tenants of venville lands have no functions to perform, as such, in any degree connected with either turf-cutting or 'fenging fields,' and they do not necessarily, or generally, occupy peat districts, ... but on the contrary, they are the owners of some of the most valuable, salubrious, and picturesque purlieus of the forest. With regard to the name 'fengfield,' although I am pretty familiar with the records of the forest extant for the last five hundred years past, I do not remember that it is ever so named or spelt in the muniments of the manor or forest. It is so written by Risdon, and in some few other documents entitled to little weight, and from which no safe inference can be drawn. Whatever be the etymological origin of the term, it should be assumed as indisputable by anyone who may hereafter exercise his ingenuity or his fancy upon it, that the four most prominent incidents of the tenure are—1. payment of fines; 2. situation in an ancient vill; 3. attendance on the lord's court; 4. enjoyment of certain rights of common. It may be that neither the *fine* nor the *vil* forms a component part of the name; but K. need have no scruple in believing that an abbreviated Latin or 'legal term' (invented, of course, by the stewards or bailiffs of the lord) may have become naturalised among those of the inhabitants of the Moor whom it concerns. The tenants or retainers of a manor have no alternative but to submit to any generic name by which the steward may please to distinguish them. Thus the 'priors' and 'censers' of Dartmoor forest are content to be called by those names, because they were designated as "prehurdarii' and 'censarii' in the court rolls some hundred years ago. . . . . Indeed, so easily does a clipt exotic take root and become acclimated among the peasantry of the Moor, ... that since the establishment of local courts the terms *fifa* and *casa* have become familiar to them as household words. . . . . E. SMIRKE." 1st S. iii. 355. 1851.

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529. Viper.

"Several years ago . . . . . in Somerset . . . . . I saw a viper on the down, which I pointed out to the old woman in charge of the donkeys, who assailed it with a stout stick, and nearly killed it. I expressed surprise at her leaving it with some remains of life; but she said that, whatever she did to it, it would 'live till sun-down, and as soon as the sun was set it would die.' The same superstition prevails . . . . . in Devon. H. G. T." 1st S. ii. 510. 1850.

530. Warts.

Warts:—"The Devonshire charm for a wart is to *steal* a piece of meat from a butcher's shop, rub it over the wart in secret, and throw it over a wall over your left shoulder. N. J. A." 1st S. xi. 8. 1855.

531. Washfield. 332. *b*.

532. Weather Sayings.

(A.) "*Friday weather*:—The following meterological proverb is frequently repeated in Devonshire, to denote the variability of the weather on Fridays:—

'Fridays in* the week
Are never *aleek*.'

'Aleek' for 'alike,' a common Devonianism. Thus Peter Pindar describes a turbulent crowd of people as being

'*Leek* bullocks sting'd by apple-drones.'

Is this bit of weather-wisdom current in other parts of the kingdom? I am induced to ask the question, because Chaucer seems to have embodied the proverb in some well-known lines, viz.:—

'Right as the Friday, soothly for to tell,
Now shineth it, and now it raineth fast,
Right so can gery Venus overcast
The hertes of hire folk, right as hire day
Is gerfull, right so changeth she aray.
Selde is the Friday all the weke ylike.'

The Knight's Tale, line 1536. J. M. B., Totnes." 1st S. i. 303. 1850.

(B.) "'When Haldon hath a hat
Kenton may beware a skat.'

This often-quoted saying is curiously illustrated by a passage

* [I have always heard "and," not "in."]

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from the romance of Sir Gawaya and the Grene Knicht (Madden's *Sir Gawaya*, p. 77):

> 'Mist muged on the mor, malt on the mountes,
> Uch hille had a hatte, a myst-hakel huge.'

In the note on this passage Sir Frederick quotes two proverbs like the Devonshire one above. They are, however, well known, and there is no lack of similar sayings. R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 511. 1850.

(C.) "Heavy rain is expected [in Devonshire] about the time of St. Margaret's day (July 20th). It is called 'Margaret's flood.' R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 512. 1850.

(D.) For *Weather Sayings* see also 385. A.

533. WEDNESDAY. 160. A.
534. WEEKS. 230. *a*.
535. WEEKSLAND. 416. B.
536. WESCOTE. 97, 176. *c*.
537. WEST ALLINGTON. 187. C.
538. WESTON. 465. *b*.
539. WEST SLAPTON. 196. *b*.
540. WHITCHURCH. 13. *b*.
541. WHITE PEBBLE BAY. 315. *c*.
542. WHITSTONE. 36. B. *b*.

543. WIDDECOMBE.

(A.) [*Picking Geese*]:—(*a*)

> "'Widdecombe folks are picking their geese,
> Faster, faster, faster.'

[Is] a saying among the parishes of the south coast during a snowstorm. 'Widdecombe' is Widdecombe in the Dartmoors. R. J. K." 1st S. ii. 512. 1850.

(*b*) ". . . . I think that your correspondent is mistaken in his opinion, that 'Widdecombe in the Dartmoors, is meant.' It seems to me that the *sky* only is meant, which is also called in Devonshire 'widdicote.' I remember a nursery riddle:—

> 'Widdicote, woddicote, over-cote hang,
> Nothing so broad, and nothing so lang,
> As widdicote, woddicote, over-cote hang.'

What's that? *Ans.* The sky. HENRY T. RILEY." 1st S. x. 173. 1854.

(B.) [*Storm*]:—(*a*) "Bishop Hall, in his meditation on the

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Invisible World, book I. sect. 6, on 'The Employments and Operations of Angels' (Devotional Works, ed. Josiah Pratt, Lond., 1808, p. 459), has the following passage:

'I could instance irrefragably in several tempests and thunder storms, which, to the unspeakable terror of the inhabitants, were seen, heard, felt, in the *western parts;* wherein the translocation and transportation of huge, massy stones and irons of the churches, above the possibility of natural distance, together with the strange preservation of the persons assembled, with other accidents sensibly accompanying those astonishing works of God, still fresh in the minds of many, showed them plainly to be wrought by a stronger hand than Nature's.'

In a note at the words '*western parts*,' the writer instances 'the churches of Foye, Totness, and Withycomb,' adding, 'of the same kind were the prodigious tempests of Milan, an. 1521, and at Mechlin, Aug. 7, an. 1527.' Is there any published account of the tempests at Foye, Totness, and Withycomb, to which the bishop here alludes? J. SANSOM." 1st S. x. 128. 1854.

(*b*) "In the British Museum is the following pamphlet: 'To his Highness the Lord Protector, and to the Parliament of England,' 4to, no place or date. This is a letter without signature, written apparently by a Quaker, giving a curious account of Gloucester Cathedral. An engraved frontispiece represents a church, with its interior visible, struck by lightning, and the congregation scattered. Beneath it is the following inscription: 'A most prodigious and fearefull Storme of Winde, Lightning, and Thunder, mightily defacing Withicomb Church in Devon, burning and slayeing diverse Men and Women, all this in service-time on the Lord's Day, Oct. 21, 1638.' Mr. Davidson, in his *Bibliotheca Devoniensis*, says 'This plate seems to have been intended for one or other of the two following tracts; but it has not been found affixed to any copy of either of them.' 1. 'A True Relation of those sad and lamentable Accidents which happened in and about the Parish Church of Withycombe, in the Dartmoores in Devonshire, on Sunday, 21st October, 1638,' 4to., London, 1638; in the British Museum. 2. 'A Second and more exact Relation of those sad and lamentable Accidents which happened in and about the Parish Church of Wydecombe, neere the Dartmoores in Devonshire, on Sunday the 21st of October last, 1638,' 4to., London, 1638." EDITOR. "N. & Q." 1st S. x. 128. 1854.

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(*c*) "In Lysons' *Magna Britannica*, DEVONSHIRE, p. 557, is given an account of this storm; and a curious record of it in verse, written by a person present, and still preserved in the parish church of Widdecombe. Lysons mentions that the tract—*A True Relation*, &c.—is reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*. W. C. TREVELYAN." 1st S. x. 435.

(C.) For *Widdecombe* see also 227, 481. *b*.

544. WILCOCKS. 91. A.
545. WILDERNESS. 194. *a. b*.
546. WILLIAMS. 332. *a*.

547. WILLIAM III.

(A.) "*William the third at Exeter*:—(*a*) . . Mr. Macaulay, describing the entrance of William of Orange into Exeter, mentions that he was preceded, amongst others, by three hundred gentlemen of English birth. Can any of your correspondents inform me whether the names of these gentlemen are known, and, if so, where the roll may be met with? . . . . H., Maen-twrog, North Wales." 1st S. iv. 233. 1851.

(*b*) "Jenkins, the historian of Exeter, in relating the prince's public entry into that city, states that he was preceded by the Earl of Macclesfield and two hundred horsemen, *most of whom* were English nobles and gentlemen. There is in the Bodleian Library a fo. broadsheet entitled, *A True and Exact Relation of the Prince of Orange, his Publick Entrance into Exeter*, which, if I remember right, was reprinted in Somer's *Tracts*, but I do not think any names of those gentlemen are therein mentioned. S. S. S." 1st S. iv. 329. 1851.

(B.) For *William III.* see also 501.

548. WILL O' THE WISP.

". . . This light has been seen by me (to the best of my recollection, more than once) dancing over some boggy ground on Bedford Moor, near Torrington, in the north of Devon. J. SANSOM." 1st S. xii. 208. 1855.

549. WISES OF TOTNES.

". . . Can any of your correspondents give me . . . . . any information with respect to a certain Prince Guisch,

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from which I have heard that the Wises of Totnes and the neighbourhood are descended? Αρχαιοφιλος." 1st S. x. 144. 1854.

550. WITHERS. 191. B. *b.*

551. WITCHCRAFT.

"An instance of the intense feeling of superstition which pervades the ignorant among our rural population in the west of England occurred at Northlew last week. Some gipsies having encamped in the neighbourhood, one of the female members of the tribe ascertained from the wife of a farm labourer that she had a daughter in the last stage of consumption. The gipsey represented that the child had been 'bewitched'; and that she could rule the spell, which would effect a cure, for two sovereigns. The mother of the child cheerfully paid the money, but the next day the wily gipsey returned it, and said it was not sufficient, but 20*l.* more in gold would do it. The cottager's wife, in her native simplicity, went and borrowed 10*l.* from a neighbour; and, with another ten sovereigns she had in the house saved from her husband's earnings, added the 20*l.* to the 2*l.* already in the gipsey's hands. Soon as the money was paid, the affrighted woman was bound over to secrecy by the gipsey, who mumbled out a few disjointed texts of Scripture, and left with the promise that the child would be cured on the following Friday, when an angel would appear and return the money. Since that time, however, it is needless to add, neither gipsey nor money have turned up, although the impoverished husband and the police have been daily on the look out for the gipsey impostor. . . *Exeter Paper.* S. R. P." 1st S. x. 321. 1854.

552. WOLCOT.

(A.) "*Pre-Raffaelism*:—

'If at a distance you would paint a pig,
Make out each single bristle of his back:
Or, if your meaner subject be a wig,
Let not the caxon a *distinctness* lack;
Else all the lady critics will so stare,
And angry vow, 'Tis not a bit like hair!'

* * * * * * * *

'Claude's distances are too confused—
One floating scene—nothing made out—
For which he ought to be abused,
Whose works have been so cried about.

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'Give me the pencil whose amazing style,
Makes a bird's beak appear at twenty mile;
And to my view, eyes, legs, and claws will bring,
With every feather of his tail and wing.'

Peter Pindar, Lyric Odes for 1783, Ode viii.

Dr. Walcot's *Works* are little read. Being chiefly personal and political, they are in danger of sinking, and leaving only some humourous tales afloat in the jest-books. I meet so few who have read the 'Odes to the R.A.'s,' that I do not feel it an impertinence to draw attention to them. In matters of art, Peter's censure is sometimes, but not often, too severe. His praise is never undeserved: and, whether bestowed on Reynolds in his greatness, Wilson in his obscurity, or Lawrence at his beginning, has been confirmed by posterity. Many other examples will be found by those who look for them. H. B. C., U. U. CLUB." 1st S. x. 93. 1854.

(B.) "Permit me to correct H. B. C.'s spelling of Peter Pindar's real name, 'Walcot'; it should be 'Wolcot,' pronounced 'Woolcot.' A descendant of his was a Commoner at Winchester just before my time, and was so called, as I pointed out to the churchwardens of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, when, in an advertisement for subscriptions to raise a monument to the satirist, they fell into the same error. MACKENZIE WALCOTT, M.A." 1st S. x. 252. 1854.

553. WOODBURY. 228. *c.* 555. WORTH. 332. *b.*
554. WOOLFARDISWORTHY. 116.

556. YARROW.

[According to a Devonshire superstition], "*to see a lover in a Dream*, pluck yarrow from a young man's grave, saying as you do so—

'Yarrow, sweet yarrow, the first that I have found,
And in the name of Jesus I pluck it from the ground.
As Joseph loved sweet Mary, and took her for his dear,
So in a dream this night, I hope my true love will appear.'

Sleep with the yarrow under the pillow. J. M. (4)." 1st S. iv. 99. 1851.

557. YEALMPTON. 332. *b.* 558. YONGE. 104, 295. *a.*

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SECTION IV.

A LIST OF "DEVONIAN" CONTRIBUTORS ON TOPICS UNCONNECTED WITH DEVONSHIRE.

B. (A., Torquay). "House of Coburg." 1st S. xi. 232. 1855.
B. (T., Exeter). "Poem on the Burning of the Houses of Parliament." 1st S. v. 488. 1852.

C. (J. T., Sidmouth). "Christ Church Bells." 1st S. xii. 28. 1855.
COLLIER (W., Woodside, Plymouth). "Deaths in the Society of Friends." 1st S. xi. 122. 1855.
COLLYNS (W., Drewsteignton). "Edward Law (Lord Ellenborough) Chief Justice." 1st S. ix. 396. 1854.
———— "Vine at Hampton Court." 1st S. xii. 404. 1855.
C. (W. R., A Subscriber, Exeter). "Fossil Elk of Ireland." 1st S. ii. 494. 1850.

DEVONIAN (A.) "Meaning of 'Pallant.'" 1st S. iv. 442. 1851.
DEVONIENSIS. "Three Fleurs-de-Lys." 1st S. ix. 35. 1854.
———— "Wells a Fret." 1st S. viii. 197. 1853.
D. (Exeter). "Almanacs." 1st S. iv. 4. 1851.
D. (J., Torquay). "Fox's Cunning." 1st S. iv. 295. 1851.
D. (T. E., Exeter). "Guildhalls." 1st S. i. 357. 1850.
———— "Passionale." 1st S. xi. 427. 1855.

E. (H. T.) "Bawderich, and Bells." 1st S. v. 426. 1852.
———— "Cradock." 1st S. ii. 429. 1850.
———— "Henry Isaac." 1st S. v. 177. 1852.
———— "The first Panorama." 1st S. iv. 54. 1851.
E. (H. T., Clyst St. George). "A Posie of other men's Flowers." 1st S. iv. 125. 1851.
———— "Horology." 1st S. iv. 240. 1851.
———— "House of Yvery." 1st S. iv. 101. 1851.
ELLACOMBE (H. T.) "Baldrock." 1st S. iii. 503. 1851.
———— "Burial by Torch-light." 1st S. xi. 174. 1855.
———— "Carronade." 1st S. ix. 408. 1854.
———— "Colonel Hyde Seymour." 1st S. viii. 388. 1853.
———— "Door-head Inscriptions." 1st S. viii. 454, 652. 1853.

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ELLACOMBE (H. T.) "Font Inscriptions." 1st S. vii. 408. 1853.
——— "Mottoes for Sun-dials, by Rev. W. L. Bowles." 1st S. xi. 184. 1855.
——— "Navita Erythræum." 1st S. vii. 382. 1853.
——— "Notice of Funerals by the Town Crier. 1st S. xi. 325. 1855.
——— "Pictorial Editions of the Book of Common Prayer." 1st S. x. 212. 1854.
——— "The Word 'Handbook.'" 1st S. vi. 137. 1852.
——— "Townley MSS." 1st vii. 407. 1853.
ELLACOMBE (H. T., Clyst St. George). "Altars." 1st S. xi. 332. 1855.
——— "Bell on leaving Church." 1st S. x. 332. 1854.
——— "Bells versus Storms." 1st S. vi. 610, 1852, vii. 343, 1853.
——— "Burials." 1st S. vi. 134. 1852.
——— "Chiming, Tolling, and Pealing." 1st S. iii. 432. 1851.
——— "Door-head Inscriptions." 1st vii. 23. 1853.
——— "Executions in Henry VIII.'s Reign," &c. 1st vi. 510. 1852.
——— "First Panorama." 1st S. iv. 119. 1851.
——— "George Herbert and Bemerton Church." 1st S. ii. 460. 1850.
——— "Gloucester Cathedral: curious Fruit-tree." 1st S. xii. 352. 1855.
——— "Inscriptions on Bells." 1st S. ix. 595. 1854.
——— "Judge Cradock." 1st S. ii. 427. 1850.
——— "Mathematical Society of Wapping." 1st S. vi. 558. 1852.
——— "Palindromical Lines." 1st S. vii. 417. 1853.
——— "Parish Registers." 1st S. v. 207. 1852.
——— "Rous, The Scottish Psalmist, Provost of Eton College; and his Will." 1st S. ix. 440. 1854.
——— "Royal Arms in Churches." 1st S. vi. 248. 1852.
——— "Smyth's MSS. relating to Gloucestershire." 1st S. v. 616. 1852.

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ELLACOMBE (H. T., Clyst St. George). "The Word Party." 1st S. vii. 367. 1853.

——— "Thomas Kingeston, Knt., called also Lord Thomas Kingeston." 1st S. iv. 22. 1851.

——— "Vermin, Payments for destruction of." 1st S. iv. 447. 1851.

——— "Works on Bells." 1st S. x. 273, 1854, xi. 32, 1855.

ELLACOMBE (H. T., Clyst St. George, Topsham). "Old Deeds." 1st S. xii. 236. 1855.

ELLACOMBE (H. T., Rectory, Clyst St. George). "Bell at Rouen." 1st S. ix. 233. 1854.

——— "Curious Custom of Ringing Bells for the Dead." 1st S. viii. 130. 1853.

——— "Female Parish Clerks." 1st S. viii. 475. 1853.

——— "Lansallos Bell." 1st S. xi. 293. 1855.

——— "Navita Erythræum." 1st S. vii. 513. 1853.

——— "Ralph Palmer." 1st S. xii. 346. 1855.

——— "Roccha De Campanis." 1st S. xi. 90. 1855.

——— "Roger Outlawe." 1st S. viii. 5. 1853.

——— "Sancte Bell at Clapton." 1st S. xi. 150. 1855.

——— "Submerged Bells." 1st S. xi. 176. 1855.

——— "Two Brothers with same Christian Name." 1st S. xi. 194. 1855.

——— "What are we to do with our Pamphlets?" 1st S. xii. 517. 1855.

——— "Witchcraft." 1st S. vii. 446. 1853.

ELLACOMBE (H. T., Rectory, Clyst St. George, Topsham). "Sir Hugh Myddleton." 1st S. x. 176. 1854.

ELLACOMBE (H. T., The Rectory, Clyst St. George, Topsham). "A fair island Seat." 1st S. x. 308. 1854.

ERMINE (Torquay). "Replies to Minor Queries." 1st S. ii. 283. 1850.

EXON. "Disinterment for Heresy." 1st S. iii. 378. 1851.

——— "Gospel Oaks." 1st S. v. 210. 1852.

——— "Valentines. When first produced." 1st S. v. 128. 1852.

FRASER (W., Tor-Mohun). "A Letter to a Convocation Man." 1st S. vii. 358, 502. 1853.

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FRASER (W., Tor-Mohun). "Anagrams." 1st S. vii. 221. 1853.
——— "Another Odd Mistake." 1st S. vii. 632. 1853.
——— "Balderdash." 1st S. viii. 342. 1853.
——— "Bishop's Lawn Sleeves." 1st S. vii. 437. 1853.
——— "Books burned by the Common Hangman." 1st S. viii. 625. 1853; ix. 227. 1854.
——— "Burke's 'Mighty Boar of the Forest.'" 1st S. viii. 136. 1853.
——— "Cadenus and Vanessa." 1st S. vii. 620. 1853.
——— "Chanting of Jurors." 1st S. viii. 502. 1853.
——— "Convocation and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." 1st S. viii. 100. 1853.
——— "Convocation in the Reign of George II." 1st S. viii. 465. 1853.
——— "Degree of B.C.L." 1st S. vii. 222. 1853.
——— "Dimidiation." 1st S. vii. 548. 1853.
——— "Ecclesia Anglicana." 1st S. vii. 440, 632. 1853.
——— "Elijah's Mantle." 1st S. viii. 295. 1853.
——— "Fierce." 1st S. viii. 280. 1853.
——— "French Abbés." 1st S. viii. 102. 1853.
——— "General Fraser." 1st S. viii. 586. 1853.
——— "Homo unius libri." 1st S. viii. 440. 1853.
——— "Irish Bishops as English Suffragans." 1st S. viii. 256. 1853.
——— "Jewish Custom." 1st S. viii. 618. 1853.
——— "Judges styled 'Reverend.'" 1st. S. viii. 631. 1853.
——— "Lamech's War-Song." 1st S. vii. 489. 1853.
——— "Letters U, V, W, and St. Ives." 1st S. vii. 182. 1853.
——— "Love Charm from a Foal's Forehead." 1st S. viii. 606. 1853.
——— "Model and Relic of Mary Queen of Scots." 1st S. viii. 293. 1853.
——— "Passage in the First Part of Faust." 1st S. vii. 501. 1853.
——— "Perpetual Curates not represented in Convocation." 1st S. ix. 351. 1854.
——— "Prejudice against Holy Confirmation." 1st S. viii. 440. 1853.

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FRASER (W., Tor-Mohun). "Roman Catholic Patriarchs." 1st S. viii. 317. 1853.
———— "Saying of Pascal." 1st S. vii. 596. 1853.
———— "Singing Psalms and Politics." 1st S. viii. 230. 1853.
———— "Sir Anthony Fitzherbert not Chief Justice." 1st S. ix. 285. 1854.
———— "Speaker of the House of Commons in 1697." 1st S. viii. 152. 1853.
———— "Stars are the Flowers of Heaven." 1st S. viii. 346. 1853.
———— "Terræ filius." 1st S. viii. 292. 1853.
———— "The Position of Suffragan Bishops in Convocation." 1st S. ix. 35. 1854.
———— "The Privileges of the See of Canterbury." 1st S. viii. 56. 1853.
———— "The Title of 'Dominus.'" 1st S. ix. 222. 1854.
———— "Tom Track's Ghost." 1st S. vii. 427. 1853.
———— "To speak in Lutestring." 1st S. viii. 202. 1853.
———— "Wood of the Cross: Mistletoe." 1st S. vii. 488. 1853.

G. (J., Exeter). "Rents of Assize." 1st S. v. 188. 1852.
G. (J., Exon). "Annuellarius." 1st S. vii. 391. 1853.
———— "Cathedral Registers." 1st S. xii. 17. 1855.
———— "Deo parere, libertas est." 1st S. xi. 395. 1855.
———— "Franklin's Parable." 1st S. x. 169. 1854.
———— "Grafts and the Parent Tree." 1st S. vii. 536. 1853.
———— "Is copying a Sermon Felony?" 1st S. xii. 274. 1855.
———— "Marriage of Cousins." 1st S. viii. 525. 1853.
———— "Portrait of Plowden." 1st S. ix. 113. 1854.
———— "Lord Coke's Charge to the Jury." 1st S. vii. 434. 1854.
———— "Way Side Crosses." 1st S. xi. 506. 1855.
GORDON (G. J. R., Sidmouth). "Dotinchem." 1st S. viii. 151. 1853.

HALLE (Hugh Frazer, Chudleigh). "The Mitre and the 'Cloven Tongues.'" 1st S. iii. 284. 1851.
HARINGTON (E. C., Exeter). "Old Tract on the Eucharist." 1st S. iii. 214. 1851.
———— "Organs in Churches." 1st S. iv. 72. 1851.
HARRINGTON (E. C., The Close, Exeter). "Johannes Trithemius." 1st S. iv. 489. 1851.
———— "Marriage of Bishops." 1st S. iv. 125. 1851.

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HARRINGTON (E. C., The Close, Exeter). "Pope Joan." 1st S. iii. 306. 1851.

———————————— "Pope Pius and the Book of Common Prayer." 1st S. xii. 474. 1855.

HARRIS (John William, Exon.). "The Asteroids, &c." 1st S. ix. 129. 1854.

HAWKER (R. S., Morwenstow). "Burial towards the West." 1st S. ii. 408. 1850.

————————————, Cornwall). "Combs buried with the Dead." 1st. S. ii. 230. 1850.

———————————— "North Side of Churchyards." 1st S. ii. 253. 1850.

HEINEKEN (N. S., Sidmouth). "Anticipated Inventions." 1st S. xii. 213. 1855.

HELE (Henry H., Ashburton, Devon). "An Iodizing Difficulty." 1st. S. vii. 605. 1853.

HELE (Henry Herbert, Asburton, Devon). "Cleaning Old Oak." 1st S. viii. 58. 1853.

HELE (Henry H., 14, Densham Terrace, Plymouth). "Photographic Unanimity." 1st S. x. 410. 1854.

H. (R. S.). "Bosses in Morwenstow Church." 1st S. x. 123. 1854.

H. (R. S., Morwenstow). "Dole Bank." 1st S. iv., 213. 1851.

———————————— "The Ring Finger." 1st S. iv. 199. 1851.

———————————— "Thread the Needle." 1st S. iv. 39. 1851.

HUTCHINSON (Peter, Sidmouth). "Singed Vellum." 1st S. x. 106. 1854.

JEWITT (L.). "Bells on Horses' Necks." 1st S. vi. 135. 1852.

———————— "Charles Cotton." 1st S. xi. 409. 1855.

———————— "Lines on Gigantic Coal." 1st S. xi. 465. 1855.

———————— "Monody on the Death of Sir John Moore." 1st S. vi. 158. 1852.

JEWITT (L. L., Derby). "Marrying to Save Life." 1st S. xii. 348. 1855.

JEWITT (Llewellyn, Plymouth). "Anti-Jacobite Song." 1st S. vi. 395. 1852.

JONES (Pitman, Exeter). "Last of the Palæologi." 1st S. xii. 480. 1855.

J. (P., Exeter.) "Winchester Execution." 1st S. iv. 318. 1851.

KERSLAKE (Thomas, Bristol). "The Perverse Widow." 1st S. x. 234. 1854.

KING (Richard John). "Metropolitan Improvements." 1st S. iii. 368. 1851.

———————————— "Roberd the Robber." 1st S. ii. 321. 1850.

———————————— "Scotchmen in Poland." 1st S. vii., 600. 1853.

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L. (F. M., Torquay). "The Albumen Process." 1st S. vii. 217. 1853.

Looker-on (A., Dawlish). "On 'Rack' in the *Tempest*." 1st S. iv. 158. 1851.

Lyte (F. Maxwell). "Mr. Lyte's new Instantaneous Process." 1st S. ix. 570. 1854.

——— "Mr. Weld Taylor's cheap Iodizing Process." 1st S. vii. 364. 1853.

——— ——— "Sir W. Newton's Process—Chloride of Bromium." 1st S. vii. 163. 1853.

Lyte (F. Maxwell, Argelès, Hautes Pyrénées). "Bromo-iodide of Silver." 1st S. xi. 15. 1855.

Lyte (F. Maxwell, Bagnères de Bigorre, Basses-Pyrénées). "Mr. Lyte's Process." 1st S. xi. 491; xii. 16, 33, 50. 1855.

Lyte (F. Maxwell, Florian, Torquay). "Developing Chamber." 1st S. vii. 315. 1853.

——— "Improvement in Positives." 1st S. vii. 533. 1853.

——— "Mr. Lyte's New Process." 1st S. viii. 373. 1853.

——— "Mr. Lyte's Treatment of Positives." 1st S. viii. 15. 1853.

Lyte (F. Maxwell, Hotel de France Argelès, Hautes Pyrénées, France). "Mr. Lyte on the Collodion Process." 1st S. x. 511. 1854.

Lyte (F. Maxwell, Hotel de l'Europe à Pau, Basses Pyrénées). "Mr. Lyte on Collodion." 1st S. ix. 156. 1854.

Lyte (F. Maxwell, Luz, Hautes Pyrénées). "Mr. Lyte's Instantaneous Process." 1st S. x. 151. 1854.

——— "Restoration of Old Collodion." 1st S. x. 272. 1854.

Lyte (F. Maxwell, Maison George, Rue Montpensier, Pau). "Collodionized Glass Plates, &c." 1st S. xi. 90. 1855.

——— "Horizontal Bath for Nitrate of Silver." 1st S. xi. 471. 1855.

Lyte (F. Maxwell, Maison Raimonet, Bagnères de Bigorre). "Recovery of Silver from wasted Hypo." 1st S. xii. 72. 1855.

Lyte (F. Maxwell, Pau). "Bromo-iodide of Silver." 1st S. xi. 211. 1855.

——— ——— "Camera for preserving sensitized Plates," &c. 1st S. xi. 290. 1855.

——— ——— "Portability of sensitized Collodion Plates." 1st S. xi. 191. 1855.

M. (A. C., Exeter). "Aska or Asca." 1st S. ix. 489. 1854.

——— ——— "Broad Arrow." 1st S. vii. 360. 1853.

——— ——— "Creole." 1st S. vii. 535. 1853.

——— ——— "Feather in your Cap." 1st S. ix. 378. 1854.

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M. (A. C., Exeter). "'Goucho' or 'Guacho.'" 1st S. x. 346. 1854.
——————— "Hougoumont." 1st S. iv. 456. 1851.
——————— "Napoleon's Thunderstorm." 1st S. viii. 148. 1853.
——————— "Oaken Tombs." 1st S. viii. 180. 1853.
——————— "Praying to the West." 1st S. viii. 343. 1853.
——————— "Priests' Hiding Places," etc. 1st S. xii. 48. 1855.
——————— "Red Hair." 1st S. viii. 86. 1853.
——————— "The Black Sea." 1st S. xi. 283. 1855.
——————— "The Butterfly." 1st S. xi. 302. 1855.
——————— "The Red Hand." 1st S. xi. 447. 1855.
——————— "Weldons of Cornwall." 1st S. xi. 296. 1855.
——————— "Tobacco in the East." 1st S. ii. 154. 1850.
——————— "Uncovering the Head and Uncovering the Feet." 1st S. vi. 195. 1852.

M4. (J., St. Mary Tavy, Tavistock). "Chatter Box." 1st S. iv. 344. 1851.
——————— "The Broad Arrow." 1st S. v. 115. 1852.

P. (H., Exeter). "Poor Pilgarlic." 1st S. ii. 393. 1850.

Sloane-Evans (W. Sloane, Cornworthy Vicarage, Totnes). "Edmund Spenser and Sir Hans Sloane, Bart." 1st S. viii. 389. 1853.
——————— "Marriage of Cousins." 1st S. viii. 525. 1853.
——————— "Pronunciation of Bible and Prayer Book proper Names." 1st S. viii. 469. 1853.
——————— "Rev. Urban Vigors." 1st S. viii. 477. 1853.

Tregelles (S. P., 6, Portland Square, Plymouth). "The Codex Vaticanus." 1st S. xii. 422, 473. 1855.

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THE CISTERCIAN HOUSES OF DEVON.

II. Buckland.—Concluded.

BY J. BROOKING ROWE, F.S.A., F.L.S.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

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51. In my search for documents connected with Buckfast Abbey, I have met with a few relating to Buckland, which may as well be given, with a few additional quotations and notes, as a supplement to my former paper.

52. First as to the Abbey of Quarr, Quarrera, or Quarreria, in the Isle of Wight, from which Buckland was colonised, see par. 17. The pedigree of Buckland was as under:—

Savigny,
|
Quarr,
|
Buckland.

Quarr in the oldest deeds is called Quarraria, probably from the neighbouring stone-quarries. It was one of the first monasteries of the Cistercian order founded in England, and was, as I have before shown, begun by Baldwin, Earl of Devon, who, in the 32nd year of the reign of Henry I. gave the Manor of Arreton to Geoffry, Abbot of Savigny, for its building. The earliest charter now remaining is that of Engler de Bohun, who bestowed Hasley upon the monks, probably soon after Baldwin's donation. This deed was executed in Normandy and witnessed by Serlo, Abbot Geoffry's successor, and other Norman Bishops and Abbots. This, with other benefactions to the abbey, was confirmed by Richard son of Baldwin, whose deed without date must have been executed in the reign of Henry II. Most of the lands of the abbey appear to have been given in the reign of Stephen. There is also a grant from Henry, Duke of Normandy, of a place called Locwelle, in Normandy, for the monks of Quarr to build an abbey there, and a grant of confirmation from the

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same Henry as King of England. This, Sir Richard Worsley conjectures to have been an act of gratitude in Henry to Earl Baldwin for espousing the cause of Matilda. Among the persons of consequence known to have been buried here are Earl Baldwin the founder, Adeliza his countess, and their son Henry. William de Vernun bequeathed £300 for the erection of a tomb here for himself and his father; the chapel also contained a monument to the Lady Cicely, second daughter of King Edward IV. (See *Dugdale's Monasticon, Hist. Isle of Wight*, p. 177, *note*.)

53. In the foundation deed of Amicia Countess of Devon mention is made of her daughter Margaret, described as a nun of Lacock. Lacock Abbey was in Wiltshire, founded in 1232 by Ella daughter of William Earl of Salisbury and widow of William Longspee, a natural son of Henry II. by fair Rosamond, and, in right of his wife, Earl of Salisbury. To this abbey Amicia gave the manor of Shorewell in the Isle of Wight, and also her heart. In all probability the body of Amicia was buried at Buckland, and her heart certainly was at Lacock. Her obit was kept at the latter place, on the Feast of St. Andrew, down to the Dissolution, and in the Valor is an entry:—"To money distributed to the poor on the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle for the soul of Amicia Countess of Devon, four bushels of corn worth 2s. 8d., and on the eve and day of that feast to three poor persons in bread drink and meat to each of them daily 2d. worth. 3s. 8d."

54. Of the documents, the first is from the Roll, Placita de Quo Waranto, Edw. I., whereby it appears that Amicia was called upon to show by what authority she held the hundreds of Wonford, Tiverton, Harrige, Roborough, and Axminster, and view of frankpledge, &c. in Tiverton, Collumpton, and Exminster, without licence, &c.

Amica Comitissa Devon' sum' fuit ad respond' dño Regi de ptito quo waf'to tenet hundra de WONFORD TYVERTON HARRIGG' RUBERGG & AXEMENISTRE que ad Coronam dñi Regis ptinent, Et quo waranto clam' hre visum francipleg' furcas emendas assis' panis & c'vis fracte in TYVERTON, COLUMPTON' & EXEMINISTRE sine licentia, &c.

Et Amicia p' attor' suū venit, Et dicit q̄d non debet dño Regi ad hoc bre respondre quia dicit q̄d non tenet integre pdca hundra eo q̄d Abbas de Bocland tenet inde hundra de HARRIGG & RUBERGG' et petit judm de bri.

Et Will's de Gyselh[a]m qui sequit[r] pdño Rege dicit q̄d licet pdcus Abbas teneat pdca hundra pdcta Amicia *tenetur*

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responde dño Regi de tenancia suo quo ad alia hundr̃a et nisi inde respondeat petit judiciū de ip'a tanq^{m} de indefensa. Dies dat' est ei coram dño R'a die Pasch̃ in unū mensem ubicumq' &c. de auđo juđo suo &c.—Rot. 37. (Placita de Quo Waranto Edw. I. Ed: Rec. Com. fol 1818, p. 168.)

55. The next is from the Assize Roll, 1281: Robert of Buckland, who was the first abbot, is charged with unjustly dispossessing the Prior of Plympton of certain land:— At Exeter, Octave of St. Martin, 9-10 Edward I. A.D. 1281.

§ Assisa venit recogñ si Robs Abbas eccie sči Benedči de Boclaund frat̃ Rogus Iverlesboclond Witts le Forest̃ Thom̃ de Wythye Gilbs le Brewer̃ Witts de Wyrk^{a}m Walt̃us de Eckeworth Robtus Gosce Ričs de Crewet̃ Witts de Elleswitt Rogus de Fylech^{a}m Rogus Semer̃ Walt̃us le Provost Witts Russet Robs de Alwistoñ Rogus Upperig̃ Witts le Knyht Ričs de Legh̃ Rogus Orig' Gilbs de la Bure Thom̃ de Colewitt Thom̃ le Fotur Gilbs de Crewile Witts Altwy Walt̃us Uppehutt Ričus Bulymer Walterus Webbe Witts le Pyl Galfrs Aylmer Edwardus de Uptoñ Petr de Wobhutt Robs de la Yo Gilbs le Rede Robs de la Hole Ričus Berey Rogus Lond̃ Godef'rs de Bikecumb̃ et Rogus de Hamme injuste &c. disseis̃ Priorē de Plumptoñ de liđo teñ suo in Plympton post p̃m ℞c. Et unde quer^{r} q̃d dis̃ eum de quinq'ginta acr̃ ℞re cum ptiñ. Et Prior veñ et re' se de br̃i suo Iđo p̃dčus Abbas et alii inde sine die Et Prior et pl sui de p̃s in mĩa scitt Galfr̃s le Frere et G'vas̃ de Crymel Postea cōvenit int̃ eos q̃d p̃dčs Abbas cogñ p̃dčas quinq̃ginta acr̃ ℞re cū ptiñ in Hetfeld juxa Pudele če jus p̃dči Prioris et eccie sue de Plympton et illas ei redd̃ tenend̃ p̃dčo Priori et succ̃ suis imppet̃ Et p hac ℞c. p̃dčs Prior cōcessit q̃d tenčtes ip̃ius Abbis in Pudet̃ heant communā in eisdem teñ tempe apto ad omnimoda a℞ia etc. (Assize Roll, M. 1, 34.—1 Memb' 29d.)

56. The next is from the De Banco Roll, William charging Thomas the Abbot, and Brother John Bryton, monk of the abbey, and John Spenser, with breaking into the house of the said William at Collumpton and carrying off goods and chattels to the value of £10. The defendants did not appear, and we do not know the result.

Will's Couta p att̃ suū op' se iiij^{to} die ℞sus Thomā Abb̃em de Boklond̃ et frem Joh̃em Brytoñ cōmonacū eiusdē Abb̃is et Joh̃em Spenser de ptito quare vi et armis domū ip̃ius Witti apud Colomptoñ freg̃unt et bona et cat̃ sua ad valenciā decē

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libraꝝ ibiđm invent̃ cepunt et asptavunt et alia enormia ei intulerunt ad gᵃve dampnū ip̃ius Wiłłi et contᵃ pacē Reg̃ etc. Et ip̃e non veñ Et ħuer̃ inde diē vsqꝫ ad hunc diē scił a die Pasche in tres septĩas ꝑ essoñ suū postqam attacħ etc. I'o prec̃ est vic̃ q̃d distr̃ eos ꝑ om̃es t̃r etc. Et q̃d de exit̃ etc. Et q̃d habet corꝑa eoꝝ hic a die sc̃i Micħis in xv dies etc. (De Banco Roll. East, 38 Edward III.)

57. In the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, 1291, we find some of the Abbey property mentioned:—

Abbas de Bokland h't Man'ria de	Bokland q'd tax' . . .	16	2	8
	Bikeley q'd tax' . . .	16	2	8
	Walhampton & in Dertemore, q'd tax' . . .	6	10	8
	Colompton q'd tax' . .	9	15	4
	Item apud Bikecumbe q'd tax'		13	4
S'mᵃ		39	13	5
Decᵃ		3	19	4½

(Pp. 146-153.)

There are also two or three other scattered references.

58. The next, in Norman-French, from the White Book of Tenures in Cornwall, is a direction, that in consequence of the poverty of the Abbey it should be relieved from the payment of charges connected with the Forest of Dartmoor:—

Pur la maison de Bocklond. (fo. 61 b.)

Cornewaille. ffev̊er Marꝫ. lan Dengł xxx E. etc. A ñre cħ vadlet Roƀt de Eleforđ ñre señ de Corñ et Devenes̃ saluꝫ. Porceqꝫ noꝰ avons entenduz q̃ la poure maison de ñre dame de Bokland est durement mult aninentie pᵃ la charge et s̊venue des forest̊s de ñre foreste de Dertemore Sur quei noꝰ desirrantꝫ la relevacion de la dite maison Vous maundons q̃ vous meismes s̊veieꝫ q̃ ele ne soit chargee ou grevee p' les ditꝫ forest̃s ou aut̊s autrement q̃ ele ne doit estre de reson. et ne soeffrez q̃ labbe de la dite maison ou ses gentꝫ et tenantꝫ soient empescheꝫ ou endamageꝫ ꝑ les ditꝫ forest̊s autrement q̃ nad estee vsee einz ces heures ou q̃ ils deyvent estre de bon foi. Doñ etc. a lonđs le xiij iour de ffev̊er lan etc. p̃ t̃ levesqꝫ de Wync̃.

White Book of Tenures in Cornwall.—25-39 Edw. III.

59. The last document is a complete copy of the Ministers' accounts, 31-32 Henry VIII., so far as they relate to Buckland, carefully transcribed from the original. It gives full details as to the property of the abbey at the time, the rental, and the names of the various tenants.

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Buckland Abbey, co. Devon.

Comp'a Oĩm et singuloꝝ Balliuoꝝ p̃pos̃ Coll firmar̃ et al Ministroꝝ Computabil Oĩm et Sing̃loꝝ Dñioꝝ Man̄ioꝝ Terr̃ et tenr̃ Rector̃ pencoñ et porcoñ quaꝝcumq; tam Sp̃ual qam Tempal Dñi Regꝭ Dc̃o nup Moñ ꝑtineñ sive spectañ viz. a ffesto sc̃i Micħis Arcħi Anno Regni Henr̃ viij^ri Dei gr̃a Angl et ffraunc̃ Rꝭ fidei Defens̃ Dñi hiƀn ac in terr̃ sup̄mi Capitꝭ Ecclie Angl xxxj^mo vsqꝫ iđm fs̃m sc̃i Micħis Arcħi Anno eiusđm Dni Rꝭ extunc ꝑxim̃ sequeñ sc̃il ꝑ vnū annū Integr̃ ꝑut inferius p̃t. nup' Monaster' de Buckelande.

Comp'us Georgij Pollerde firmar̃ iƀm ꝑ tempus p̃dc̃m. Scit' d'ci nup' Mon' cū terr D'nical' eid'm p'tinen'.

Null ꝑut in pede vltimi Comp̃i Anni ꝑx̃ p̃cedeñ plenius cont^r. Arrerag.

Sm^a—null.

Sed r̃ de—xxiij li. iij s. v d. de firm̃ Scit̃ iƀm cū Ort̃ pomar̃ Gardiñ terr̃ prat̃ pasc̃ & pastur̃ voc̃ Calses ꝑke Barne ꝑke Dedeh^am Quarry ꝑke cū duobꝫ ꝑvis prat̃ eiđm Annex̃ le Conyger Wyndemyll ꝑke long ꝑke cū 1 ꝑvo prat̃ adiac̃ Longland Vyntens Oxenh^am Southefelde Penm̄she ꝑke Ookewell Higher Byckh^am Lower Byckeh^am Haylebelle Longꝑke Ruggemyll ꝑke Cansey mede & Shepewaysshe cū s̃ ꝑtiñ eiđm scit̃ ꝑtiñ sive spectañ sic dim̃ p̃fato Compu^ti ꝑ t̃mīo xxj Annoꝝ ꝑ Indeñ Dñi Rꝭ sub Sigill Cur̃ Augmeñ Reveñ coroñ s̃ ut ass̃it^r sol ad festa Annūc̃ ƀte Marie virginis & s̃ci Micħis Arcħi equalr viz. ꝑ ij hmoi festis infra temp⁹ hui⁹ Comp̃i accideñ ut supra. ffirm'.

Sm^a—xxiij li. iij s. v d.

Sm^a Tot̃lis firm̃ p̃đce—xxiij li. iij s. v d. q̃ liƀavit Thome Arundell Milit̃ Rec̃ Dñi Rꝭ iƀm de exit̃ firme p̃đce huius Anni sine billa sed t̃m ex Recognicicoñ sua sup hunc comp̃m.

Comp'us Roƀti Toker Ball iƀm ꝑ tempus p̃đcm. Man'iū de Colomptoñ cū cert' terr' in Exoñ.

Null ꝑut in pede vltimi Comp̃i Anni ꝑx p̃cedeñ plenius cont^r. Arrerag.'

Sm^a—null.

Sed r̃ de—ciiij s. vj d. de toto Redđ liƀoꝝ Teneñ iƀm ꝑ Annū sol ad f̃m s̃ci Micħis Arcħ t̃m ꝑut p̃ Compm de Anno ꝑx̃ p̃cedeñ sup hunc Comp̃m exeunt̃. Redd' lib'o' Tenen'.

Sm^a—ciiij s. vj d.

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Redd' Cust' Tenen'. Et de—lvj li. vij s. xj d. de toto Redd Custum Tenen ibm p Annū cū xvj s. vj d. rē int Teneñ ibm p quodm redd voc lej guldage rent p Annū sol ad iiij^{or} Anni tmios principat equis porcion put in Compo de Anno px pcedeñ ad larg annotat pleni^{o} cont^{r}.

Sm^{a}—lvj li. xij s. xj d.

Terr' in Exon. Et de—xxvj s. viij d. de Redd 1 Teñ infra Civitat Exon in tenur Joh^{a}nne Chubbe vid p Annū sol ad tmios pdcos.

Sm^{a}—xxvj s. viij d.

p'quis' Cur'. Et de—x s. ix d. de pquis cur ibm hoc Anno tent put p Rotlas eaꝺm sup hunc Compm ostens et examiat ultra xlj s. v d. de divs Amciam illevabit et pdonat rone Act pliam de genali pdonac Dñi Rę inde edit et pvis.

Sm^{a}—x s. ix d.

Sm^{a} Totlis Ret.—lxiij l. xiiij s. x d.

Ð quibꝫ.

ffeod' et vad'. Idm comput in feod sive vad sui ipius comput Balt ibm ad lxvj s. viij d. p Annū sic sibi concess ac Wiltmo & Hugoñ fit s p tmio vite coꝝ p tras pateñ Dat sub sigillo nup conventuat ibm xx^{mo} die ffebruarij Anno rr Henrici viij^{vi} xxv^{to} sol ad fest Annūc bte Marie virginis & sci Michis Archi equis porcion put in eisdm tris pateñ pleni^{o} cont^{r} viz. in Altone hmoi virtute trarꝝ pdict p hoc anno—lxvj s. viij d. Et in feod Johis Edmond Decennar Manlij pdci ad xx s. p annū sic sibi silit Concess p tmio vite s p tras pateñ nup Abbis & convent ibm dat xx^{mo} die Aprit Anno xxix^{no} Rę pdci sol ad fm sci Michis Archi tm viz in Altone hmoi virtute eaꝺm trarꝝ pateñ p hoc anno—xx s. Et in feod Anthonij Harvye subseñ Manlij pdci Ac Manlij de Bauntoñ ad xxvj s. viij d. p Annū sic sibi concess p tmio vite s p tras pateñ dci nup prior & convent dat vj^{to} die Octobr anno xxx^{mo} Dñi Rę pdci sol ad fest pdem viz. in Altone hmoi Virtute trarꝝ pdcarꝝ p hoc anno xxvj s. viij d. Et in Stipend ctici Auditor scribeñ hunc compm put Cticis Audit Dñ Rę Ducat s lancastr Allocar Cons viz. in Altone hmoi put Alloc est in Annis pcedeñ—ij s.

Sm^{a}—cxv s. iiij d.

Expen' Sen'. Et in Expeñ Sent Ctici Cur & At Officiar ibm existeñ p cur sup^{a}dict hoc anno tenend put p Rotul eaꝺm sup hunc compm ostens & examiat—xx s. ij d.

Sm^{a}—xx s. ij d.

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Et in Denar̃ p ꝺcm compⁿnt̃ liƀaţ Thome Arundell Milit̃ Recept̃ Dñi Rꝫ ibm de exit̃ offic̃ ş huius Anni sine bitt sed t̃m ex Recognic̃ ş sup hunc comꝑm . . . } lvj l. xix s. iiij d. Lib'ac' denar'. r' Rec'.

Smᵃ Alloc̃ et libac̃ ꝑdict̃—lxiij. li xiiij s. x d.

Que quiꝺm Smᵃ correspondet sum̃e Totlis Reᵗ ꝑꝺce.

Et sic Eq̃.

Comp'us Walti Langesforde Bailt ibm p tempus ꝑꝺcm. Bucklond' Man'iū cu' hundred' de Rowburgh Hayle Walchᵃmpton Shittistor & Rynmore cū cert' terr' in Saulteaysshe.

Nullt. put in pede vltimi compi Anni px̃ ꝑcedeñ pleniꝰ cont'. Arrerag'.

Smᵃ—nullt.

Sed r̃ de—lix l. xij s. xj d. ob̃ de toto Redꝺ tⁿm libor̃ qⁿm custum̃ Teneñ ibm p Annū sol ad iiijᵒʳ Anni tnios principal equis porc̃ put in compo de Anno px̃ ꝑcedeñ ad larg̃ Annotat̃ pleniꝰ cont'. Redd' Assis' in Bucklond'.

Smᵃ—lix l. xij s. xj d. ob̃.

Et de—viij l. de Redꝺ Assis̃ in Hayle cū xxˢ de Redꝺ cuiusꝺm Coïe de Rowburgh ꝑꝺca sol ad tmios ꝑdict̃ put p ꝺcm comꝑm de Anno px̃ ꝑcedeñ. Rowburgh & Hayle.

Smᵃ—viij l.

Et de xxj l. xiiij s. viij d. ob̃ de Redꝺ Assis̃ Custum̃ Teneñ cū iiij s. jd. ob̃. de Redꝺ Guldag̃ ibm p Annū put pȝ p comꝑm ꝑꝺcm. Walchᵃmton'.

Smᵃ—xxj l. xiij s. viij d. ob̃.

Et de lxij s. xj d. de toto Redꝺ Assis̃ Teneñ ibm p Annū sol ut supª put pȝ p comꝑ ꝑꝺcm. Shittistor & Rynmore.

Smᵃ—lxij s. xj d.

Et de viij s. de Redꝺ j Teñ ibm p Annū sol ut supª pȝ p comꝑm ꝑꝺcm. Salteaysshe.

Smᵃ—viij s.

Et de—xxiiij s. ix d. de pquis̃ cur̃ ibm hoc Anno tenᵗ cū xxj s. de quodᵃm redꝺ voc̃ Measure wheighte & watche sol p xiiijᶜⁱ decennar̃ ibm ex Antiq̃ cons̃ put pȝ Rotul eaꝺ sup hunc Comꝑm ostens̃ & examinat̃ ultra xlviij s. iiij d. de divs Amerciam̃ illevabit & pꝺonat̃ r̃one Act̃ pliam̃ de genali pꝺonac̃ Dñi Rꝫ inde edit̃ & pvis̃. P'quis' cur'.

Smᵃ—xxiiij s. ix d.

Smᵃ Totlis Ret̃—iiij ˣˣ xiiij l. ij s. iiij d.

D quibȝ.

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ffeod' & vad' cũ Expen' Sen^l'.

Idm Comput̃ in feod sive Regard sui ip̃ius Compu^te Batt ibm ad xl s. p Annũ sic sibi concess̃ p t̃mio vite s̃ p tras pateñ dat̃ sub Sigitt nup Conventuat ibm xxvj^to die Aprit Anno r̃rę Henric̃ viij xxx^mo sot ad t̃m sc̃i Mich̃is Arch̃i t̃m put in eisdm tris pateñ ad larg̃ rro^t pleni⁹ Apparet viz. in Attone h̃moi Virtute traꝝ p̃dict̃ p hoc Anno—xl s.

Et in Stipend Cl̃ici Auditor̃ scribeñ hunc comp̃m put Alloc̃ est in Anñ p̃cedeñ—ij s.

Et in Expeñ Sen^l Cl̃ic̃ Cur̃ & at Officiar̃ ibm existeñ p cur̃ sup^a dict̃ hoc anno tenend put pꝫ Rotut eaꝝdm sup hunc comp̃m ostens̃ & examiat̃—iiij s. iij d.

Sm^a—xlvj s. iij d.

Decas' Redd'.

Et in defect̃ Redd j Teñ in Salteaysshe sup oñat̃ in tit̃lo p se ad viij s. p. Annũ & duoꝝ Teñ nup in te^a Joh̃is v^s Holdm^a & Joh̃is Broke iiij s. xj d. supius oñat̃ in tit̃lo redd Assis̃ Mañij p̃dci infra Sum̃am lviij l. xiiij s. x d. ob ad ix s. xj d. p annũ. Et qd dict̃ Teñ tot̃lr in decas̃ sunt & exist̃ vac̃ ac in nulli⁹ te^a p totũ temp⁹ hui⁹ comp̃i ex sacr̃o d̃ci computę viꝫ. in defect̃ h̃moi Redd p temp⁹ p̃dcm xvij s. xj d.

sic dimiss' p' discrec' Auditor' & Recept'.

Sm^a—xvij s. xj d.

lib'ac' Denar'

r' Rec'.

Et in denar̃ p Comp̃ntę lib̃at Thome Arundell Milit̃ Rec̃ Dñi Rę ibm de exit̃ officij s̃ huius Anni sine bitt sed t̃m ex Recognic̃ s̃ sup hunc Comp̃m } iiij^xx x l. v s. iiij d. [?]

Sm^a Alloc̃ et lib̃ac̃ p̃dict̃—iiij^xx xij li. ix s. vj d.

Et deb̃t xxxij s. x d. q̃ Allo^r ei ut de tot̃ Deñ p ip̃m solut̃ p diṽs Repac̃ fact̃ & imp̃oit̃ sup Diṽs Teñ & Cotag̃ infra Mañiũ p̃dcm hoc Anno maxie Ruinos̃ ut in empcioñ Tegut find Claṽ Calc̃ & areñ ac at ad hec necessar̃ put p bitt de ptic̃lis inde sup hunc comp̃m ostens̃ & examiat̃.

Et Eq.

Byckeleigh & Shagh p'cell' Man'ij de Buckland' p'dict'

Comp'us Joh̃is Stephyñ Batti b̃m p tempus p̃dcm.

Arrerag.

Nutt put in pede Vltimi Comp̃i Anni px̃ p̃cedeñ pleni⁹ cont^r.

Sm^a—nutt.

Redd' Assis'.

Sed r̃ de xxiiij l. iiij s. vij d. de toto Redd t^am lib̃oꝝ q^am Custum̃ Tenenc̃ ibm p Annũ sot ad iiij^or Anni t̃mios principat equis porc̃ put in Comp̃o de Anno px̃ p̃cedeñ ad larg̃ Annotat̃ plenius cont^r.

Sm^a—xxiiij li. iiij s. vij d.

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Et de iiij l. vj s. viij d. de firm̃ j Molenđ iƀm ꝑ Annū sic dim̃ Thome Boremañ ꝑ Indeñ ut Ass⁹it^r soł ad festa p̃đca ut pȝ in Comp̃o de Anno ꝑx̃ p̃cedeñ. ffirm' Molend. de Byckeleigh.

Sm^a—iiij l. vj s. viij d.

Et de xxvij s. vij d. de ꝑquiš xiij^ci cur̃ iƀm hoc anno tenť cū ix^s de ħieťt vij s. v d. de Redđ cenš ⁊ xj s. ij d. de Ał ꝑquiš ꝑut pȝ Rotuł eaȝđm suꝑ hunc comp̃m ostenš ⁊ examīať ult^a xxix s. v d. de divš Am̃ciam̃ illevabił ⁊ ꝑdonať r̃one Acť ꝑliam̃ de geñali ꝑdonač Dñi Regę inde ediť ⁊ ꝑviš. P'quis' Cur'.

Sm^a—xxvij s. vij d.

Sm^a Toťlis Re^t—xxix li. xviij s. x d.

D quibȝ.

Iđm Compuť in feođ sive Regarđ sui ip̃ius compu^t Bałł oīm & sing̃loȝ Dñioȝ Mañioȝ Terr̃ & Teñ cū om̃ibȝ eoȝ Membris in Byckleigh Abbottesrowe & Shagħ ac viš fr^aunč pleg̃ Mañij de Buckelond voč Holme Baliff ad xxvj s. viij d. ꝑ Annū sic sibi concesš ꝑ ťmīo vite š ꝑ łras pateñ dať sub Sigillo nuꝑ conventuał iƀm ix^no die Aprił Anno r̃rę Henrici viij^vi xxx^mo soł ad f'm šci Micħis Arcħi tantū ꝑut in eisdem łris pateñ ad larg̃ rro^t pleni⁹ liquet viz. in Ałłone ħmoi virtute łraȝ p̃dicť ꝑ tempus huius comp̃i—xxvj s. viij d. Et in feođ sive Regarđ cuiusd^am Simon Lawry Decennar̃ oīm & sing̃loȝ Dñioȝ sive Mañioȝ p̃dicť ad vj s. viij d. ꝑ Annū viz. in Ałłone ħmoi causš excič offičš huius Anni ꝑut Alloč est in Anñ p̃cedeñ—vj s. viij d. Et in Stipenđ Cłici Auditor̃ scribeñ hunc comp̃m ꝑut Alloč est in Anñ p̃cedeñ—ij s. ffeod' & Vad'.

Sm^a—xxxv s. iiij d.

Et in Denar̃ ꝑ đcm compu^te soluť ꝑ expeñ sen^l Cłici Cur̃ & Ał Offiiciar̃ iƀm existeñ ad Cur̃ sup^adicť hoc Anno tenenđ ꝑut pȝ Rotuł eaȝđm suꝑ hunc comp̃m ostenš & examīať—xlj s. j d. Expen' Sen^l'.

Sm^a—xlj s. j d.

Et in Denar̃ ꝑ đcm compu^t liƀať Thome Arundell Miliť Rec̃ Dñi Rę iƀm de exiť offič sui huius Anni sine biłł sed ťm ex Recognič š suꝑ hunc comp̃m . . } xxiiij l. xix s. iiij d. lib'ac' Denar'. r' Rec'.

Sm^a Allocač et liƀač p̃dicť—xxviij l. xv s. ix d.

Et Deƀt—xxiij s. j d. q̃ Allo^r ei ut de toť deñ ꝑ nov̄ fc̃ur^a j pinfałđ Dñi Regę iƀm ꝑ Salv̄ Custođ Catałł ꝑ đco Dño Rege districť in eođm pinfałđ ponenđ hoc Anno sine biłł sed ťm ex sacr̃o đci compu^te Et Eq.

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Buckelonde Rector'. Arrerag'.

COMP'US Roƀti Tooker firmar̃ iƀm ꝑ tempus p̃đcm.
Iđm o^r de—xviij li. de arr̃ vltimi comp̃i Anni ꝑx̃ p̃cedeñ ꝑut iƀm pleni⁹ cont^r.

Sm^a—P3.

ffirm' Rector'.

Sed r̃ de—xviij l. de firm̃ oĩm Decim̃ Garƀ Rect̃ ꝑdict̃ cū Om̃ib3 Aƚ Com̃ođ eiđm ꝑtiñ sic dim̃ p̃fat̃ Compu^t Wiƚƚmo & Hugoñ fiƚ s̃ de quinqueñ in quinquenniū durañ ꝑmio lx Anñ ꝑ Indeñ Dat̃ quinto Die Octobr̃ Anno r̃rꝭ Henrici viij^vi xxvij^mo soƚ ad f̃m s̃ci Andree t̃m ꝑut in eađm Indeñ ad larg̃ irro^t plenius cont^r.

Sm^a—xviij l.

r' Rec'.

Sm^a Tot̃lis ffirme p̃dict̃ cū Arr̃—xxxvj li. De qib3 liƀavit Thome Arundell Milit̃ Rec̃ Dñi Rꝭ iƀm de exit̃ firm̃ s̃ p̃dict̃ hoc Anno sine biƚƚ sed t̃m ex Recognic̃ s̃ suꝑ hunc Compm—xviij l. Et deƀt—xviij li. . . . . Totū.

Sup'.

Ip̃m Compu^te de Arr̃ firm̃ s̃ huius Anni eo q̃d ħet Diē Soluc̃ inde uxsq; f̃m s̃ci Andree ꝑx̃ futur̃ post Claus̃ hui⁹ Comp̃i ꝑut ꝑ Indeñ đci firmar̃ . . . . xviij l.

Rect de Walkh^amton & Shittistor'. Arrerag,.

COMP'US dc̃i Roƀti Tooker firmar̃ iƀm ꝑ tempus p̃đcm.
Iđm o^r de—vij l. x s. de Arr̃ Vltimi Comp̃i Anni ꝑx̃ p̃cedeñ pleni⁹ cont^r.

Sm^a—P3.

ffirm' Rect'.

Sed r̃ de—vij l. x s. de firm̃ decim̃ Garƀ eiusđm Rector̃ ac de iij^bus Teñ in Byckleigh cū om̃ib3 aƚ Com̃odit̃ eiđm Rector̃ ꝑtiñ sic dim̃ p̃fat̃ Comp̃i Wiƚƚmo & Hugoñ fiƚ s̃ ꝑ ꝑmio lx Annoꝝ ꝑ Indeñ suꝑius in Comp̃o ꝑx̃ p̃cedeñ specific̃ soƚ ad f̃m s̃ci Andree p̃dict ꝑut ꝑ Indeñ p̃dict̃.

Sm^a—vij l. x s.

Sm^a Tot̃lis ffirme p̃dict̃—xv li. q̃ liƀavit Thome Arundell Milit̃ Rec̃ Dñi Rꝭ iƀm de exit̃ firm̃ p̃dict̃ hoc Anno sine biƚƚ sed t̃m ex Recognic̃ s̃ suꝑ hunc Comp̃m—vij li. x s.

Et deƀt—vij l. x s.

Suꝑ Ip̃m Compu^te de Arr̃ firm s̃ hui⁹ Anni. Eo q̃d ħet Diē ut sup̃—vij l. x s.

Rect' de Bampton'. Arrerag'.

COMP'US sup^a đci Roƀti Tooker firmar̃ iƀm ꝑ tempus p̃đcm.
Nuƚƚ ꝑut in pede Vltimi Comp̃i Anni ꝑx p̃cedeñ plenius cont^r.

Sm^a—nuƚƚ.

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Sed r̃ de—xl li. de firm̃ Rector ibm cū Manc̃ dom̃ Clausur̃ terr̃ Teñ necnon fruct̃ decim̃ oblacioñ & Al ꝑfic̃ quibuscūq; eidm Rect̃ ꝑtiñ sic dim̃ p̃fat̃ Compu^t de quinqueñ in quinqueñ durañ t̃mio lx^t Annoꝝ ꝑ Indeñ dat̃ xxiiij^to die Julij Anno r̃rꝭ Henrici viij^vi xxvj^to sol ad ffest̃ Pasche & Nat̃ Dñi ꝑ equal porcioñ cū xx l. ꝑ penc̃ Vicar̃ ibm xl s. sol Ep̃o Exoñ & Decañ & Capit̃lo ibm ꝑ pencioñ s̃ Ac xv s. ix d. sol Arcħno Exoñ ꝑ Sinod & ꝑcur̃ Om̃ibꝫ Al oñibꝫ ꝑochial & Capell s̃ci Luce ꝑut in eadem Indeñ ad larg̃ irro^t plenius cont^r. ffirm'.

Sm^a—xl li.

Sm^a Tot̃lis ffirme p̃dict̃—xl li.

D quibꝫ.

Idm Comput̃ in Denar̃ solut̃ Vicar̃ ibm ꝑ pencioñ s̃ ad xx l. ꝑ Annū sic sibi & Succ̃ suis concess̃ ꝑ quandm Compos̃ inde int̃ dict̃ Vicar̃ ac nuꝑ Abbem & Convent̃ ibm confect̃ viz. in Altone ħmoi ꝑ tempus huius comp̃i—xx l. Et in Consilibꝫ pencioñ Ann^ti sol Ep̃o ^xxs & Decano ^xxs & Capit̃lo Exoñ exeunt̃ ex^a Rector̃ p̃dict̃ ad xl s. ꝑ Annū viz. in Altone ħmoi ꝑ tempus huius Comp̃i ꝑut ab Antiq̃ Allocar̃ Cons̃ in Anñ p̃cedeñ—xl s. Et in Denar̃ solut̃ Arcħno Exoñ ꝑ Sinod & ꝑcurac̃ ꝑ Annū ꝑut om̃ino Allocar̃ Cons̃—xv s. ix d. Penc' & Porc' cū Sinod' & p'curac'. videat^r concess.

Sm^a—xxij l. xv s. ix d.

Et in Denar̃ ꝑ p̃dcm compu^te libat̃ Thome Arundell Mi^t Rec̃ Dñi Rꝭ ibm de exit̃ firm̃ p̃dce sine bill sed t̃m ex Recognic̃ s̃ suꝑ hunc comp̃m . . . . . xvij l. iiij s. iij d. lib'ac' denar'. r. Rec'.

Sm^a Allocac̃ et libac̃ p̃dict—xl l. Que quidm Sm^a correspond sum̃e Tot̃lis firm̃ p̃dict̃.

60. In 1553 we find the following monks still alive and enjoying their pensions:—

John Tooker, Abbot . .	60	0	0
John West . . .	5	0	0
Thomas Hooper . .	5	0	0
William Gye . . .	5	0	0
William Alford . . .	5	0	0
Benedict Lonege . .	4	13	4
William Milford . .	4	0	0
William Ebsworth . .	3	6	8
John Jordayne . . .	3	6	8

Thomas Maynard, Robert Troope, Hugo Harvey, and Simon Rugeway having died in the meantime.

61. The enlargement from the old Dartmoor Perambulation

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Map accompanying my first paper is incorrectly engraved. On reference, I find my drawing is right, but the lithographer has taken liberties, and on the right-hand side of the tower and transept has inserted an upper row of windows, giving the appearance of a clerestory, which is altogether wrong. The engraver has also made the buildings above, more distinct than they are in the original drawing.

61. In connection with Sir Francis Drake, I may mention that after our last meeting Captain Swann, of Honiton, was good enough to write me, asking if I had met with any boxes on which were carved or engraved the arms of Sir Francis Drake, and describing one in his possession. Curiously enough, his letter reminded me of a box which I had seen, which, as far as I could recollect, corresponded with the description given by Captain Swann. Of course, when wanted, the box could not be found, and it was supposed to have been altogether lost. Fortunately, within the last few weeks it has been recovered. It bears the inscription, John Brisset fecit, 1712. The arms of Drake appear in a shield, *A fess wavy between two polar stars;* above is a helmet and the crest, *a ship under ruff, drawn round a terrestrial globe with a cable rope by a hand out of the clouds.* The letters A. D. stand for the crest motto. The motto, *sic parvis magna*, is below the shield. At the top are the words "Sir Francis Drake," and below the ship the words, "The Adventure—Europe, America [? Hispania], Asia, Africa." The mantling is very good and the work delicate.

There is a box similar to this in the British Museum, and I have heard of others, and it would seem that there are many in existence of various sizes.

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THE CISTERCIAN HOUSES OF DEVON.

III.—Buckfast.

BY J. BROOKING ROWE, F.S.A., F.L.S.

(Read at Ashburton, July, 1876.)

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62. The Abbey of Bulfestra, the name by which we find it called when we first learn of its existence, occupies a site—within the hundred of Stanborough, the Deanery of Totnes, and the parish of Buckfastleigh—which is not so typical of a Cistercian selection, nor so secluded, as are many of the houses of the White Monks. It is situated, it is true, in the deep valley, close by the river, selected originally more for use than pleasure, with the hills surrounding the retreat, and protecting the pasture land; but still, beautiful as the position is, and charming as is the scenery (and those who know Turner's exquisite engraving will not say that the painter has exaggerated its loveliness), there is not that sense of repose, that feeling which comes over the visitor of distance and apparent estrangement from the world without, which is so characteristic of many abbeys of the Cistercians. I must assume my hearers to be acquainted with the facts relating to the general history of the order contained in my first paper, pars. 1 to 14.

63. Throughout this paper I shall use the convenient word "Buckfast" in speaking of the abbey. We find the spelling varying from time to time in the different documents relating to the house—Bulfestra, Bulfestre, Bugfasta, Bocfasta, Bussestre, and Buckfestria, are instances. In the earlier deeds the last syllable has ordinarily the "r," which was dropped as time went on. The spelling Bussestre is evidently a mistake of the scribe or copyist mistaking the letter "f" for a long "s."

64. Unlike the abbey to which my two preceding chapters have been devoted, which was one of the latest mediæval monastic foundations in England, the early history of the Abbey of Buckfast is lost in remote antiquity.

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65. It is one of the common errors, which, like the vulgar belief that all monks were and are priests, I suppose will never be eradicated from the mind of the ordinary Englishman, that monasteries had their rise in and only flourished during the middle ages. In spite of all that has been written and said, it is forgotten by many, that from the first institution of Christianity, to say nothing of the earlier dispensation, lives of seclusion were found necessary for the welfare of many souls whose lots were cast in the midst of a world steeped in heathen wickedness. And Britain from the first had monks, and the fury of the English vented itself upon them, and upon their priests, their altars, and their churches. The story of the massacre of the monks of Bangor will recur to everyone, and scattered throughout the pages of the earliest chroniclers are references to places which, if not monasteries in the sense in which we use the word, were places of retirement and religious asceticism. If these facts are forgotten, it is not much to be wondered at that the early history of the Abbey of Buckfast should have been lost sight of by the casual reader.

66. In all probability the abbey was in existence before the coming of the North-man, and it is an unquestionable fact that monks were settled in the pleasant spot on the banks of the Dart long before the Norman Conquest. The account will therefore carry us far back through the story of England's history.

67. There appears to be no good reason for doubting the claim, rather proudly put forward by the Buckfast monks in the reign of Edward I., where the jurors affirm that they, the monks, said that the Abbey held a certain manor called Sele Monachorum, by the gift of King Cnut,—

"*Dicunt quod Abbas Bucfestrie tenet quoddam manerium quod vocatur Sele monachorum in perpetuam elemosinam de dono regis Cnud.*"—Rotuli Hundredorum, Edw. I.

There can be little question that that sagacious monarch was interested in some way in this part of his kingdom of Wessex. You will recollect Lyfing was his companion on his pilgrimage to Rome, and to him, the then Abbot of Tavistock, afterwards the famous Bishop, the King entrusted that remarkable letter to his English people which contains so much kingly wisdom, and shows so much anxiety for the welfare of his subjects. Cnut, during his reign, did much for religion, and conferred many a gift upon the monks, and Ely and St. Edmundsbury, Glastonbury and Winchester, among other places, benefited by his bounty,

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and long cherished his memory, and the Church, during the years of peace which he gave to the country, fostered literature, art, and, to some extent, science, and spread throughout the land "great buildings and busy schools."

68. From the list of their possessions after the Conquest, it is not rash to assume that the monks of Buckfast received something more than the manor of Sele from the Danish King. In the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter is a charter of Cnut, conferring land upon Burhwold, the Bishop of St. Germans, in which I think may be recognised the names of places in Devon, and on the death of Burhwold the King assented to the request of Lyfing, who was then Bishop of Crediton, that the sees of St. Germans and Crediton might be united, and to this king and the once Abbot of Tavistock, and to his successor Leofric, the establishment of the see of Exeter, as we now have it, is due. It is in our time, after a union of nearly nine hundred years, that the ancient sees of Devon and Cornwall are again to be separated.

69. From the death of Cnut, 1035, to the date of the Domesday Survey is but fifty years or thereabouts, and in the Great Survey we find clear evidence of the existence, and a list of the possessions, of Buckfast Abbey. Whatever the foundation of the Abbey might have been, Domesday Book shows us that at the time of the Survey Abbot Alwine and his monks were not only settled at Buckfast, which was the head of the abbacy, but had considerable possessions in land and other property in the county. The entries are interesting and valuable, and further on will be found translations which I have made from the Exeter and Exchequer books. The former, belonging to the Dean and Chapter, is supposed to have been the groundwork of the Exchequer book (the one intended to be preserved as the permanent record), and, as is apparent on comparing the two, much more full in its information. Thus, in 1086 it is clear that there was a religious house at a place called Bulfestra, that it had considerable property, and was apparently in a flourishing condition. There can be no question that this place was Buckfast Abbey.

70. It has been always stated, that in some way or other this house was dissolved after the Conquest, its possessions confiscated, its inmates scattered, that this was probably the work of the Conqueror, and that the land was given to the Pomeroys. But this could not, I think, have been the case. Because, to a great extent, the troubles of the Con-

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quest were over, the land had been apportioned, William had rewarded his companions, and among the great lords whose lands are enumerated in Domesday the Abbey of Buckfast appears with Baldwin de Redvers, William de Pomeroy, and others, as holding large domains. Domesday Book was completed only a short time before William met his death in the streets of Mantes, and yet within fifty years the abbey is said to have been dissolved, its possessions divided, and a new house founded in the same place. If such were the case, how did it happen, and what were the reasons for such a spoliation? A conjecture might be hazarded that the Red King found the abbey lands conveniently near his hunting-grounds in the Forest of the Dartmoors, and took possession of them with the usual disregard of the rights of the Church shown by him, but there is no evidence to support such a theory, and I think, although the contrary has always been stated, that I shall be able to adduce good grounds for believing that the monks of Buckfast continued to hold the lands that belonged to them at the time of the Great Survey uninterruptedly for five centuries after.

71. The only evidence as to the supposed dissolution and re-foundation of the Abbey is the unsupported statement of Leland, who says that *Ethelwardus filius Gul. Pomerey erat primus fundator.* Coll. Hearne, vol. i. p. 80, ed. 1770. Dugdale, with more caution, following him, says, that Ethelward is said to have been its founder, and Pole, Westcote, and Risdon, wishing to convey the same information, but making utter confusion of it and copying one another, tell us in the calmest way, that Duke Alford erected a fair abbey of the Order of Cistercians, Pole and Risdon saying that this happened before the Conquest. It is, I think, evident that the Duke Alford of the last mentioned writers is the Ethelward of Leland and Dugdale. It is also very evident that the additional statement of Pole and Risdon, "before the Conquest," cannot be true, simply because it is certain that there were no Cistercians in existence anywhere for more than thirty years after the Conquest, and that there was no Cistercian house in England until the year 1128.

72. An examination of the case with reference to Ethelward also induces us to believe that the claim made for him that he was the founder rests on no substantial foundation. His name is not mentioned in any deed or charter relating to the Abbey, and he is not in any way referred to in the royal confirmations of Henry and Richard, which are dated not long after 1137, the date of the alleged foundation. Again, the

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greater part, if not the whole, of the lands mentioned in Domesday can be traced as being in the possession of the abbey at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries; and even supposing that they had in some mysterious way, scattered as they were throughout the county, come as a whole into the hands of Ethelward de Pomeroy, it is not likely that they would have been granted in their entirety to the monks of Buckfast. But there is another fact of greater weight. In the deed of King Henry, which I shall refer to presently, and which was given before 1161, all the lands and tenements, and so on, belonging to the Abbey were confirmed to the monks, as they held them, "*avi mei.*" Henry died in 1135, two years before the alleged foundation by Ethelward. We have therefore to suppose that the land continued in the possession of the Abbey from the date of Domesday until some time in the reign of Henry I. and then it passed somehow to Ethelward, who in course of time established the monks afresh in the same locality, and endowed them with the same lands. In the unsettled state of the country during the reign of Stephen, the monks did not, as far as we know, trouble themselves to obtain a confirmation from that monarch; but, as soon as Henry's kingdom was firmly established, a charter confirming them in their possessions was obtained from the king.

73. Doubtless Ethelward was a benefactor to the Abbey, and on this account he and his descendants were held in grateful remembrance by the monks for many a long year, and on several parts of the ruined buildings, before their final destruction, the crest or badge of the Pomeroys, the red lion rampant, was to be seen, and there can be little question but that the story of Ethelward being the founder of the abbey arose from this fact.

74. I think, therefore, we may conclude, as far as the evidence goes at present, that there was no dissolution of the Abbey, and that Ethelward was not the first founder.

75. We have no clue whatever as to what the original foundation of the Abbey was, but in all probability it was Benedictine, and we know that it became a daughter house of Savigny, which sprang from the hermitage, afterwards the abbey, founded by Raoul de Fugeres and John de Landere in 1112, and which in 1148 was united to the Cistercian Order. Whether Buckfast became Cistercian at the time that Savigny and many others did, cannot be ascertained; probably it did not, as the confirmation charter of Henry II. about 1161, speaks of the monks "*que sunt ordine Savigny,*"

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which seem to show that Buckfast did not pass in 1148, when the fourth Abbot of Savigny surrendered his house and its dependencies into the hands of St. Bernard. Leland says, "*Cœnobium de Bukfest olim incepit per fratres quos appellabunt Grysæos, deinde admisit Bernardinos.*" *Collectanea*, vol. 3 (4) p. 152, ed. 1770.

76. Here he says that the monastery of Buckfast was commenced by brethren called "Grysæos," afterwards admitted Bernardines. "Grysæos" stands for the "grisei monachi," the monks of the order of Savigny. This extract from Leland I have never seen quoted; perhaps, from the sentence being curiously inserted in a list of manuscripts belonging to the Abbey, it has been overlooked. Leland's statement is confirmed by that in the charter of Henry II., to which I have just referred, "*monachis de Bugfasta qui sunt de ordine de Savineio.*"

77. What led Dr. Oliver to make the statement that Buckfast was colonized from Waverley I cannot imagine. There is not the slightest evidence, so far as I am aware, of there having been any connection between Waverley and Buckfast. Dr. Oliver seems also to have been confused as to Waverley itself, for he says that it was a daughter of the Abbey of St. Mary at Savigny, the fact being that it was a daughter of L'Aumone.

78. There is no foundation charter of the Abbey. The earliest document I can find relating to it, after Domesday, is the patent of Henry II., of which I have before spoken, confirming to the monks of Bugfast the church and abbey of Bugfasta and all the lands and tenements, &c., belonging to them, as they held them in the time of King Henry, "avi mei." The deed contains no names of places, or particulars as to the property of the Abbey; but it is interesting, and must have been granted some time before April, 1161, as among the witnesses are Theobald the Archbishop and Thomas the Chancellor, the famous Thomas Becket.

> Henry King of England and Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine and Count of Anjou. To the Archbishops &c. health. Know that I have granted in perpetual alms to the Monks of Bugfast, who are of the order of Savigny, the Church and Abbey of Bugfast, with all lands and tenements and churches and other possessions to the said church belonging, so well and in peace, &c. as if the aforesaid abbacy ever, &c. held in

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the time of King Henry my grandfather, &c. These being witnesses :

THEOBALD, Archbishop of Canterbury.
THOMAS, Chancellor.
HUMPHREY OF BOHUN, Steward.
ROGER DE NOVANT.
WARREN son of GERALD, Chamberlaine, &
WILLIAM the son of HAMO.

At Worcester.

(Patent Rolls, 1 Edw. IV., p. 2, m. 4.)

79. I have also obtained another copy of a charter, which is apparently the same as this, but differing slightly in the wording, and more full and precise in the description of the benefits conferred. It speaks of the monks of Buckfast as of the order of Cistercium (at least the word appears to be this) instead of Savigny, as in the other. The charter is nearly illegible at the edges, and many of the words are obliterated.

H. [illegible] Sciatis me ꝑ đi amore & ꝑ salute anīe mee & ꝑ anīabȝ ōnium antecessorꝝ m̃oꝝ ꝯcessisse & in ꝑpetuam Elemosinā c'firmasse đo & Monachis de Bugfasta de ordine de Custerc̃ ōnes t̃ras & Tenuras suas q^as Racionabilit̃ haƀnt liƀe tenendis cū socha & sacha & Thol & Them & Infangenet̃ & cū ōnibȝ aliis liƀtatibȝ & liƀis c'suetudinibȝ [Q^ue re?] volo & [firmit̃?] p̃cipio q̃d ip̃i & ħedes eoꝝ ħant in pace liƀtates suas & quietancias de Scyr̃ & hundr̃ & placitis & queret & Murdr̃ & hidagiis & Scutagiis & Geldis & Danegeldis [illegible] & c'suetudinibȝ de Moris & ōni sec̃lari s̃vic̃o & exaccõe sic̃ mea Elemosina ꝑp^ia.

T. Thom̃ Canc̃ : etc. (Cartæ Antiquæ. Y.)

80. But before the date of this charter, we have mentioned, in 1143, the Abbot of Buckfast, Eustachius, who was witness to an agreement between the abbot of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields and the Chapter of the Cathedral of Exeter in that year. This is the first Abbot of whom mention is made, after the English abbot Alwaine or Alcuin, whose name occurs in Domesday Book.

81. There is also a deed, which may possibly be earlier than the confirmation deed of Henry II., being a grant to the church of Buckfast by Henry de Novant, for the health of his soul and that of his wife Elizabeth, of the land of Scirhull, which he and his father granted to the monastery.

82. The date of this document is uncertain. If the grantor is Henry de Novant, son of Roger de Novant, to whom large

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grants of land were made by Henry I., it is the earliest deed we have relating to the Abbey. There was a Roger, a grandson, and he had also a son called Henry, but Pole, Coll., p. 169, says, that the wife of this last-mentioned Henry was Isabel Bulbek, whereas the name of the wife of the Henry Novant of the deed is Elizabeth. It is to be noticed that, if the earlier date is the correct one, we have another piece of evidence against the destruction and resuscitation of the Abbey after the Conquest, for it shows that in the reign of Henry I. it was flourishing.

Buckfast. Notu sit ōibus &c. q̃d ego Hen. de Nunant p salute anime mee et spouse mee Elizab' dedi et concessi Eccles' de Bokfasta omne ter' de Scirhull &c. quā pater meus Rog' et ego prius conces' Prædict. Monachis. Test. Will'o fil Stephani Johe Longo &c. H. 2, Pole's M.S., p. 182. (Add. MSS. (Brit. Mus.) 28,649, p. 394.)

83. In 1189, Nov. 18, about two months after his accession, and not long before his departure for the Third Crusade, Richard I. confirms to the monks of Buckfast, by the hand of his newly nominated Chancellor, the famous Bishop of Ely, William Longchamps, the possessions which they then held, and apparently confers upon them further privileges. As in the former deeds, the words are general:—

Ricardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, Dux Normannie et Aquitanie, comes Andegavie, archiepiscopus, etc. salutem. Sciatis nos pro Dei amore et pro salute anime nostre et omnium antecessorum et successorum nostrorum concessisse et presenti carta confirmasse Deo et ecclesie beate Marie de Boefasta et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus omnes donationes que eis rationabiliter facte sunt in terris et tenuris et tenementis in liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus quod predicti monachi habeant et teneant omnes terras et tenuras et tenementa eis rationabiliter data in bosco et plano in viis et semitis in agnis et molendinis in vivariis et stagnis in pratis et pascuis in homagiis et serviciis et releviis in grangiis et virgulis infra burgum et extra cum soch et sach et thol et theam et infangenethef.

Concedimus etiam eis et hominibus suis quietanciam de theloneo et passagio et pontagio et de schiris et hundredis et de omnibus placitis et querelis et de pecunia que ad murdrum et latrocinium pertinet.

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Preterea concedimus eis et hominibus suis quietanciam de heingwita et de flemeniswita et de blodwita et de girthwita et de hidagio et scutagio et geldis et danegeldis et de operacionibus castellorum et de essart et de wasto foreste et de rewardo et placitis foreste et de auxiliis vicecomitum et de misericordia comitatus et de omnibus auxiliis et de clifwardis et de consuetudinibus et de moris et de omni seculari servicio et exactione. Concedimus etiam eis pasturam in moris per totam annum ad omne genus pecudum suorum.

Prohibemus etiam ne quis predictos monachos gravet vel eis aliquam injuriam aut molestiam aut gravamen faciat, nec eos in placitum ponet de aliquo tenemento nisi coram nobis vel capitali justiciario nostro.

Testibus: Hugone Duñ, Johanne Norwic, Huberto Sarum episcopis. Rogero le Bigot, Waltero filio Roberti, Galfrido filio Petri.

Dat' apud S. Eadmundum, Nov. 18, per manum Willielmi Elien. electi, cancellarii nostri A. R. primo. (Cartæ Antiquæ, S. No. 19.)

84. We have another glimpse of the Abbey in 1196, when we find William, Abbot of Bukfestria, witnessing the execution of the foundation deed of the Premonstratensian Abbey of Tor by William Lord Bruiere, in that year.

85. Early in the thirteenth century we find Nicholas Abbot at Buckfast, he granting to John Lambrith lands and houses at Exeter, in what was then and still is the High Street there.

Omnibus fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit NICHOLAUS, Abbas de Buckfesti, et ejusdem loci conventus, salutem in Domino.

Noverit universitas vestra nos concessisse et dedisse Johanni Lambrith totam terram et domus nostras que fuerunt Ailmari Atlekin in Exon, scilicet duos sellas in regno vice cum introitu ejusdem domus versus magnum vicum Exonie, et omnes domos et terram retro, cum solario et pertinenciis sicud paries domus Ricardi Stukard' rectâ lineâ ducit in cimiterium sibi et illis quos inde heredes constituere voluerint, Tenendum de nobis inperpetuum jure hereditario libere et quiete reddendo inde annuatim nobis et successoribus nostris unam libram piperis ad pascha et domui hospitalis Sancti Johannis decem solidos per manu nostra ad quatuor annis terminos. Et nos tenemur warantizare predictas sellas et domos et terram predicto Johanni et heredibus suis adversus omnes homines.

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Et si predicta tenementa prefato Johanni et heredibus suis warantizare non possumus faciemus sibi vel heredibus suis rationabile exscambium.

Pro hac autem concessione et donatione nostra dedit nobis predictus Johannes vigniti et quinque marcas argenti. Quod ut firmum permaneat sigillo nostro presenti scripto apposito confirmavimus.

Hiis Testibus:

Magistro Willielmo Paz.
Samsone et Rogero filiis Henrici tunc prepositis.
Waltero filio Turberti.
Willielmo Hastemend.
Johanne Caperum.
Martino Toton.
Johanne Puddin.
Johanne filio Walteri filii Tuberti.
Roberto Tabernar.
Waltero le Gyawe.
Ilare et multis aliis.

Original in possession of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter. —(Oliver's Monast. Sup. pp. 33, 34.)

86. By this deed one pound of pepper is reserved annually to the abbot and his successors and 10s. to the house of the hospital of St. John, Exeter. That the Abbey of Buckfast was interested in, and helped to support this hospital, formerly that of St. Alexius, it is certain, but, so far, I have not been able to ascertain what the nature of the connection between them was. From an entry in the register of the hospital, now in possession of the Corporation of Exeter, Dr. Oliver thought that Abbot William granted an annuity of 30s. to the master and brethren of the old hospital, to issue from certain estates, the names of which are given as Lamenecote and Emilde, of which we know nothing now.

87. In 1207 a thirteenth part of the goods of the Church was demanded of the bishops and clergy by King John. The Cistercians were exempt from this demand, John being a friend of the order: "*Ad quam colligendam misit ministros suos per universos comitatus Angliæ; at hac exactione liber fuit ordo Cisterciensis.*"—(Annales de Waverleia Ann. Monast. ii. p. 258.)

88. About this same time we find the abbey received further gifts. Richard de Bauzan, whose pedigree I have not been able satisfactorily to make out, gives all his land of

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Holne, with the appurtenances, to the abbot and convent of Buckfast.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Ricardus Bausan dedi, concessi, et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi abbati et conventui de Bufestre, Deo et beate Marie servientibus, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, pro animabus patris mei et matris mee et fratris mei Stephani Bauzan, totam terram meam de Holna cum omnibus pertinentiis suis ut in dominicis, villenagiis, boscis, turbariis, homagiis, et serviciis liberorum, videlicet Stephani Mugge, Michaelis Mugge, Wimundi Sele, Osberti Corbyn, et Warini de Budditone, et omnibus aliis pertinentiis tenendam et habendam dictis abbati et conventui et eorum successoribus vel cui eam assignare voluerint, de me et heredibus meis, libere, quiete, integre et pacifice jure hereditario imperpetuam in viis semitis, &c. faciendo inde mihi et heredibus meis ipsi et successores sui vel eorum assignati tricessimam partem feodi unius militis pro omni servicio, querela, demanda, acta et exactione.

Hiis testibus: Gilberto de Umfranvill, Hugone de Cardinan, Martino de Fisacre, Gilberto filio Stephani, Philippo de Bodrigan, Waltero Bernas, Nicholao de Ferariis, et aliis.

89. Lysons states that "the Manor of South Holne was given to the Abbey of Buckfastleigh by Reginald de Valletort, in the early part of the thirteenth century," Devon, p. 277, and goes by on to say that another manor of Holne was given them by Stephen Bauzun, which is manifestly a mistake. I have not been able to verify the statement that the Valletorts were donors to the abbey either of lands in Holne or elsewhere, and if, as seems to be the case from the deed I have just given, from the information given by the Hundred Roll, and from the fact of the arms of the Abbey being still to be seen upon the screen in the church, the monks held lands there, they must in some way have disposed of them before the Dissolution, for the ministers' accounts contain no mention whatever of property there. Of course the statement of Lysons, that the church of Holne was appropriated to the Abbey of Buckfast, is a mistake. It belonged to the see of Exeter, and was granted by Bishop Grandisson to St. John's Hospital in that city.

90. There is an order, dated in 1215, from King John to, among others, the Abbots of Ford and Buckfast, for the delivery of whatever vessels, jewels, &c. might be in their custody, handed them for safe keeping. This appears to be

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one instance of the ordinary deposit of valuables with the officers of a religious house for their preservation, and not a deposit to secure the repayment of a loan due to the house, an instance of which we shall find further on.

91. In 1225, among the Feet of Fines, there is an entry of the final proceedings on the sale to the abbot of seven acres and a half of meadow land in Sele, which I give, as it enables me to add the name of Abbot Michael, the first of some abbots whose names have not hitherto been recorded, which I have the pleasure of adding to the list contained in the Monasticon.

Hec est final concordia fca in curio Dñi Reg̃ apd Exoñ Die Sabbi px^a post octab trinitatis Anno Regñ Reg̃ Henr̃ fit Regis Johis Duodeciñ Coram Thom̃ de Mulet̃ Robto de Lexint̃ Rado Musard & Jordañ Oliv̄ justic̃ Itiñantibz & aliis dñi Reg̃ fidelibz tūc ibi p̄sentibz Int̄ Simonē Lampreie petētē & Michaelē Abbm de Buffestr tenentē de Septem acris p^ti & dimid cū ptiñ in Sele. Uñ assa mortis añcessor̄ sūmonita fuit int̄ eos in p̄fata curia Scilicet qd p̄dcus Siñ remisit & quietū clamavit de se & hedibz suis ipi Abbi & successoribz suis & ecclie sue de Buffestr imppm̃ totū jus & clamiū quod huit in toto p̄dco p^to cū ptiñ. Et p h^ac remissiōe quieta clamancia fine & cōcordia idem Abbas dedit p̄dco Simoñ Septē marcas arg̃nti.

Feet of Fines, Devon. Henry III. No. 107.

92. The friendship of John for the Cistercians did not last long. After his excommunication, he continued his exactions from the Church. The chronicler of Waverley tells us:—

Idem rex collecto multo exercitu in mense Junio transfretavit in Hiberniam, ubi hostibus ad votum subactis dimissis ibi episcopo Norwicensi, Johanne de Grai, et Willelmo Marescallo mense Septembri minus infestus omnibus viris Cisterciensis ordinis rediit. Convenerat enim eos antequam transfretaret, sicut et cæteros, de auxilio ipsi præstando contra iminicos suos; et quia idem Cistercienses pecuniam ei ad libitum suum contra libertatem ordinis sui dare noluerunt, in immensum eos afflixit, et a singulis domibus brevissimo temporis spatio indulto, multe valde causum ita ut summa xxxiii m et ccc marcatum collectio illa excederat, violenter extorsit. Ipsi vero per diversas domos monachorum et canonicorum dispersi sunt. Waverleia vero, omnibus facultatibus suis distractis et ablatis, facta similiter dispersione mona-

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chorum et conversorum circumquaque per Angliam, regis iram patienter sustinuit. Abbas ejusdem loci Johannes tertius timore regis peterritus, domum suum reliquit et de nocte latente aufugit. Acta sunt [hæc] circum festum beati Martini. Prohibuit etiam rex ut nullus de ordine Cisterciensi transfretaret, aut de alienis in Angliam veniret.

Annales de Waverleia. (Ann. Monast. vol. ii. p. 265.)

93. Letters resigning their property were also extorted from the Cistercians and others, and under Henry III. both monks and Jews suffered. In the year 1225, when the King confirmed the charters, a fifteenth of all movables in the kingdom was granted to him to enable him to recover the English possessions in France. The annalist from whom I have quoted says:—

"Monachi vero Cisterciensis ordinis, tam pro libertatibus quam pro gratia et benevolentia regis habenda, dederunt ei duo milia marcas argenti. Judæi autem existentes in Anglia dederunt ei eodem tempore quinque milia marcas argenti."—Ann. Waverleia ii., p. 300.

Were the Jews richer than the monks, or were they more patriotic?

94. In 1236 the abbot and monks became members of the Merchants' Gild of Totnes. On the back of a roll of the gild, in the possession of the Corporation of Totnes, is written a covenant between the abbot, probably Michael or Howell, and the Convent of Buffestleigh, 20 Henry III., and the burgesses of Totnes, to the effect that the latter have admitted the abbot and monks into the guild, so that they might make all their purchases in the same way as the burgesses, all sales, however, being excepted "nomine tabernæ" by way of trading. Third Report, Hist. MSS. Com. p. 343. To go forward a little, twenty-four years later, we find the Abbot of Buffestie second on the roll of the gild, then numbering about two hundred members, following the Abbot of Tor.

95. In 1243 we have entries on the Assize Rolls relating to disputes with the convent in respect to various properties.

Plac' Corone et Assise,
28 Hen. III. Devon.

Assa venit rec̃ Si Prior de Plumtoñ ini^{o}te etc. diss Abb̃em de Buffestre de Communa pasŧe sue ī Walleworth̃ que ꝑtinet ad lib̃m teñ suū in ead̃ villa ꝑt p^{i}mā etc.

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Et Prior veñ & nicħ dic̃ q̃r assa remaneat.

Jur̃ đnt qđ p̃đcs Prior diss̃ p̃đcm Abƀem de p̃đca com̃una ini⁹te etc. sic̃ br̃e dic̃. Et ĩo Consiđ est qđ Abƀs rec̃ seis̃ suam ꝛ Prior ī m̃ia. ꝑ pł Walt̃i de Batħ.

Dampñ. ij s̃.

* * * *

* * * * *

Witts Swenge & Isaƀ vx̃ ei⁹ petūt. v̄. Abƀem de Buffestr̃ dim̃ ferling̃ t̃re cū ꝑtiñ in Nyrifeud ut Jus & ħeditatem ip̃ius Isaƀ & ī quā idē Abƀs nō ħt ingr̃m n^i ꝑ Roƀm de Waleworth qui nō n^i custodiam iñ ħuit dū p̃đca Isaƀ fu^t inf^a etatē & in custodia sua etc.

Et Abƀs veñ & voc̃ inde ad war̃ Henr̃ de Altariis qui p̃sens est & ei war̃ & deffenđ Jus suū q̃n ꝛc̃ & tale ingr̃m & dic̃ qđ ħuit ingr̃m ī eanđ t̃rā ꝑ Witłm fr̃em fr̃em* ip̃ius Henr̃. Et qđ ita sit ponit se suꝑ p̃riam. Et Witts & Isaƀ sitr. Et iđo fiat inde Jurata.

Jur̃ đnt qđ p̃đcs Abƀs ħuit Ingr̃m ī p̃đcam t̃ram ꝑ p̃đcm Roƀm de Waleworth dū p̃đca Isaƀlla fuit īf^a etatem & ī custodia ip̃ius Roƀti Dicūt & qđ p̃đca† carta q^a Abƀs pfert de feoffamento p̃đce t̃re fc̃a fuit p̃tq̃ p̃đcs Roƀs eidē Abƀi dimis̃ p̃đcam t̃rā. Et ĩo cons̃ est q̃d Witts & Isaƀ rec̃ seis̃ suam. Et Henr̃ in m̃ia ꝑ pł Witti de Muthecumƀ & Roƀti de Avayngnes. Et fac̃ escamƀ p̃đco Abƀi ad vałn p̃đce t̃re etc. Et Abƀs in m̃ia ꝑ magna t^ansgr̃.

Plac' de Jur' Coron' &c.
33 Hen. III. Devon.

Ađ de Broth qui tulit br̃e nove diss̃ie v̄s⁹ Abƀem de Bucfestr̃ & alios in br̃i de Liƀo teñ suo in Tottoñ veñ & ret^axit se. Io ip̃e & pleg̃ sui de ꝑs̃ in m̃ia scitt Hugo de Corndoñ Ric̃s Doulelegħ de Brenta. Pleg̃ Ađ de m̃ia sua.

Assize Roll M. 1 32 } 1-2

96. The same year, on the Feet of Fines, we have an entry relating to another purchase by the convent of eight ferlings of land in Engleburn in the parish of Harberton.

Hec est finał concordia fca in Cur̃ Dñi Reg̃ ap̃ Exoñ In c^astino Sc̃e Trinitatis Anñ Regñ Reg̃ Henr̃ fił Reg̃ Joħ vicesimo octavo Corā Rog̃o de Thurkelby Gilƀto de P̃ston Joħe Abƀe de Shyleborñ & Roƀto de Bello cāpo Justic̃

* *Sic.* bis.

† It will be seen that no charter is *before* mentioned.

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Itiñantilȝ & aliis dñi Regę fidelibȝ tūc ibi p̄resentibȝ Inꝑ Abƀem de Buffesr̄ quer̄ & Thom̄ de Reyny & Johannā ux̄ ejus inped de Octo f⁹ling̃ t̄re cū ꝑtiñ in Engeleburñ Unde plac̄ War̄ carte sum̄ fuit inꝑ eos in eadem cur̄ Scilt qđ p̄c̄di Thom̄ ⁊ Johanna recognov̄ūt totā p̄dc̄am t̄rā cū omībȝ ꝑtiñ suis esse jus ip̄ius Abƀis ⁊ Ecclie sue de Buffesr̄ ut illā q̄ idem Abbas ⁊ Ecclia p̄dc̄a ħent de dono p̄dc̄oꝝ Thom̄ ⁊ Joħe Habenđ ⁊ Tenenđ eiđm Abƀi ⁊ succ̄ suis ⁊ Ecclie sue p̄dc̄e de p̄dc̄is Thom̄ ⁊ Johanna ⁊ ħedibȝ ip̄ius Joħe in lib⁹am ⁊ ꝑpetuā Elemosinā. Reddendo iñ ꝑ annū unū par Cyrothecarū albarū p̄cii sex denr̄ ⁊ sex denr̄ ad festū sc̄i Micħ et faciendo iñ forinsecū s̄vic̄ qđ ad p̄dc̄am t̄rā ꝑtinet ꝑ õi s̄vicõ ⁊ exaccõe Et p̄dc̄i Thom̄ ⁊ Joħa ⁊ h⁹edes ip̄i⁹ Joħe Warantizabūt p̄dc̄o Abƀi ⁊ succ̄ suis ⁊ Ecclie sue p̄dc̄e totā p̄dc̄am t̄rā cū omnībȝ ꝑtiñ suis in lib⁹am ⁊ ꝑpetuā elemosinam suā ꝑ p̄dc̄m s̄vic̄ cont^a om̄s homīes inꝑpetuū. Et ꝑ h^ac recognicõe War̄ fine ⁊ concordia Idem Abƀs dedit p̄dc̄is Thom̄ ⁊ Joħe sexaginta ⁊ decē marcas argenti.—(Pedes Finium Devon. Hen. III. No. 369.)

97. From the collections of Sir William Pole in the British Museum I have gleaned some little information relating to the Abbey, and some of its abbots. The first is dated the Feast of St. Lambert, 1246, and another William, hitherto unmentioned, is named in it.

Wiłłus Abbas de Bukfastr̄ et ejusd. Loci Convent̄ Salut̄ Nov̄ Cum aliquando mot̄ esset Placit̄ inter nos et Wiłło de S^to Stephano de 24 Acris terre in La Dene una pax et concordia facta fuit in Curia Dñi Reg̃ inter nos et idm [*sic*] Wiłłum de S^to Stephano Mañ suū de Dene Ded. Priori et Convent̄ de Plympton nos dictā conces. confirm̄. Test̄ Dño Tho: Arch. Tottoñ, D^no Włło de Widworthy et Galfrido de Prideas Milit̄. Galfrido de La Ya, Roƀto le Peyterin alijsq. Dat̄ in festo s^ti Lamƀti 1246.—(Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. 28,649, p. 381.)

98. In 1247 Howell was abbot, and Durandus, Dr. Oliver says, was probably his successor, and in his time it is likely that those strange proceedings which occurred on the death of Bishop Blondy were investigated, and, as the abbot seems to have taken an important part in the inquiry, and as the inquiry was conducted in the chapter-house at Buckfast, I have thought it well to refer shortly to the matter. Bishop Blondy was consecrated Dec. 1st, 1245. He died 26 Dec.,

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1257. He was a prelate of piety and learning, and conscientiously discharged the duty of his high office, but his biographers have confounded him with another of the same name, his opposite in every respect. Soon after his death his enemies traduced his memory and accused him of allowing his servants to forge collations for their personal benefit. This, of course, soon came to the knowledge of his successor, Walter Bronescombe, and on the 19th of March Walter of Loddeswell, the Chancellor, and Richard of Totnes, a notary, appeared before the Bishop and the Abbot of Buckfast in the chapter-house of Buckfast, and confessed to them that on the night of the late Bishop's death they entered his chamber and found several persons engaged in drawing up and signing letters for the disposal of benefices and the appropriation of the effects of the Bishop, who then, if not actually a corpse, was *in extremis*, and that after the parties were fully satisfied of the death of the Bishop many other letters were written and signed. Fuller details of the affair will be found in the extracts from Bishop Bronscombe's Register, given in the Lives of the Bishops by Dr. Oliver.*

99. In 1268 I can add the name of another new abbot, Henry, his name appearing in the following extract:—

A° Regni Regis H. fit Joñis 53 Facta fuit hæc concordia inter Henr̃ Abb̃m de Bukfast et ejus[d̃] Loci conven̄ et Rich̃ filiū Aluredi de Dodeworthy p̄ cc̃muni pastura in Mañ de Brent. Tes̄ Dn° Witto Probo [*i.e.* Prous] Joñe de Niveton Joñe de Boyvile Witto de Killbury Witto de Chiverston Joñe de Davayly Petro de La Ya et mult. alijs.—(Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. 28,649, p. 381.)

100. In the episcopal registers, where we frequently find similar entries, there is a record of Simon being blessed as abbot by the bishop on the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, 1272.

101. The conveyance of the land in Holne parish by Richard Bauzan is said by Dr. Oliver to have been made in the time of this abbot. My impression is that it is of earlier date, but as I before said I have not been able satisfactorily to make out the Bauzan pedigree, and the learned doctor probably, although he does not give any evidence, satisfied himself as to the correctness of his statement.

102. I now come to the entries in the important documents known as the Hundred Rolls, which contain the results of

* Lives of the Bishops of Exeter, pp. 37, 38, and 39.

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the survey made by special commissioners appointed by Edward I. to ascertain the state of the demesne lands, the revenue of the crown, the various tenures by which lands were held, and so forth.

103. We find from the roll relating to Devon that the property of the Abbey had not much increased since Domesday. Curiously enough Holne, said to have been granted by Richard Bauzan only a year or so before, is mentioned as Sutholn, the gift to the Abbey of Richard Bareyn. The commissioners made their returns, and, as it was necessary for the Court of Exchequer to have in one view such parts of them as affected the crown and its rights, a selection from the fuller returns was made containing the entries relating to these matters. These latter rolls are called extracts, and they are valuable, as the fuller rolls of some counties are altogether lost. Fortunately both the rolls relating to Devon are in existence, and I give here the return of the commissioners, and the extract therefrom as well, relating to the land of Buckfast:—

Rotuli Hundredorum, Edward I. Printed ed. 1812. *Buckfast.*

Hoc e' vered'cm xij jurator' Hundr'i forins' de Ermy'tone.

Jurati Walt' de Fenton Joh̃ de la Porte Alvedr' de Ponte Wills de Karswiłł Ric de Leg' Joh' de Collaton Ric de Colamor' Robt de Gudeford Rand' de Bahecumb' Robt de Wonigwill Walt' de Longeh^{a}m Joh' de Bosco p' sac^{a}ment' suū dic̃t.

It' BATTEKESBURNE HETFELL & ESSA *tenēt' fuer 'de d'nico coron'* de Reg̃bȝ p̃decessoribȝ Reg' q^{i} nc ē E in capite & tenet m^{o} abbas & dom^{o} Bufestie in purā & p̃pet' elemosinā a q^{o} tp̃r ignorāt. p. 69.

It' abbas & dom^{o} Bufestr' hnt' furcas in maner' de HETFELL & assis^{a}m servis' ibidm & ap' BATTEKESBUHR a q^{o} t̃pr' & q^{o} war' ignorat'. p. 69.

It' BACEKESBURHE HETFELL & ESSA fu^{o}nt de dnico corone p̃dec R & tenet modo abbat Bufest'e in pura & ppetuam elemosinā a quo t̃pe ignorant. p. 90. Extract'.

It' abbas Bufestr' habet furc' in manio de HETFELL & ass^{a}m c̃visie ibidē & apud HATTEKESBURH a quo t̃pe & quo waranto ignorant. p. 91. Extract'.

Vered'cm Hundr' de Schefbeare.

Et Abbas de Bufest'a het apud PAT'CHSTOWE furcas assis^{a}m c̃vis & alias libertates regias & het war' sed de quo Rege ignorant. p. 78.

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Extract'. & Abbas de Buffestria ħt apud PATRICHESTOWE furc' & assias ꝯvisie and alias libertat' regias & habet war' de quo' Rege ignorant. p. 94.

Veredictu' xij jur'de Hundr's de Stanburg'. It' q' clamant ret'nu vl ext'ctū breviu & q', tenent placit' do naumeo vetito vl clamant ħere wreckū mar.

[Churchtowe.] Dicūt qd nuſt sed . . . . & man'iu de BRENTE & man'ia de BUFFESTR' q' sūt abbat' de Buffest' . . . . & mañiu de THURESTOWE ten3 abbas de Buffest' & ħnt furcas & assis' pan' & s'vic & in q° mañio est novu' burg' q' respondet p' so p' vi. mr̄ & tenent ñcatu die Ven'is & teñet placit' assis' pan., & s'vis q° waranto ignorant. p. 79.

It' de his q' ħnt libtatē p Reg. Angl' concessas.

Dicūt q^d abbas de Buffest' clam' ħere libtate q^d q'eti sint de hid' murdriis & aliis q'ib3 guldis quo warranto ignorant. p. 79.

It' de ppest'is feis.

Dicūt q^d abbas de Buffest'' & convent' fec̄unt ppest'am de q°d magno wasto ꝯmunis mora in aust'le ꝑte de DERTEMORE ad nocumentu' toc' pat'e q' in tēp̄e H. Reg' p'tis d'ni E' Reg' q' nūc est Howaldus abbas de Biffest'' and convent' predict' wastu' sibi appropr'avūt & tenēt & vendūt carbon' t'b & past'as de anno in annū & capiūt inde redd' quo waranto ignorant ad dañipm annuatim xl^s. p. 79.

It' dicut' q'd Rog's Mirabel tenuit t'ram de SCIREDON de d'no Reg' in capit' p' s'jantiam t'u sagittaz quandocuq' d'ns Rex c'ceret in foresta de DERTEMORE q' fec' feloniam p' q^d utlagiat' fuit & tuc' predcam t'ram accidit in man' dñi Reg. H. pat's dñi Reg' Ed q' dedit illam magro Walto Medico & modo ten3 Joh' de Boyvile & Dyonis' ux' sua fil & ħes' predci Walti & pteā duo ferling' t're in KYNGDON ptin predce s'gane de SCIREDON alienata est de novo tēp̄e isti' Reg' p' Nichm de Kyngdon libe tenent' predce t're de KYNGDON q' dedit illam abbat' & convent' de Buffestre & val3 p' ann' x sol'. p. 79.

Veredictu' Hundri' de Teyngebrugg'.

Dicut & q' mañia de Kingdon Sekiredon & Hokneton fu'unt in manu' dni R. H. pat's dñi Reg' nuc tanq^a eschaet' sua p' fellon' cujs^dam felonis Rog'i Mirabel & illa mañia dedit Walto de Skiredon p s'vic' iij^s ad festū Sci Michis & t'um sagittaz q^ando dñs R volūit venare in forestā de DERTEMORE. Que q'd mañia p mortem pdci Walti decendebant cuidam Dionis' filie sue q^am Johnes de Boyvile ht in ux' & idm tenent mañia p'dicta mañia de dño R p' s'vic p̄dem excepto uno ferlingo t̄re q' abbas Buffestr' m° ten3 p'

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alienac̃one Nicħi de Kingdon tenen^{t} đci Johnis de Boyvile q^{a}m fec' eidm abbti & valent mañia p̃dicta p' annu xl^{a}s unde KINGDON valet viij s. p. 81.

D' hiis qui Clam' returnu' vel extract' breviu' &c.

Dnt qđ qđ Hugo de Ferrar' & Wiłłs de Chiv'ston apud Thurleston, Gilbo de Cnoviłł Lodeswell Abbas de Buffestria apud BRENTE & BUFFESTR' Johes de Boyvill apud Sciredon prior de Plimton apud DEN Abbas de Sco Donmel' apud RASTRIWE Nich^{s} fil Martini apud DERLINGTON Rog's de Mules apud DUPEFORD et Johēs de Besillis apud ALFINGTON hūt furc' & assisas c'visie set [sed?] nesciūt quo waranto. It' Abbas Buffest^{i}e in man'io de Churestorwe habet fur' et assias panis & c'visie in quo man'io est novo burg' qui respondit p' se p' vj jur' & tenēt m'cutu die Veñis & hnt assias panis & c'visie sȝ nesciūt quo waranto. p. 91. Hund' de Stauburg' Extract.

It de hiis qui h'nt libertate &c.

D'nt q'd abbas Buffestrie clam' ħre liƀ' qd quiet' est de hidag' murdriis & aliis com̄unibȝ gildis sȝ nesciūt quo war' & man'iū de DERTIGTON et Dupeford quiet' sint d'coībȝ gildis & de turno vic' sȝ nesciūt quo war'. Et sei^{d} q'd Nichs fil Martini tenet man'iu de DERTIGTON Rog's de Mules man'iu de DUPEFORD & Gilb' de Conevill man'iu de LODESWELL. p. 91. Extract.

It de hiis qui de novo appropriav'int chac' &c.

Dnt qd man'ia de DUPEFORD DERLINGTON and L . . . . . clam' ħre warenna & hut sȝ a quo t̃pe vl quo waranto ignorant.

D'nt q'd abbas de Buffestria & convent' fec'int purpresturã de quoda' magno vasto comun' more in australi p'te de DERTEMORE ad nocumentu' totius patrie q' in t'pe H. Reg' p'ris d'ni Reg' nūc (nup?) Hewaldus abbas Buffestrie & convent' p'dēs vastū sibi appropriav'ut & tenēt & vendūt carbones turbas & pasturas de anno in annu & capiunt inde redd quo waranto ignorāt ad dapnū annuali XL. sol. p. 91. (*Sic*).

Hund' de Colrig'.

D' feodis dni' Reg' & tenentibuȝ ejus &c.

D'nt q^{d} Rog's de Valle Torta tenuit baronium de Hurberton cū membr' de d'no Rege in capite p' s'viciū duoꝝ militu' ad bellū quando dn̄s Rex h'uit necesse v'l q^{a}tuor armigeru' & eadem baronia est nūc in manu d'n̄i Reg' p' morte d'ci Rog'i de qua baronia Abbas de Bufest^{i}a tenet SUTHOLN p' donū

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Rici' Bareyn qui feoffat' fuit de baronia de Hurberton et dedit eīde abbati t'pe H. Reg' p'ris dn̄i R' nūc xl. q'nto.

It̄ d'nt q'd abbas de Bufest'a tenet centu' acr' bosci apud Sutholn in man'io de Huberton quē boscū elemosinavit Rads de Valle Torta fra't dc̄i Rog'i nuper defuncti d'co abb'ti tp̄e ejusde' H. Reg' p'ris dn̄i R. nuc XL. sōdo. p. 89.

104. In consequence of the returns of the commissioners it is supposed that the statute of Gloucester was enacted, and various holders of land were called upon to answer "Quo Waranto" such things had or had not been done, and in the Rolls of the Pleadings in answer we find that the Abbot of Buckfast was called upon to defend the then possessions of the house, inasmuch as he claimed to have a view of frank-pledge, assize of bread and beer, and free warren, and a gallows in Buckfast, Churstow, Heathfield, and Batteburg. The abbot by his attorney pleaded that he claimed no free warren, and that as to the gallows he produced the deed of Richard I., which gave him the rights he exercised, and as to the other matters he pleaded that the crown had no right to question him, for the places where they were exercised were within the precincts of the hundred of Roger de Moles and Richard, the Lords of the Manors of Stanborough and Ermington respectively. On behalf of the King it was alleged in reply, that privileges of that kind especially pertained to the King, and, as the abbot showed no warrant from the crown, judgment was demanded on its behalf. As far as I know there is no account of the termination of the case, which was tried at Exeter. It frequently happened that proceedings, up to a certain point, were carried on, and then dropped, either because the King's advisers knew they had a bad case, or because it was not thought worth while to disturb the holders, or, which perhaps happened as frequently as either of the others, that unmolested possession was retained by judicious bribes.

At Exeter. Octave of St. Martin. 9-10 Ed. I. A.D. 1281.

Abbas Buffestr̄ sum̄ fuit ad respond̄ dn̄o Regi de pl̄o quo War̄ clam̄ hr̄e visum f^a^nci pleg̃ emend̄ as̄s panis & c̄vis̄ f^a^cte & furc̄ in Buffestr̄ Thorestowe Hecfeld & Batteberg̃ & lib̄am Warenn̄ in d̄nicis t̄ris suis ibid̄m sine licenc̄ etc.

Et Abbas p̱ atorn̄ suū ven̄ Et quo ad lib̄am warenn̄ dic̄ q̄d nullam warenn̄ clam̄ in p̄dc̄is vil̄l Et quo ad furc̄ dic̄ q̄d dn̄s Ric̄s Rex concessit ei Infangenethef & Itfangenethef in omib; p̄dc̄is vil̄l p̱ cartam suam q^a^m p̱ft & hoc id̄m testat^r^ Iō inde sine die Et quo ad visum f^a^nci pleg̃ emend̄ as̄s panis & c̄vis̄

fcte in Buffestr & Thorestowe dic̃ q̃d sunt infra ꝑcinctum Hundr̃i Rog̃i de Moeles de Stanberwe Et quo ad Hecfeld & Battebergh dic̃ qđ sunt infa ꝑcinctū Hundr̃i Ric̃i fit Stephi de Ermingtoñ in quibus Hundr̃ nich̃ poť accsce dño Regi Et peť judm.

Here, in the later entry mentioned below, follows: "Et petit Judm si dns Rex accoem heat ad ꝑdcas libtates petendas que sunt in alienis Hundr̃is."

Et Wilts de Gyselha̅m qui sequitr etc. Dic̃ q̃d huj⁹mod libtates spalit ꝑtinent ad Coroñ dñi Reg̃ Et desic̃ nullū aliud ostend war̃ Io ad judm.

Dies dat⁹ est coram dño Rege a die Pasch̃ in unū mensem ubicūq, etc. [de audo Judo etc. Et Abbas po lo suo Walt̃m de ffyrsedoñ, added on the Roll in the note.]

Assize Roll. Devon M 1 34 } Memb. 20 d.

A similar entry in the Assize Roll M 1 33 } 3 on memb. 37,

with, here and there, a trifling variation in the Record. The names of places are written: "in Buffestre Thurescowe Hetfeld & Batteburg̃ & libam warennam in đnicis suis ibidem sine licencia etc." This last-mentioned entry will also be found in the Placita Quo Waranto. ed. Record Com. fol. 1818, p. 168.

105. Of Robert, who was confirmed abbot in 1280, we have nothing to record. He did not, I think, continue abbot long, for I have found that Peter, whom Oliver mentions as occurring in 1306, was abbot at least as early as 1290, and his name appears again in 1295-6, as will be seen from the following extracts:—

A° Regis E. 19, facta convenc. inter Petrū Abtem de Buckfastre et ejusd Loci convent̃ ex vna ꝑte et Joh̃e de Hubernford ex alt̃. ꝑ terra in Brenta. Test. Wilo de Kilberry Wilo de Boyvill. P. 9. (P. 381.)

Convencio facta 24 E. inter Petr. Abb. de Buckfastr̃ etc. et Joh̃m Welbrok ꝑ ꝑra in Brenta. Test. Pho de Boterford, Heñ le Norreis, Hug̃ de Corndon, Ric̃o de la Forde, Ric̃o de la Forde, Ric̃o de Hubernford, 24 E. 1, p. 10. (Additional MSS. Brit. Mus. 28,649, p. 380.

106. In Abbot Peter's time the Survey for the Taxation of Pope Nicholas was taken. In 1288 this Pope gave to Edward I. the tenth of all the revenues of the churches in England,

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Scotland, and Ireland, in aid of the war in the Holy Land. The survey was not made till 1291 and 1292, as the King did not immediately avail himself of the benevolence of the Church. The entries relating to this abbey are as follows:—

	Taxatio.	Decima.
Decanat' de *Cadebur.*		
Abbas Buffestr' p'cipit de ecc̄lia de Donne	2 0 0	0 4 0
Decanatus de *Chamlegh.*		
Abbas Buffestr' p'cipit de ecc̄lia de Sele	2 13 4	0 5 4
Decanatus de *Totton.*		
Ecc̄lia de Brenta	6 13 4	0 13 4
Vicar' de eadem	1 10 0	non ex
Ecc̄lia de Birfestr'	5 6 8	0 10 8
Vicar' de eadem	1 0 0	non ex
Decanat' de *Wodlegh.*		
Pens' alibi bn̄fic { Abbas Bufestr' p'cipit de Ecc̄lia de Thurstonde* }	0 13 4	0 1 4

Archidiaconat' Totton'.

Abbas Buftr' hēt	Maniū de Brent q'd tax' .	9 15 4
	Maniū de Northon† q'd tax' .	6 6 8
	Apud Donfestr'‡ q'd tax' .	3 14 4
	Apud Hedfelle§ q'd tax' .	4 8 0
	Apud Bankesburgh‖ q'd tax' .	2 13 0
	Apud Bodrikeston¶ q'd tax' .	2 4 8
	Apud Sele q'd tax' . .	2 9 4
	Apud Dymm'** q'd tax' .	3 10 0
	Apud Trisma q'd tax' . .	1 15 8
	Apud Robrok and Hyndon q'd tax'	0 8 0
	Sm̄a . . .	37 5 0
	Dec' . . .	3 14 6

Taxatio Ecclesiastica, P. Nicholai, pp. 144. 146, 149, 151-153, fol. 1802.

107. In 1297, April 8, Edward I. visited the Abbey, probably on his way to Plympton Priory. He was in Devonshire fourteen years before, and spent some time at Exeter with Queen Eleanor, and the Court kept Yule-tide in the Bishop's palace.

108. Abbot Peter was one of the witnesses to a deed with the Abbot of Tavistock and the Priors of Plympton and

* Churchstow.
† Notone.
‡ Buckfastleigh.
§ Heathfield.
‖ Batisborough.
¶ Petrockstowe.
** Donne.

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Totnes, which was an undertaking by the Burgesses of Ashburton to provide a maintenance for a priest and necessaries for divine worship for the Chapel of St. Laurence, at Ashburton. A transcript of this deed will be found in the Lives of the Bishops of Exeter, by Dr. Oliver, from the Registers of Bishop Stapledon, p. 69. Robert, Stephen, and John de Churstowe succeeded Peter, 1 Aug. 1316; 24 June, 1330; and 1 Nov. 1332. I have not found a single entry relating to acquisition of land, disputes leading to legal proceedings, or to any event in the history of the Abbey during the time of these three abbots.

109. William Giffard was confirmed 6th June, 1333, his predecessor having been abbot for only about eight months. He seems to have been more than once involved in controversy as to the rights of his Abbey. I have not been able to trace in the Year Books the particulars of the dispute between him and the Stoners, the then Lords of the Hundred and Manor of Ermington, mentioned by Dr. Oliver; and I have in other cases been unable to verify the learned doctor's references to public records, which in two or three instances I particularly regret.

110. On the death of William Giffard early in 1349, Philip was admitted, 21 May, 1349, and in the following year he obtained from the King, a grant to his Abbey of a weekly market at Buckfastleigh, and a yearly fair at Brent, the former on Tuesday, and the latter on the feast of St. Michael and the two preceding days, to be held on Brent Down. I believe this fair is now represented by the Brent September fair. How long the Buckfastleigh weekly market continued I do not know, but an unsuccessful attempt to revive it was made early in this century.

Grant to the Abbey of Bucfaste of a weekly Market at Buckfastleigh and of a yearly Fair at Brent.

Pro abb'e et conuentu de Bucfast.

Rex eisdem* salt̃m. Sciatis nos de gra nra sp̃ali concessisse & hac carta ñra confirmasse dilcis nob in xp̃o Abbi & Conventui de Bucfast in Com̃ Devon̄ qd ipi & successores sui imppetuū ħeant vnū mcatū singlis septimanis p diem Martis apud Bucfastenlegħ & vnam feriam singlis annis apud Brente in quadam placea vocata Brentedoune p tres dies duraturam videlt in die sci Michis in mense Septembr & p duos dies px̃ pcedentes nisi mcatū illud & feria illa sint ad nocumentū

* Archiep'is Ep'is Ducib' Comitib' Baronibus Justic' vice commitib' prepositis Ministris et om'ibu' Ball's et fidelib' suis.

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vicinoꝝ m̃catoꝝ ⁊ vicinaꝝ feriaꝝ Quare volum⁹ ⁊ fermit̃ p̃cipim⁹ ꝑ noƀ ⁊ heredibꝫ ñris qđ p̃đci Abbas ⁊ Conventus ⁊ successores sui imꝑpetuū ħeant đca m̃catū ⁊ feriam apud loca p̃đca cum om̃ibꝫ liƀtatibꝫ ⁊ liƀis consuetudinibꝫ ad huiusmodi m̃catū ⁊ feriam ꝑtinentibꝫ Nisi m̃catū illud ⁊ feria illa sint ad nocumentū vicinoꝝ m̃catoꝝ ⁊ vicinaꝝ feriaꝝ sicut p̃đcm est. Hiis testibꝫ ven̄abilibꝫ p̃ribꝫ J. Archiep̃o Eboꝝ Angł Primate Cancellario ñro W. Ep̃o Wyntoñ Thes̃ ñro Henr̃ Duce Lancastr̃ Wiłło de Bohun Norħt ⁊ Thoma de Bello Campo Wampo Warr̃ Comitibꝫ Bartħo de Burghersſħ seniore Joħe de Grey de Retherfelđ Senescallo hospicij ñri ⁊ aliis. Dat̃ ꝑ manū ñram apud Wyndesore xxiiij die Aprilis.

ꝑ iꝑm Regē nunc̃ Wiłło Mugge.

(Charter Roll 25 to 27 Edw. III. m. 7.)

111. Philip was not abbot long. He was succeeded by Robert Simons, whose name I find frequently occurring in legal documents for nearly forty years. As early as 1358 he is mentioned, and as late as 1393. Whether it is that he was particularly litigious, or that his predecessors had been lax in their care of the rights of the Abbey, I do not know, but, besides the case of the Abbey against the Dean and Chapter of Exeter with reference to the fishery of the Dart,* I have found references to several other cases in the Assize and De Banco Rolls, some of which I give.

112. The first relates to a claim made against the abbot by Richard Avery, who complains that on the Thursday after the Feast of St. Dionysius in the 30th year of Edward III., the Abbot *vi et armis*, at Trusham, carried off the goods and chattels of the said Richard, labour horses [*jumenta*], oxen, cows, heifers, calves, pigs, and sheep, besides corn, hay, straw, and other things, and alleged that he was injured to the extent of £100. The abbot in person stated, in reply to the charge, that he ought not to be called upon to answer, inasmuch as Richard Avery was his villein, belonging to the Manor of Trusham, the property of his church of the Blessed Mary of Buckfast, and sought judgment accordingly. Richard said that he was a free man and not a villein, but the jury upon their oaths were satisfied that poor Richard was *nativus*, and the abbot had judgment. This document therefore is valuable, showing that at this time, 1358, the villein had no rights, at all events against the lord of the soil. Professor Stubbs eloquently describes the position of the *nativus* after the Con-

* Oliver's Monasticon, p. 371.

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quest, and shows that, although it may seem a hard one to us at this time, it had many advantages. "Under a fairly good lord, under a monastery or a college, the villein enjoyed immunities and securities that might be envied by his superiors; he had a ready tribunal for his wrongs, a voice in the management of his village; he might with a little contrivance redeem his children and start them in a higher state of life. His lord had a peremptory claim on his earnings, but his lord had a lord, whose claims on him were as irresistible, if not as legally binding. He was excluded from juries and assizes touching property, but by that exemption he was freed from the risk of engaging in quarrels in which he would be crushed without pity by the more powerful neighbour against whom he might have to testify. If he was without political rights, so were also the great majority of his superiors."*

At Exeter. 32 Ed. III. Sept. 1358.

Robtus Simon Abbas de Buckfestre attachus fuit ad respondend Rico Averay de plito tnsgr p billam Et unde idem Ricus in ppria psona sua quer qd die Jovis px post fm sci Dionis anno regni Reg E' nunc Angt tricesimo vi t armis videlt glad tc apud Trussume bona t catalla ipsius Rici scilt tria Jumenta pcii quadraginta solidor sex boves pcii quatuor libraz quatuor vaccas pcii quadraginta solidorum duas Juventas pcii sexdecim solidor duos bovettos pcii di mrc tres vitulos pcii sex solidor quinque porcos pcii qndecim solidor nonaginta bidentes pcii sex libr t sexdecim solidorum cepit t abduxit t quinq; qrtia fr septem quartia siligis quatuor quartia aven duodecim trusses de feno sexaginta trusses stramis quatuor coffr una carucā t ij hcias de ferro t viginti clayes p i fald ad valenciam decem libraz cepit t asportavit cont pacem tc. unde dicit qd dedioratus est t dampnū hct ad valenciam centū libraz. Et inde pducit sectam.

Et pdcus Robtus Abbas in ppia psona sua venit t dicit qd pdcus Ricus respondet non debet quia dicit qd idem Ricus est nativus ipsius Abbtis de Manlia suo de Trussume Et idem Abbas t predecessores sui Abbtes loci pdci sciti fuerunt de ipso Rico t antecessoribus suis ut de nativis suis Manlii sui pdci de jure eccle sue be Marie de Bokfast t petit judiciū etc. Et pdcus Ricus dicit qd ipse est liber homo t libe condicois t non nativus ipsius Abbtis put idem Abbas vsus eū plitando allegat t hoc petit qd inquirat p priam. Et pdcus Robtus Abbas similiter. I'o prec est vic qd venire fac coram pfatis Justic hic die Mcur in prima septiā quadragesime xxiiij^or tam milites etc. Et qui nec etc. ad recogn tc. Quia tam tc. idem dies datus

* Stubbs, Const. Hist. vol. i. p. 430.

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est ꝑtibus p̃dc̃is etc. Ad quem diem coram Justic̃ hic veñ ꝑtes p̃dc̃e in ꝑpriis ꝑsonis suis Et Jur̃ veñ qui de consensu p̃dc̃oꝝ Ric̃a Averay ⁊ Robti Simoñ Abbtis ad hoc etci triati ⁊ Jur̃ dicunt suꝑ sacr̃m suum qđ p̃dc̃us Ric̃us Averay est nativus ip̃ius Robti Simoñ Abbt̃is de manio suo p̃dc̃o ꝑut idem Abbas suꝑius allegat. I'o cons̃ est qđ p̃dc̃us Ric̃us nichil caꝑet ꝑ billā suā set sit in mĩa ꝑ injusta queret sua Et p̃dcũs Robtus Abbas quietus sine die.

Assize Roll. M 1 34 } 8 Memb. 4d. Devon.

113. In 1364, in the White Book of Tenures in Cornwall, we have an order for the delivery of a tun of wine to the Abbot of Buckfast. The Carmelites of Plymouth at the same time obtained five tuns. I have printed this elsewhere.*

114. In 1366 there was a dispute with the Vicar of Harberton, and in 1367 the abbot had occasion to take proceedings against John Prestcote and Matthew Kelly, who had destroyed trees to the value of ten pounds.

Devon. Dies datus est Abbi de Buckfast̃ quer̃ ꝑ Johem Wonard at̃t suum ⁊ Galfr̃o vicar̃ ecctie de Hubertoñ ꝑ Johem Willy at̃t suū de ꝑtito tansgr̃ hic a die sc̃e Trinitat̃ in xv dies p̃ce ꝑciū sine essoñ ⁊c. (De Banco Roll, 41 Edward III. Hilary, m. 424.)

Devon. Abbas de Bukfast ꝑ Johem Prestecote attorñ suū op̃ se iiijto die ṽsus Ric̃m Asshelegh ⁊ Matheū Kellygh de ꝑtito quare vi ⁊ armis arbores ip̃ius Abbis ad valenc̃ decē libras apud Bukfast nuꝑ crescent̃ combusserunt ⁊ alia enormia ⁊c. Et ip̃i non veñ et ꝑđcus Ric̃us fuit attach ꝑ Johem Ude ⁊ Johem Hert I'o ip̃i in m̃ia Et p̃c̃ est vic̃ q̃d distr̃ eum ꝑ omnes t̃ras ⁊c. et q̃d de excitibꝫ ⁊c. Et q̃d heat corpus eius hic a die Pasche in tres sept̃ias ꝑ Justic̃ ⁊c. et de p̃đco Matheo mand vic̃ q̃d nichil het ⁊c. I'o p̃c̃ est vic̃ q̃d cap̃ eum si ⁊c. et salvo ⁊c. Ita q̃d heat corpus eius hic ad p̃fatum t̃miñ ⁊c. (De Banco Roll, Hilary, 42 Edward III. m. 163d.)

115. The next document is from Rymer's Fœdera. It must not be supposed that John Beaumont was the Abbot of Buckfast in 1372. Doubtless this proclamation was issued in the time of trouble following the victory of the Spaniards over the English off Rochelle, when the Earl of Pembroke, the son-in-law of the King, was taken prisoner.

* Ecclesiastical Hist. Old Plymouth, Appendix, p. 88.

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DE HOMINIBUS AD ARMA IN COMITATU DEVON' ARRAIANDIS.

A.D. 1372. 46 Edw. III. Rot. Franc. 46 Edw. III. m. 27, in Turr' Lond.

Rex venerabili in Christo patri Thomæ, eadem gratia episcopo Exon' ac dilectis et fidelibus suis Hugoni de Courtenay comiti Devon', Johanni de Cheverston, Theobaldi Greneville, Ricardo de Stapuldon, Johanni Beaumond abbati de Bukfast, Johanni Daumarle, Willielmo de Bykebury, et Martino Ferrers, salutem.

Sciatis quod nos, de fidelitate et circumspectione vestris pleniùs confidentes, assignavimus vos, conjunctim et divisim, ad omnes homines defensabiles comitatûs Devon', infra libertates et extra, exceptis nominibus, qui nobiscum in obsequium nostrum sunt profecturi, cum omni festatione arrairi, et ipsos, videlicet, quemlibet eorum juxta statum et facultates suas, armis competentibus muniri, faciendum: et ad ipsos, sic arraiatos et numitos, videlicet, illos qui terras vel tenementa juxta costeram maris habent, ad morandum super eisdem terris continuè cum totâ familiâ suâ, et alios, terras et tenementa super costeram prædictam non habentes, juxta præmunitionem vestram, et cujuslibet vestrum ad costeram prædictam quociens necesse fuerit, et periculum aliquod iminuerit, viis et modis quibus melius expedire videritis, venire compellandum, ibidem quamdiu indiguerit super salvâ custodiâ terræ maritimæ continuè moraturos, ad resistendum malitiæ inimicorum nostrorum, si qui regnum nostrum invadere præsumpserint.

Et ad omnes illos, quos in hac parte contrarios inveneritis seu rebelles, arestandum, et prisonis nostris mancipandum, in eisdem moraturos, quousque de eorum punitione aliter duxerimus ordinandum.

Et ideò vobis et cuilibet vestrûm districtiùs quo poterimus, mandamus, firmiter injungentes, quod circa præmissa, omnibus aliis prætermissis, cum omni diligentiâ et solicitudine quibus poteritis, effectualiter intendatis, et ea faciatis et exequamini in formâ prædictâ: et vos ipsi et qualibet vestrûm ad terras et tenementa vestra, costeræ prædictæ propinquiora, cum omni festinatione vos trahatis, ibidem super salvâ custodiâ terræ maritimæ, cum totâ familiâ vestrâ continuè moraturi.

Damus autem vicecomiti nostro comitatûs prædicti, ac universis et singulis aliis fidelibus nostris comitatûs prædicti, tam infra libertates quam extra, tenore præsentium in mandatis, quod vobis, et cuilibet vestrûm in præmissis

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pareant, obediant et intendant, quociens et quando per vos, seu aliquem vestrûm, super hoc ex parte nostrâ fuerint præmuniti.

In cujus,

Teste Rege, apud Westm' xx die Julii

Per ipsum Regem et consilium.

[Rymer's Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 2, p. 956, ed. 1830.]

116. In the Year Book, 50 Edward III. 1375, is mentioned the case of the Abbot of Bukfast *versus* the Dean and Chapter of Exeter, John Wyllyot, and Robert Davy [see ff. 10b and 11], and in the Liber Assisarum, 47 Edw. III., the Dean and Chapter of Exeter and John Wiliot, clerk, were attached to answer to Robert, abbot of Bukfast, of the plea, "quare ipsi cum Thomas Bail de Staverton, etc. injuste & sine judicio levaverunt quendam gurgitem in Staverton ad nocument' liberi ten' sui in Bukfast post primam, &c." The abbot used to take fish to the value of 40*l.* per annum, and now cannot take more than to the value of 10*s.* a-year. Arguments upon verbal omissions and technicalities followed, but nothing apparently was done. The last words are "Et sur ceo adjornatur."

117. The following relate probably to the same matter, and are taken from the De Banco Roll:—

Devon. Jur^a^ int^ꝰ^ Abƀem de Bukfast queř ⁊ Roƀtm Sumpter Decanū eccłie beati Petri Exoñ ⁊ Capitulum eiusdē eccłie ⁊ Joħem Wyliet cłicum de eo si p̊đcus Abbas pendente bř̄i suo v̊sus ip̄os Decanū ⁊ Capitulū ⁊ Joħem impetrato supponendo q̄d ip̄i sim̄l cum Thoma Baillyf de Stav̊toñ iniuste ⁊ sine indic̄o levaverunt quendam gurgitem in Stav̊toñ ad nocumentū liƀi teñ ip̄ius Abƀis in Bukfast ꝑstravit gurgitem p̊đcm ꝑ quod idem Abbas bř̄e suū vlt̊ius v̊sus p̊đcm Joħm manutenere non debet sicut idem Joħes dicit vel non sicut p̊đcus Abbas dicit Et eciam si die impetrac̄ois bř̄is p̊đci Abƀis sciłt decimo die Nov̄ anno regni Regis nunc Angł quadragesimo p̊đci Decanus ⁊ Capitulū fuerunt tenentes vt de liƀo teñ soli in Stav̊toñ vbi supponit^a^ nocumentū p̊đcm fieri ad nocumentū liƀi teñ p̊đci Abƀis in Buckfast ꝑ q̄d ip̄i vt tenentes soli illius ad excepc̄oem allegand̄ in Cassac̄oem bř̄is p̊đci admitti debeant sicut ijdem Decanus ⁊ Capitulū Dicunt vel non Immo p̊đco die impetrac̄ois bř̄is p̊fat̄ Joħes Willyet fuit tenens eiusdem soli vt de liƀo teñ sicut p̊đcus Abbas dicit ponit^a^ in respc̄m hic vsq; a die Pasche in xv dies nisi Justic̄ đni Regis ad ass̄ias in com̄ p̊đco capiend̄ assigñ ꝑ formā statuti etc. die M^ꝰ^cuř ꝑx̄ post f̄m

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s̃ci Mathie Ap̃li apud Exoñ prius veñint ꝑ defcu Jur̃ quia nullus veñ. I'o vic̃ ħeat corꝑa etc.—(De Banco Roll, 48 Edw. III., Hilary m. 169 d.)

Jur[a] int̃ Joħem Welyet quer̃ ⁊ Roƀtm Abƀem de Bukfast ⁊ fratrē Joħem Skyredoñ fr̃em Rađm Middelworthy fr̃em Roƀm Cok* ⁊ fr̃em Walterum Morchard cōmonac̃ eiusdē Abƀis de pł̃ito t[a]nsgr̃ ponit[a] in respectū hic vsqȝ a die Pasche in tres septĩas ꝑ Justic̃ nisi Justic̃ đni Reg̃ ad ass̃ias in com̃ p̃đco capienđ assigñ ꝑ formā statuti etc. die Mercur̃ ꝑx̃ post festū sc̃i Mathie Ap̃li apud Exoñ prius veñint ꝑ def'cu Jur̃ quia nullus veñ. I'o vic̃ ħeat corꝑa etc. Ad quē diē veñ ꝑtes etc. Et vic̃ non mis̃ br̃e. I'o Jur[a] p̃đca ponit[a] in respc̃m hic vsqȝ a die sc̃e Trinitatis in xv dies ꝑ def'cu Jur̃ quia nullus veñ. I'o vic̃ ħeat corꝑa ⁊c. Ad quē diē * *

* * * * *

Further put in respite to Michaelmas, then to Hilary. (Apparently here the Record stops, but the writing is so bad, small, and close, that it is difficult to say positively).—*Ibid.* m. 263.

118. In 1377 we again find Abbot Robert in legal mire, prosecuting James Audeley for interfering with the river Dart and the fishery at Dartington, Staverton, and Little Hempston. No decision upon the case can be found. It is repeated *de novo* in subsequent Rolls.

Jacobus de Audele Chivaler sum̃ fuit ad respondenđ Roƀto Abƀti de Bukfast de pł̃ito quare ip̃e injuste ⁊ sine judicio levavit sex gurgites in Dertyngtoñ Stavertoñ ⁊ Hemmestoñ Arondel ad nocumentū liƀi teñ ip̃ius Abƀtis in Bukfast ⁊ Ayshpertoñ post p[a]m ⁊c̃ Et unde idem Abbas ꝑ Thomam Spyrweye attorñ suū dic̃ qđ ubi idem Abbas ħet ⁊ ħere debet ip̃eq ⁊ omēs p̃decessores sui Abƀtes loci p̃dc̃i a temꝑe quo non extat memoria ħuerunt in villis de Bukfast ⁊ Ayshpertoñ in quadam aqua vocata Derte quendam gurgitem de quo quidem gurgite p̃dc̃a aqua de Derte currit usqȝ ad p̃dc̃as villas de Dertyngtoñ Stavertoñ Hemmestoñ Arondel ⁊ a p̃dc̃is villis usqȝ ad altum mare extra portum de Dertemouthe de quo gurgite idem Abbas ħere debet ip̃eqȝ ⁊ omēs p̃decessores sui Abƀtes ejusdem loci a temꝑe cuj[9] cont[a]rii memoria non existit ħuerunt quandam aperturam latitudinis sex pedū in aqua

Elsewhere (in previous Rolls) *Cooke.*

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p̄dc̄a in medio majoris cursus ⁊ p̄funditat̄ ejusdem aque in omīb; locis ⁊ dn̄iis int̄ p̄dc̄as villas de Bukfast ⁊ Aysh̄pertōn ⁊ altū mare extra portū p̄dc̄m ex quacumq; p̄te ubi majorē cursū ⁊ p̄funditat̄ ejusdem aque in alneo suo fore contigit p̄ quam quidem apturam salmones trutes peles ⁊ alii pisces maris natare solebant ⁊ potuerunt ab alto mari extra portū p̄dc̄m usq; ad gurgitē ip̄ius Ab̄tis sup‟dc̄am p̄dc̄us Jacobus levavit p̄dc̄os sex gurgites ex t‟nsv̄so ejusdem Aque ⁊ p̄dc̄e apture in eadem aqua de Derte in p̄dc̄is villis de Dertyngtōn Stavertōn ⁊ Hemmestōn Arondel int̄ gurgitē ip̄ius Ab̄tis p̄dc̄m ⁊ altū mare ⁊ portū sup‟dc̄m p̄ quos quidem gurgites in eisdem villis de Dertyngtōn Stavertōn ⁊ Hemmestōn Arondel sic levat̄ aptura p̄dc̄a est obstructa ita qđ pisces ⁊c̄ natare non possunt ab alto mari usq; ad gurgitem ip̄ius Ab̄tis p̄dc̄m sicut solebant p̄ quod ubi ip̄e Abbas solebat ⁊ potuit cape pisces in gurgite suo p̄dc̄o ad valenciam quadraginta librar; p̄ annū ante levacōēm ⁊ obstruccōēm sup‟dc̄as ⁊ modo non potest cape pisces nisi ad valenc̄ decem solidor; p̄ annū et sic ad nocumentū etc. unde dic̄ qđ deter̄ est ⁊ dampnū h̄et ad valenc̄ mille libras Et inde p̄duc̄ sectam etc.

Et p̄dc̄us Jacobus p̄ Joh̄em Bozoun at̄t suū veñ Et pet̄ indo visū h̄eat ⁊ Dies datus est eis hic a die sc̄i Mich̄is in xv dies p̄ Justic̄ Et int̄im ⁊c.

De Banco Roll, Trinity,
Ric. II. m. 210.

119. In 1377 a brief somewhat similar to the one before mentioned (par. 115) from the King and his Council, is directed among others to the Abbot of Buckfast.

DE MORA FACIENDA, SUPER INVASIONE GALLICORUM.

A.D. 1377. 51 Edw. III. Rex venerabili in Christo patri Th. eadem gratiâ episcopo Exoniæ, salutem. Quia

Rot. Claus. 51 Edw. III. m. 8 in Turr. Lond. pro certo intelleximus quod inimici nostri Franciæ, et alii sibi adhærentes, magnam multitudinem navium gallarum, et bargearum, cum homnibus ad arma et armatis, congregârunt, et infra regnum nostrum Angliæ, ad citiùs quo poterunt, applicare, et nos, et dictum regnum nostrum, ac totam linguam Anglicanam destruere et delere proponunt, nisi eorum malitiæ manu forti resistatur:

Nos volentes hujusmodi dampnis et periculis, quæ nobis et dicto regno nostro, ex subitis dictorum inimicorum nostrorum aggressibus evenire possent præcavere, vobis, districtius quo

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poterimus, firmiter injungendo mandamus, quod vos, cum omni festinatione, ad terras et tenementa vestra, villæ de Dertmouth propinquius adjacentia, personaliter divertatis, ibidem, cum hominibus vestris, et tota familia vestra, fortiori modo quo poteritis, super defensione villæ prædictæ, et partium adjacentium, contra hostiles agressus, continue moraturi.

Et homines et tenentes vestros ibidem, videlicet, quemlibet eorum juxta statum et facultates suos, arraiari, et moram continuam ibidem, fortiori modo quo poterunt, hujusmodi periculis iminentibus, facere, et ipsos ad hoc celeriter faciendum, per districtiones bonorum et catallorum suorum, et alios vias et modos quibus poteritis, compelli et distringi faciatis indilatè; et hoc, sub periculo quod incumbit, nullatenus omittatis.

Teste Rege, apud West'm xiv die Maii. Per ipsum Regem et consilium. (Rymer's Fœdera, vol. iii., part 2, p. 1078, ed. 1830.

120. In the following extract, 1378, the abbot seeks to recover from John Suddon and Margaret his wife a messuage and land in Petrockstowe, which Robert Goding held of William Giffard, the former abbot, and which the then abbot claimed, as reverting to the Abbey on the death of Goding.

Rob̃tus Abbas de Bukfast petit ꝑsus Joh̃em Suddoñ ⁊ Devon.
Marg̃iam uxem ejus unū ferlingū ꝑre ⁊ tres acras p̃ti cū p̃tiñ
in Petrokystowe que Rob̃tus Godyng̃ tenuit de Will̃o memb. 289 d.
Giffard nup Abb̃e de Bukfast ꝑdecessore nunc Abb̃is et que
ad ip̃m nunc Abb̃em reṽti debent tanq̃m escaeta sua eo qđ
ꝑdc̃us Rob̃tus Godyng̃ obiit sine her̃ ⁊c. Et unde idem Abbas
p Thomā Spirwey att̃ suū dicit qđ ꝑdc̃us Rob̃tus Godyng̃
fuit sc̃it̃ de teñ ꝑdc̃is cū p̃tiñ in đnico ꝟuo ut de feodo ⁊ Jure
tempe pacis tempe dñi E nup Reg̃ Angł Avi dñi Reg̊ nunc
capiend̃ inde expleč ad valenč ⁊c. ⁊ ea tenuit de ꝑdc̃o Will̃o
ꝑdc̃o ⁊c. p homag̃ ⁊ fidelit̃ ⁊ scutagiū dñi Reg̊ cū accederit
ad quadraginta solidos decem solid̃ qñ ad plus plus qñ ad
minus minus ⁊c. ⁊ p ꝟicia sex solidoꝝ p annū ad quatuor
anni ꝟmios principales solvend, videl̃t ad festa sc̃i Mich̃is
Natał Dñi Pasch̃ ⁊ Natał sc̃i Joh̃is Bap̃t de quibꝫ ꝟiciis idem
ꝑdecessor ⁊c., fuit sc̃it̃ ut in jure eccl̃ie sue sc̃e Marie de
Bukfast [blank] p manus ꝑdc̃i Rob̃ti Godyng̃ ut p manus
veri tenentis sui videl̃t de ꝑdc̃is homag̃ ⁊ fidelit̃ ut de feodo ⁊
Juř ⁊ de ꝑdc̃o redditu in dñico suo ut de feod o ⁊ Jure Et que
ad ꝑdc̃m nunc Abb̃em reverti debent tanq̃m eschaeta sua eo

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qđ etc. Et inde ꝑducit sectā etc. Et ꝑdĉi Joħes ⁊ Margeria ꝑ Joħem Coplestoñ att̄ suū veñ Et defend Jus suū quando etc. Et dicunt qđ iꝑi nichil ħent in teñ ꝑdĉis nisi ex dimissione Joħis Hopere ad vitā iꝑoꝝ Joħis Suddoñ ⁊ Margie tantū revsione inde ad ꝑdĉm Joħem Hopere ⁊ her̄ suos spectante sine quo non possunt ꝑdĉo Abb̄i inde respondere ⁊ petunt auxiliū de ipo Joħe Hopere ħeant eū hic in Crastino sĉi Martini etc. Idem dies dat̄ est ꝑdĉis ꝑtibꝫ ꝑ attorñ suos ꝑdĉos hic ⁊c. ad quē diem ꝑdĉus Joħes Hoper sum̄ fecit se essoñ de malo venienđ vsus ꝑdĉm Abb̄em ⁊ de ꝑdĉo ꝑꝫto et ħuit inde diē ꝑ Essoñ suū hic ad hunc diē scitt a die Pasche in tres sept̄as extunc p̄x̄ seqñ put patet rot̄lo Essoñ sexto Idem dies dat̄ fuit ꝑtibꝫ ꝑdĉis hic ⁊c. Et modo ad hunc diē veñ tam ꝑtes ꝑdĉe ꝑ attorñ suos ꝑdĉos q̄m ꝑdĉus Joħes Hoper ꝑ Joħem Coplestoñ attorñ suū veñ Et idem Joħes Hoper se jungit ꝑdĉis Joħi Suddoñ ⁊ Margie iñ respondenđ vsus ꝑdĉm Abb̄em de ꝑdĉo ꝑꝫto etc. [Hereupon a day was given to the parties, as well ye Abbot as John Suddon or Margery and John Hoper, now joined, from Michaelmas to fifteen days; at which day come the parties aforesaid from Hilary to fifteen days; at which day come the parties aforesaid from Trinity to fifteen days; at which day come the parties aforesaid to the morrow of St. Martin; at which day come the parties aforesaid from Easter to three weeks] in statu quo nunc salvis ꝑtibꝫ etc.

De Banco Roll, Trinity, 1 and 2 Ric. II.

Here, too, the termination of the case does not appear on the Rolls. For some reason or other it would seem to have been dropped, a compromise being effected, or one of the parties not being sure of his success, allowing the other to take or retain possession of the land in dispute.

122. The next extract I have during Abbot Simon's time relates to his claim against Walter Rosere and William Buriman, whom he charged with carrying off his villeins, Christina Barry and John Barry, of Downe St. Mary, and the abbot claimed that he was injured to the extent of 20*l*.

Devon.

m. 175 d. Abbas de Bukfast ꝑ Joħem Lacche att̄ suū op̄ se iiij^to die vsus Walt̄um Rosere ⁊ Will̄m Buriman de ꝑꝫto quare vi ⁊ armis Cristinā Barry ⁊ Joħam Barry nativas iꝑius Abb̄is in vico suo apud Seyntemarydoune existentes cepunt ⁊ abduxerunt ꝑ quod idem Abbas viciū nativaꝝ suaꝝ ꝑdĉaꝝ ꝑ magnū tempus amisit ⁊ alia enorma ⁊c. ad dampnū iꝑius

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Abb̄is viginti libraꝝ ⁊ con^a pacē dñi E' nup Regis Angł avi ⁊c̄. Et ip̄i non veñ Et p̄c̄ fuit vic̄ qđ capet eos Et vic̄ nichil inde fecit nec br̄e misit. I'o sicut prius capiant^r qđ sint hic a die sc̄i Micħis in xv dies ꝑ Justic̄.

De Banco Roll, 8 Rich. II. Trinity [1384].

123. In the next, of the date 1393, the abbot is the defendant, being called upon by William Beaumont to deliver to him a box, with writings and documents in it. It appears that the box, with its contents sealed up, was handed by John Beaumont the father of the claimant in his lifetime to John Warre, Episcopus Cumogensi, [? Le Mans] and that on the death of John Beaumont the same should have been handed to the son. And afterwards the bishop died at the Abbey of Buckfast, and the box with its contents came into the possession of the abbot, who would not give it up, by which William, the heir of John Beaumont, was much injured, and claimed redress and satisfaction. The bishop appeared by his attorney John Lack, to whom he must have been a good client, admitted having the box, and in effect stated that he was only desirous of doing what was right with it. He produced it in open court, and said that he had received it from the deceased bishop to take care of; that there was another claimant for the box, a certain John Brightricheston, and which was the right owner he did not know; and asked that John Brightricheston might be protected. The court thought it necessary under these circumstances to give John an opportunity of proving his right, and a day was fixed for him to appear. On the day named he did not come, and eventually the box with the deeds and muniments were handed over to the first claimant, the plaintiff William Beaumont. Here we have, among other interesting matter, the apparent fact that an Englishman was a bishop of a foreign see, if Le Mans is meant, and that he died, and was probably buried, at Buckfast Abbey.

Following this are three other extracts from the same roll, relating to litigation initiated by the abbot in respect of trespass committed on the abbey lands.

Rob̄tus Abbas de Bukfestrie sum̄ fuit ad respondenđ Wiłło Beaumount de płito q̄d reddat ei quandam pixidem cū cartis scriptis ⁊ aliis munimentis in eadem pixide contentis quam ei iniuste detinet ⁊c. Et vnde idem Wiłłs ꝑ Thomam Hertescote attorñ suū dic̄ q̄d cū quidam Joħes Beaumount pat̄ ip̄ius Wiłłi cuius her̄ ip̄e est die lune ꝑx post f̄m s̄ci Andr̄ ap̄li anno Devon.

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regnoꝝ ðni Regis nunc quarto apud Exoñ liðasset cuidam Joħi Warre Epo Cumogensi* pixidem ꝑdcam sigillatam cum cartis scriptis ꝛ alijs munimentis ꝛta ꝛras ꝛ teñ que eidem Witto post mortem ꝑdci Joħis Jure hereditaꝛ descenderunt tangencia in eadem pixide contentis salvo custodiend et eidem Joħi vel heꝛ suis cū inde requisitus fuisset reliðand Ac postmodum ꝑdcus Epus in Abðia Bukfesrie obijt post cuius mortem pixis ꝑdca cū cartis etc. ad manus ꝑdci Abðis devenerunt. Idem tamen Abbas licet sepius requisitus pixidem ꝑdcam ꝑdco Joħi Beaumount in vita sua nec eciam eidem Witto fit ꝛ heꝛ ꝑdci Joħis Beaumount nondū libavit set illas ei hucusqꝫ liðare contᶜ dixit ꝛ adhuc contᶜ dicit vnde diꝯ q̄d deꝑioratus est ꝛ dampnum ħet ad valenciam centū libraꝝ. Et inde ꝓduꝯ sectam ꝛc.

Et ꝑdcus Abbas ꝓ Joħem Lacche attorñ suū veñ Et ꝓfert hic in cuꝛ pixidem ꝑdcam cū cartis ꝛc. ꝓtam ad reddend cui cuꝛ Regis hic consideravit diꝯ q̄d pixis illa cū cartis ꝛc. ꝓ ꝓfatū Epm eidem Abði liðatū fuit salvo custodiend et cui de Jure liðari debet deliðand Et diꝯ q̄d quidam Joħes Brightrichestoñ clam̃ pixidem ꝑdcam cū cartis ꝛc. eidem Joħi Brightrichestoñ de Jure liðari deðe set an pixis ꝑdca cū cartis ꝛc. ꝑdco Joħi Brightrichestoñ an ꝑfato Witto de Jure liðari debeat nec ne diꝯ q̄d ipe oñio ignorat Et peꝛ q̄d ꝑdcus Joħes Brightrichestoñ ꝑmuniatur ꝛc. I'o preꝯ est viꝯ q̄d ꝓ ꝓbos ꝛc. scire faꝯ ꝑfato Joħi Brightrichestoñ q̄d sit hic in Octab̄ s̄ci Michis ostens̄ si quid ꝓ se ħeat vel dice sciat quare pixis ꝑdca cū cartis ꝛc. ꝑfato Witto liðari non debeat si ꝛc. Idem dies datus est ꝓtibꝫ ꝑdcis hic ꝛc. Ad quem diem veñ tam ꝑdcus Wiłłus qᵃm ꝑdcus Abbas ꝓ attorñ suos ꝑdcos Et ꝑdcus Joħes Brightrichestoñ iiijᵗᵒ die ꝓxiti solempniter exactus non veñ Et viꝯ modo manð q̄d scire fecit eidem Joħi Brightrichestoñ essend hic ad hunc diem ostens̄ in forma ꝑdca ꝓ Nicħm More Joħem Toune ꝛ Roðm Feryby I'o cons̄ est q̄d ꝑdcus Wiłłus ħeat liðaꝯoem pixidis ꝑdce cum cartis etc. extra possessionē ꝑdci Abðis Et sup hoc ꝑdcus Abbas ꝓfert hic in cuꝛ ꝑdcam pixidē cum cartis ꝛc. paratā ad reddend ꝑfato Witto quequidem pixis cū cartis etc. ꝑfato Witto hic in cuꝛ liberatᶜ I'o idem abbas de eadem pixide cū cartis ꝛc. exoñetᶜ ꝛc.—De Banco Roll, 17 Rich. II. Trinity.

Devon. memb. 176 d. Roðtus Abbas de Bukfast ꝛ frater Edwardus Stele ꝛ frater Henꝛ Haredoñ ꝛ frater Roðtus Asshe ꝛ frater Stephus

* ? for *le Mans* in France.

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Roulande cōmonacos eiusdem Abb̄is ⁊ Ric̄us Roke in m̃ia p̤ plur̃ defal̃.

Dies dat⁹ est Johanne que fuit p̈x⁹ Joh̄is Jaycok quer̃ p̤ Joh̄em Jaycok attorñ suū Et p̈d̄cis Abb̄i Edwardo Henr̃ Rob̄to Stephō ⁊ Ric̄o p̤ Joh̄em Lacche attorñ suū de plito t^ansgr̃ hic in Octab̄ sc̄i Hillar̃ p̈cep̈cium sine essoñ etc ad quē die̅ veñ p̤tes p̈d̄ce ⁊c. Et sup̄ hoc dies datus est eis hic a die Pasche in tres sep̄tias p̄ce p̄ciū sine essoñ ⁊c.

Mem.—On this Roll (230 d.) Robert, Abbot of B. v. "Joh̄am que fuit vxor Joh̄is Jaycok" who "clausa fregit" and cut down the abbot's trees, depastured lands, &c. She does not come. Sheriff ordered to distrain her through all, &c., and have her body here from Hilary to fifteen days. No writ. Order for Easter as before.—*Ibid.* 18 Rich. II. Mich.

The next two extracts refer, one to a defaulting bailiff of the Abbey at Battochsburgh, who was not to be found, and the second, to a claim for the recovery of land and houses at Buckfastleigh.

Rob̄tus Abbas de Bukfast p̤ Joh̄em Lacche attorñ suum op' se iiij^to die v̈sus Joh̄em Werynḡ de South lodebroke de plito q̄d reddat ei r̄onabilem compotū suū de tempe quo fuit ballivus suus in Battokysburgh̄ ⁊ receptor denarioꝝ ip̄ius Abb̄is Et ip̄e non veñ Et p̄cep̄ fuit vic̄ q̄d capet eū Et vic̄ modo mand̄ q̄d non est invent̄ ⁊c. I'o p̄cep̄ est vic̄ q̄d capiat eū si ⁊c. Et salvo ⁊c. Ita q̄d h̄eat corpus eius hic in Octabis s̄ci Hillar̃ ⁊c. —De Banco Roll, 18 Rich. II. Mich. m. 250. Devon'.

Abbas de Bukfast p̤ Joh̄em Lacche attorñ suū pet̄ v̈sus Joh̄nam Jaycok ⁊ Walẗum Deghere vnū toftum cum p̤tiñ in Bukfastlegh̄ Et v̈sus Joh̄nam que fuit vxor Joh̄is Jaycok septem mesuag̃ duas acr̃ ẗre ⁊ vnam acr̃ p^ati et dimid̄ cum p̤tiñ in eadem villa Et v̈sus Walẗum Deghere de Bukfastlegh̄ duo mesuag̃ vnam acr̃ ẗre ⁊ dimid̄ ⁊ vnam acr̃ p^ti cum p̤tiñ in eadem villa vt Jus ⁊c. p̤ br̄e Regis de forma donac̄ois ⁊c. Et p̈d̄ci Joh̄na Jaycok Walẗus Deghere Joh̄na que fuit vxor Joh̄is Jaycok ⁊ Walẗus Deghere de Bukfastlegh̄ p̤ Joh̄em Jaycok attorñ suū veñ Et sep̄atim petunt inde visum h̄eant ⁊c. dies dat̃ est eis hic a die Pasche in quinq̄ septimanus Et inẗim ⁊c.—*Ibid.* m. 333 d. Devon'.

124. I have not been able to find any account of the case referred to by Dr. Oliver which he calls the valuable cause of the fishery of the River Dart at Buckfastleigh against the Dean and Chapter at Exeter, but only a short reference to it.

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In Hilary term, 1376, a verdict having already been given in favour of the Abbey, apparently at the assizes, the matter came before the Court of Common Pleas on demurrer. Davy, one of the defendants, had never once appeared. The words showing the finding are "Sur que quant a les auters" [Davy not having appeared] "qui averont pled' al enquest trove fuit p' nisi prius que le Dean & le Chapitre n'averont reens en le frank tenement, & auxi l'abbot n'avera abatu le Gorce pendant le brē, coē."

125. While hunting for the Dart case another important fishery case turned up, which is very fully set out in the De Banco Roll. It is too long to produce at length, but a friend who has helped me in transcribing documents for the purposes of this paper has prepared a full abstract of the proceedings. The dispute arose as to the right of fishery in the Brent River, the Avon, and the action was brought by the abbot, still Robert Simons, against Richard Knight, Vicar of Brent, and others. The case was tried, apparently, at Exeter, when a verdict was given in favour of the abbot. There was an appeal, and the verdict was reversed on technical grounds. I have given the judgment and some other parts of the proceedings as they appear on the Roll.

The King (Richard II.) issued a Writ of Mandamus to Walter Clopton and the Justices of the King's Bench, dated at Westm., 8 June, 22 R. 2 (1399); whereby he directed that
Buckfast. the record and process relating to a plea of trespass between Robert, late Abbot of Buckfast, and Robert Knyght, Vicar of the Church of Brent, John Beare [and others as hereinafter], &c., being seen by them, a manifest error committed (as alleged) by the Justices of Common Pleas should be corrected. The Record and process mention in the said writ as follows:—

Attorñ recept̄ apud Westm̄ coram * * * Justic̄ Dñi Reg̃ de cõi Banco de t̄mio Hillar̄ Anno regni Reg̃ Ric̄i sc̄di quartodecimo.

Devon'. Robtus Knyght vicar̄ eccl̄ie de Brente Johes ffox Johes Beare Wills ffenford Wills Pitman Wills Langedoñ Johes Langedoñ Waltus Schaghe & Thomas Schaghe po lo suo Thomam Reymound vel Thomam Noreys vsus Robtm abbem de Bukfast̄ de plito t'nsgr̄.

Plita apud Westm̄ coram Robto de Cherltoñ & soc̄ suis Justic̄ Dñi Regis de Banco de T)mio sc̄e Trinitatis anno regni Reg̃ Ric̄i sc̄di quintodecimo. Ro. cccvj.

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Robtus Knyght vicar̃ ecctie de Brente Johes ffox Johes Beare Wilts ffenford Wilts Pitman Johes Langedoñ ⁊ Walt̃us Schage attach fuerunt ad respondend Robto Abbti de Bukfast de ptito quare ip̃i cū Wilto Langedoñ ⁊ Johe Shaghe vi ⁊ armis claus̃ ip̃ius Abbis apud Brenta fregunt ⁊ arbores suas ibm nup crescentes succiderunt ⁊ in sepali piscar̃ sua ibm piscati fuerunt ⁊ piscem inde ac arbores pdcas necnon alia bona ⁊ catalla sua ad valenc̃ viginti libraꝝ ac quingentos cunic̃los suos pcij centum solidoꝝ ibm inventa ceperunt et asportaverunt ⁊ blada ⁊ herbam suam ad valenc̃ centū solidoꝝ ibm nup crescencia cum quibusdam averijs depasti fuerunt conculcaverunt ⁊ consumpserunt ⁊ alta enormia ei intulerunt ad grave Dampnum ipsius Abbis ⁊ cont̃ pacem Regis Et vnde idem Abbas p Johem Lacche attorñ suū querit q̃d pdci Robtus Knyght Johes ⁊ Johes Wilts Wilts Johes ⁊ Walt̃us sim̃l etc. die Jovis px̃ post festū oĩm sc̃oꝝ anno regnoꝝ dni Reg̃ nunc nono vi ⁊ armis scilt glad archubꝝ ⁊ sagittis claus̃ ip̃ius Abbis apud Brenta fregunt ⁊ arbores suas videlt quadraginta quercus viginti fraxinos decem ulnos decem tremulos ⁊ viginti fabos ibm nup crescentes succiderunt ⁊ in sepali piscaria sua ibm piscati fuerunt ⁊ piscem inde videlt quadraginta salmones lupos aquaticos percheas tencheas anguillas ⁊ pelos ac arbores pdcas necnon alia bona ⁊ catalla sua videlt pannos lineos ⁊ laneos ad valenc̃ viginti libraꝝ ac quingentos cunic̃los suos pcij centum solidoꝝ ibm inventos ceperunt ⁊ asportaverunt ⁊ blada videlt frumentū ordeū fabas pisas ⁊ avenas ⁊ herbam suam ad valenc̃ etc. ibm nup crescenc̃ cū quibusd avijs videlt equis bobꝫ vaccis affris bidentibus ⁊ porcis depasti fuerunt conculaverunt ⁊ consumpserunt t̃nsgr̃ pdcam quoad succisionem arboꝝ piscac̃oem ⁊ depastū bladoꝝ ⁊ herbe p duos annos tunc px̃ seq̃n diversis vicibus continuandi et alia enormia etc. Et cont̃ pacem etc. vnde dic q̃d deter̃ est ⁊ dampnū het ad valenc centū libraꝝ ⁊ inde pduc sectam etc. Et pdci Robtus Knyght Johes ffox Johes Beare Wilts ffenford Wilts Pitman Johes Langedoñ ⁊ Walt̃us p Thomam Norreys Attorñ suū veñ ⁊ defend vim ⁊ iniur̃ quando etc. Et quo ad venire vi ⁊ armis necnon fracc̃oem clausi succisionē arboꝝ ac asportac̃oem bonoꝝ ⁊ catalloꝝ dic̃ q̃d ip̃i in nullo sunt inde culpables et de hoc poñ se sup p̃riam Et pdcus Abbas similr. Et eciam pdcus Johes ffox ⁊ om̃es alij pt̃ pdcm Robtm Knight quoad capc̃oem cunic̃loꝝ dic̃ sĩlit̃ q̃d ip̃i in nullo sunt inde culpables Et eciam idm Robtus Knight quoad depastū bladoꝝ ⁊ herbe pdcoꝝ dic̃ qd ip̃e in nullo est inde culpabit Et inde sepatim poñ se sup p̃riam Et pdcus Abbas similit et quoad piscac̃oem etc. pfatus Robtus Knyght

Devon'.

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dic̃ q̃d quidam Wilts Gybbe circa fm Oīm sc̃oz Anno regnoz d̃ni Regis nunc sexto cepit de p̃fato Abbe ad vsū ip̃ius Robti ꝛ p̃dei Willi Gybbe ac quozdam Johis Brode ꝛ Willi flylyp̃ piscariam p̃dcam tenend ad voluntatem ꝛc. ad piscand in eadm p voluntate sua. Et dic̃ q̃d idm Robtus occupavit piscariam p̃dcam ꝛ in eadm piscaī fuit absq; hoc q̃d ip̃e aliquo alio tempe in eadm piscaria piscaī fuit et p̃dcus Johes flox ꝛ oñes alij defend dic̃ q̃d ip̃i venerī in auxiliū ip̃ius Robti ad piscand in piscaria p̃dca p̃dcis Annis sexto ꝛ septimo absq; hoc q̃d ip̃e [aliquo] alio tempe in eadm piscaī piscaī fuerunt Et hoc pati sunt sepatim vrificare vnde singillatim non intend aliquam Iniuī in p̃sonis suis ea de causa assignari posse ꝛc. Et quo ad capc̃oem cunic̃loz etc. Robtus Knyght dic̃ q̃d ip̃e fuit capc̃tus p̃dei Abbis ꝛ cū eodm Abbe com̃orabat ꝛ p̃ p̃ceptū p̃dei Abbis Annis regnoz d̃ni Regis nunc sc̃do ꝛ ꝛcio cepit duos cunic̃los ad vsū eiusd̃m Abbis id̃m ꝛ eos eidm Abbi afferebat ꝛ libavit absq; hoc q̃d ip̃e aliquo modo aliquos cunic̃los id̃m cepit Et hoc patus est vificare vnde non intend aliquam iniuī in hac p̃te in p̃sona sua assignari posse ꝛc. Et p̃dcus Johes flox ꝛ oñes alij defendentes p̃ p̃dem Robtm Knyght quo ad depastū bladoz ꝛ h̃be etc. dic̃ q̃d divsis vicib; p tempus in narrac̃oe p̃dcis Abbis contenī divsa avia sua in bladis ꝛ herba p̃dei Abbis capta ꝛ impcata fuerunt ꝛ in divsis cuī eiusd̃m Abbis p idm tempus id̃m p t̃nsgī illis que sunt eadm t̃nsgī vnde idm Abbas querit̃ añciati ꝛ affurati fuerunt ꝛ añciamenta illa eidm Abbi de tempe in tempus sepatim solverunt ꝛ sic dic̃ q̃d p̃dco Abbi p dampno p ip̃os in bladis ꝛ herba eiusd̃m Abbis vnde idm Abbas modo querit̃ in forma p̃dca satisfem existit vnde non intend q̃d ip̃i occ̃one illa ip̃um molestari seu g̃avari debeant etc. Et p̃dcus Abbas dic̃ q̃d p̃dei Robtus Knyght Johes flox Johes Beare Wilts ffenford Wilts Pitman Johes Langetoñ ꝛ Walt̃us vi ꝛ armis ꝛ de iniuī sua ppria p tempus in narrac̃oe eiusd̃m Abbis contenī in sepali piscaī ip̃ius Abbis apud Brente piscati fuerunt ꝛ piscem inde ceperunt ꝛ asportaverī cont̃ pacem Reg̃ put p querelam ip̃ius Abbis supponit̃ Et hoc pet̃ q̃d inquirat̃ p p̃riam. Et p̃dcus Robtus Knyght ꝛ oñes alij defendentes qui modo comparent silit̃ Et eciam idm Abbas dic̃ q̃d Robtus Knyght p tempus in narrac̃oe ip̃ius Abbis specificaī vi ꝛ armis ꝛ de iniuī sua ppria ꝛ cont̃ pacem Reg̃ cepit quingentos cunic̃los suos id̃m put idem Abbas querit̃ Et hoc similit̃ pet̃ q̃d inquirat̃ p p̃riam Et p̃dcus Robtus Knyght similr Et quo ad depastū bladoz ꝛ herbe p̃dcoz idm Abbas dic̃ q̃d p̃dei Johes flox Johes Beare Wilts ffenford Wilts Pitman Johes Langedoñ ꝛ Walt̃us blada ꝛ herbam sua p̃dca p tempus in narrac̃oe eiusd̃m Abbis

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contenť depasť fueř contᵘ pacem Reg̃ absqȝ hoc q̃d ijđm Joħes ffox Joħes Beare Wiłłs ffenforđ Wiłłs Pitman Joħes Langedoñ ⁊ Walťus ꝑ tᵘnsgř illis am̃ciati ⁊ afferati fuerunt vel eiđm Abƀi inde ꝑ eisđm tᵘnsgř satisfecerunt Et hoc peť q̃d inquiratᵘ ꝑ p̃riam Et p̃đci Joħes ffox Joħes Beare Wiłłs ffenforđ Wiłłs Pitman Joħes Langedoñ ⁊ Walťus silit̃. I'o př est vic̃ q̃d venire fac̃ hic a die sc̃i Micħis in xv dies xij etc. ꝑ quos etc. et qui nec etc. Ad recogñ etc. Quia tam etc.

Afterwards the jury being placed in respite at York from Micħmas day to three weeks 16 R. II. unless the justices, &c. come before to Exeter, &c. Afterwards on the day and at the place before Wm. Rykhill and Wm. Brenchell Justices assigned &c. in Co. Devon, come as well Roƀt Abbot of B. as Roƀt Knyght, John Fox, John Beare, Wm. Fenford, Wm. Pitman, John Langedon, and Walt. Shaghe by y^cir att. And likewise the Jurors who &c. say on their oath That ye s^d John Fox, Wm. P. and John L. are not guilty of the trespass mentioned. And that the s^d Robt. K. John B. Wm. F. and Walter Shaghe as to breaking the close, cutting down and carrying away 12 oak trees are guilty; and as to cutting down and carrying away the residue of ye trees ment^d, also taking and carr^g away the goods and chattels ment^d they say that s^d Roƀt K. John B. Wm. F. and Walter S. are not guilty; and as to fishing in ye sev^l fishery of ye Abbot and taking fish, that the s^d Robt. John, Wm. and Walt. with force and arms for the time contained in the Abbot's description fished at Brent and took and carried away 30 salmon as complained by the abbot; and as to taking the remaining fish mentioned that they (R. J. W. and W.) are not guilty; and as to ye taking of the rabbits, except twenty of them, that ye s^d Robt. John, Wm. and Walt. are not guilty; as to the 20 rabbits, they took and carried them away as compl^d by ye abbot; and as to the depasture that s^d Roƀt Knyght is guilty, and the s^d John Beare, Wm. Fenford and Walter Shaghe also depastured, &c. and they were not amerced, &c. And they assess the damages of the s^d abbot on acc^t of ye s^d trespasses at Ten Pounds So it is cons^d y^t ye s^d abbot sh^d recover ag^st ye said Robt. John, Wm. and Walter his s^d damages assessed at 10ł. and ye s^d R. J. W. and W. be taken And ye s^d abbot in mercy for his false claim ag^st John Fox, Wm. Pitman, and John Langedon who are acquitted of ye s^d trespasses. And hereupon s^d abbot confesses "se nolle ulterius prosequi" ag^st Wm. Langedon and John Shaghe of plea afores^d. So ye s^d abbot may have exon, &c.

Afterw^ds viz. in octaves of S. Hil. 16 R. II. Roƀt Knyght,

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present here in Court, is committed to Flete prison (goale de fflete) there to remain until &c.

The abbot by his s^d^ att^y^ offered himself on the 4th day v. s^d^ Wm. Langedon and John Shaghe And they do not come And the sheriff is ordered &c. The sheriff has not sent ye writ Adjourned to Trinity Term then to be at York on ye morrow of S. John Bapt. At wch day no writ from ye sheriff. To be at York in the octave of S. Michael &c.

(Pleas at Westm. de Banco Mich 15 R. II.)

Robt. Abbot of B. plt. v. Robt. Knyght vicar of ch. of Brente, John Fox, John Beare, Wm. Fenford, Wm. Pitman, John Langedon and Walter Shage of a plea of trespass. Jury in respite. Adjourned to Hil. term when (no writ from ye sheriff) Jury in respite to Trin.* 16 R. II. Again respited to Michmas unless before &c. Jury to be before ye K.'s Justices at York &c.

Afterwards, *i.e.* in Mich term 1 Hen. IV. before ye King himself at Westm. at the suit of s^d^ Robt Knight, John Beare, Wm. Fenford and Walter appearing in person and ascertaining there was error in the record and process afores^d^ and in the delivery of the judgment aforesaid and because s^d^ Robt late abbot praying for a writ to summon Wm. now abbot of Bukfast to be before the King to hear s^d^ record and process. So the sheriff is ordered to let Wm. know, &c. The same day is given to s^d^ Robt. J. Wm. and Walt. At wch day come before the King at Westm s^d^ R. J. W. and W. in person, and the sheriff returns that he let Wm. now abbot know that he was to be at Westm. to hear &c. as required by ye K's writ by "Willm Lamelan, Willm Hamstede, Johem Coke & Ricm More," &c. Which said Wm. now abbot, tho' warned and solemnly called on the fourth day, does not come. Hereupon ye s^d^ Robt. John, Wm. and Walter say that in the record and process and delivery of judgment there are divers errors, viz.:—

That whereas the s^d^ Robt late abbot prosecuted a writ of trespass ag^st^ ye s^d^ Robt. Knyght and other def^ts^ before ye s^d^ justices etc. and ye s^d^ def^ts^ by Thos. Norreys y^eir^ attorney wch said writ was quashed namely in Hilary Term 14 R. II.; and long afterw^ds^ *i.e.* 12 April 14 R. II. the s^d^ late abbot obtained that writ ag^st^ ye def^ts^ in wch Thos. Norreys as the attorney of ye def^ts^ (as contained in the said rec^d^ and proc.) whereas ye s^d^ Thos. had no warrant in that second writ "de

* Robert (abbot) "po. lo. suo Joh'm Lacche" in this Term.

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quo totū ꝑcessū p̄đcm warrantizat^a ;" and so in this, that the s^d justices proceeded upon the said plea without any def^t appearing in his own ꝑson or by att^y have erred And by writ as well Wm. Thirnyng Ch. Justice de Cõi Banco as Wm. Pountfreit keeper of the K's writs de Banco "ad certiorand̄ etc." whether ye s^d Robt. John, Wm. and Walter made any att^y in the plea aforesaid, etc. The s^d Wm. Thirnyng to search the Rolls and the s^d Keeper to examine the writs of the terms and years afores^d and to certify w^tout delay. Afterw^ds 30 Jañy in that same term Wm. Thirnyng certified that the Rolls of ye s^d terms and years had been examined; and no attorney can be found of record in ye same. And ye s^d keeper certified that he had no Writ of Att^y for the terms and years aboves^d, and that the date of ye orig^l Writ in the dispute afores^d is 12 April 14 R. II. And ye s^d Robt. John, Wm. and Walter say, that there is manifest error as appears by ye s^d certificates. And in this, that whereas the s^d Rob̄t. late abbot supposed that they depastured at Brent, and they, the def^ts, alleged that they were diverse times amerced and satisfied the abbot of those amercem^ts, and ye s^d abb^t alleged that they were not amerced, &c. Afterw^ds the Justices by Writ of Nisi Prius inquired if John Fox, Wm. Pytman and John Langecon were guilty of the s^d trespasses or not, whereas ye s^d J^ces ought to have inquired if ye s^d John, Wm. and John were amerced and satisfied the abbot for said trespasses or not. And, because the Justices inq^d if they were guilty or not of ye trespasses which the def^ts acknowledged, they erred. Also there is error in this, that whereas John Shaghe came not in his own person or by att^y and never pleaded, nevertheless ye Justices inquired if he were guilty or not of the s^d trespasses, they erred. Also in this, that whereas Walter Shaghe s^d that he was not guilty of taking ye s^d rabbits (conies) as alleged by ye abbot, the Justices did not inquire whether he was guilty or not, they erred. Also in this, that whereas ye s^d abbot supposed that s^d Rob̄t Knyght and other def^ts fished in his several fishery at Brent and took fish, etc. the s^d Rob̄t K. s^d y^t about ye Feast of All Saints 6. R II. one Wm. Gibbe took from the abbot to the use of the s^d Rob̄t and others ye fishery aforesaid as tenant at will, etc. and said y^t said Rob̄t occupied the s^d fishery and fished there: to wch plea ye s^d abbot made no answer but maintained his writ, and ye s^d Justices inq^d as to the justification of s^d Rob̄t K. in s^d plea, whereas the abbot made no answer to the justif^n, they erred. Also in this, that whereas John Fox and other def^ts said in y^eir plea that they came to

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assist Robt Knyght to fish in the 6th and 7th years, etc. whereas no mention was made of any seventh year in the plea and ye sd abbot by accepting that plea and answering thereto, whereas it is not the plea on which the parties joined issue (as appears in the Record) which issue the Justices accepted and inquired upon, they erred. Also in this, that whereas ye sd abbot supposed that the trespass was done at Brente, "postea in replicacõe sua idm Abbas manutenuit dcam tnsgr fieri apud Brente & sic non manutenuit tngr dcam fieri in villa in naracõe sua contenta sz in alia villa et in hoc qd Justic pcesserunt ad iudm sup tli plito erraverunt." And they pray that the said judgment on acct of sd errors and others in the Record and process aforesaid be reversed; and that the Court proceed to the examn of the said Record and process. Hereupon a day is given to ye said Robt Knyght and others from Easter to three weeks, at wch day came ye sd Robt and others in person; and, the Court not being ready to deliver judgement, a day is given to sd R. &c. to be before our Lord ye King wherever, &c. in term of Holy Trinity to hear judgment. Ad quem diem coram dno Rege apud Westm veñ pdci Robtus Knyght Johes Beare Wiltms Fenfford & Walt̃us in ppriis psoñ suis Et vis & diligent examinatis recordo & pcessu pdcis videtr cur qd in hoc qd ubi pdcus Robtus nup Abbas etc. supposuit p bre & nafr sua qd pdci Rob Knyght & alii defendent etc. blada & herbam sua cũ quibusdam aliis suis depasti fuerunt apud Brenta etc. pdci Johes Fox Johes Beare Wiltms Fenfford Wiltms Pitman Johes Langedon & Walt Shaghe allegaf qd p eisdm tnsgr in Curf ipius nup Abbtis apud Brenta divsis tempibz amciati & afforati fuer & de eisdm amciament eidm nup Abbti satisfecer ad quod idm nup Abbas ptitando allegf qd pdci Johes Fox & alii defend non fuer amciati & afforati p eisdm tnsgr nec p eisdm tnsgr eidem nup Abbti satisfecer Sup quo postea ctis die & loco put continetr in recordo qd Justic adinquir de tnsgr pdcis p bre de Nisi Prius deputat inquisiver si pdci Johes Fox Wiltms Pitman & Johes Langedon fuer culpables de tnsgr pdcis vel non ubi pdci Justic inquisivisse debuissent si pdci Johes Fox Wiltms Pitman & Johes Langedon p pdcis tnsgr amciati & afforati fuerunt & p eisdm tnsgr eidm nup Abbti satisfecer vel non put ipi ptitando allegaf Et in hoc qd Justic inquisiver si ipi fuerunt culpables de tnsgr pdicis vel non ubi ipi p ptim suu pdcm cogn tnsgr pdcum manifeste est err. I'o cons est qd ob errorem pdcm & alios in recordo & pcessu pdcis comptos qd judm pdcm revocetur adnulletr & penit p nullo heatr Et qd pdci

Judgment.

Jud'm adnull.

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Robt⁹ Knyght Johes Beare Wilts Fenfford ⁊ Walt⁹us reheant dampna sua p̄dc̄a si que occ̄one p̄dc̄a p̄fato nup Abbti aut dc̄o nunc Abbti satisfec⁹int Et q̄d ip̄i eant inde sine die etc. (De Banco Roll, Hilary, 1 Henry IV.)

127. I have failed not only in verifying Dr. Oliver's authorities in the Dart fishery case, but also in ascertaining further particulars with reference to the placing of the arms of James and Thomas Audelay "in the window of the west end of the Conventual Church and in the window of the gable end in the Lady Chapel there." Although a careful search has been made, the entries have not turned up, and they are not where Dr. Oliver states they are. I much regret this, for I believe there is some mistake, inasmuch as Cistercian churches had no Lady Chapel, the whole church being dedicated to the Blessed Virgin [See Monasticon Cisterciense, cap. xviii.] I was in hopes also that the document might have contained some further references to the church, which might have enabled us to form some idea of its extent and appearance.

128. Robert Simons was evidently an abbot who had the interest of his house at heart, and did much for its worldly prosperity. He must have been abbot for upwards of thirty-five years, and was succeeded in his office by William Paderston, who was confirmed in September, 1395. He was not abbot long, and I have not been able to find anything relating to the abbey in which he was interested, except the Avon fishery case, which was finally decided in his time, and the following from the De Banco Roll 3 Henry IV., 1202.

Wm. abbot of Buckfast, Brother Wm. Beagh, and Brother Richard Gorwet, fellow monks of the said abbot, and Thomas Baker and Richard Helyere, the abbot's servants, were attached to answer to Thomas Knight, Vicar of the Church of Brent, of the plea "quare vi et armis in ipsum Robtm apud Brente insultum fecerunt, etc.," and detained him in prison there until he, Robert, paid 20*l.* for deliverance. The abbot denied his culpability, and alleged that Robert had diverted a water-course which ran through his, Robert's, lands, &c. All parties put themselves on the country, so the sheriff, to make come twelve, &c., from Michaelmas to fifteen days.

129. My next document is dated 18th May, 1414, when the learned William Slade had become abbot. He was a Devonshire man and educated at Exeter. Proceeding to Oxford, he acquired a good reputation, and about 1413 became abbot of Buckfast. As far as we know, with the

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exception of the last abbot, he was the most distinguished man connected with the house. He was not only a scholar and a theologian, but an artist, and a spiritual guide to those over whom he was set, and to the parishioners of the churches belonging to the Abbey. He made many important additions to the conventual buildings, and I think it may be concluded that it is to his exertions that the people of Kingsbridge are indebted for the Chapel of St. Edmund, king and martyr, —consecrated by Bishop Stafford, 26th August, 1414, at which time the cemetery adjoining was also blessed—being made a parish church.

130. Kingsbridge was in the parish of Churchstow. Certainly, as early as 1333, 7 Edward III., the manors of Churchstow and Kingsbridge belonged to the abbey, but how it became possessed of them is not clear. In 1291, when the Survey for the Taxatio of Pope Nicholas was taken, Churchstow belonged to the Abbey, and, as appears from the entry paragraph 106, the value is entered at 13s. 4d., the tenth being 1s. 4d. Churchstow is two miles from Kingsbridge, and, as often happened, a particular part of the parish, as time passed on, became as important as, or more important than, the neighbourhood around the mother church; and we find from a deed without date, but probably late in the twelfth century, that provision was required for the spiritual wants of the people of Kingsbridge. The original deed is in the possession of the feoffees of the town lands of Kingsbridge, and a translation will be found in Hawkins's History of Kingsbridge, p. 122.

"Sciant præsentes et futuri quod ego M. de Litlecumba Rector Ecclesiæ de Chirchstowe concessi Abbati et Monachis de Bukfest edificare Ecclesiam in honore beati Edmundi Regis et Martiris in Dominio suo in Villa qua dicta Kingesbrig, ita quod omnes proventus illius Villæ ad Ecclesiam pertinentes cedant ad Sustentationem unius Capellani qui in prædicta Ecclesia Divina celebret imperpetuum, et omnes Homines in prædicta Villa manentes audiant divinum Servicium in prædicta Ecclesia Et omnia Ecclesiastica jura ibidem percipiant, ita cum quod Saltem semel in Anno insitent Matrem Ecclesiam scilicet Chirchstowe videlicet in Assumptione Beatæ Mariæ Virginis ut infra octavum oblationibus quibus infra limites Parochiæ prædicta villa consistet. Verum propterea Ecclesia de Chirchstowe de loco illo scilicet Kingesbrig nunquam aliquid percipere consuento et ideo libere istud concedo quam omnino est sine prejudicio Matris Ecclesiæ et Maximum opus Misericordiæ est Divinum in-

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choare servitium quod per omnibus Christi fidelibus unus et Defunctus Annuente Cristo in loco illo celebrabiter in perpetuam. Ut aut hæc concessio mea firma permaneat huic præsenti Scripto in Testimonum et Confirmationem Sigillum meum appono.

131. This deed was the consent of the rector of the mother church to the erection of a new church, but apparently the new building was not consecrated for some time after, for the consecration deed of Bishop Stafford speaks of the chapel which then and from time immemorial (the scribe did not trouble himself to make very careful inquiry, or he would have found that his "time immemorial" would have dwindled down to very few years) was erected, and magnificently built by sufficient and lawful authority, that the parish and parishioners were distinct from Churchstow, and that the rector was obliged to perform all divine services at the chapel for the people of Kingsbridge, except burial of the dead, which was accustomed to be done at Churchstow.

132. The chapel received assistance towards maintaining its independent character. John Cob, Vicar of Hennock, gave to the chapel of St. Edmund at Kingsbridge, and to the overseers of the chapel, a tenement and garden near the cemetery of the chapel. The deed conveying this is dated 23rd April, 1410, more than four years before the consecration, so that the cemetery although provided was not used.

Noverint universi per presentes me Johannem Cob Vicarium Ecclesiæ de Heanok remisisse relaxasse et omnino pro me et hæredibus meis imperpetuum quiesce clamasse Deo et Capellæ Sancte Edmundi Regis et Martiris de Kyngesbrigge et Hugoni Pocok et Roberto Fayrefot Custodibus instauri dictæ Capellæ et successoribus suis Custodibus dictæ Capellæ et instauri ejusdem totum jus et clameum quæ habeo in uno tenemento et gardino eidem tenementum adjacente situatis inter Cimiterium dictæ Capellæ ex parte australe et tenementum Thome Duer et Johanne uxoris suæ Filiæ Johannis Granute ex parte boreali Et ego vero prædictus Johannes et heredes mei totum prædictum tenementum et totum prædictum gardinum cum pertinentiis præfatis custodibus et successoribus suis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus imperpetuum.

In cujus rei testimonium præsentibus sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus:

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Thoma Duer tunc præposito Villæ prædictæ.
Johanne Jaycok.
Rogerus Degher.
Johanne Vele.
Willielmo Gormond.
Johanne Torryng.
Johanne Radeville et multis aliis.

Datis apud Kyngesbrygge Vicessimo tertio die Aprilis Anno Regni regis Henrici Quarti post Conquestum undecimo.

133. A copy of the sentence of consecration is, like the others to which I have referred, in the custody of the feoffees of the Kingsbridge Town lands, and a translation will be found in Hawkins's History of Kingsbridge, p. 123. Attached are six seals, those of the Bishop, the Archdeacon, probably, and the Abbot of Buckfast. In the fourth a double key is to be made out, which shows that it is the seal of the Prior or Priory of Plympton, the fifth seal is altogether gone, and the sixth is the seal of the Kingsbridge Feoffees. Entries relating to the consecration will also be found in Bishop Stafford's Registers.

134. It is clear therefore that, for the convenience of the inhabitants of Kingsbridge, the rector of Churchstow, with the consent of the abbot and convent, promoted the erection of what we should now call a chapel of ease, which very soon became or was considered, if not a parish, a district with certain parochial rights. The dead of Kingsbridge had still to be brought, as stated in the petition, from the chapel, on the low ground near the sea, to the church, founded on the summit of a high mountain, proceeding through a troublesome and tedious ascent of the said mountain. The rector of Churchstow had to provide for all the duty, and now Abbot Slade thought that the time had arrived when the new building should be consecrated. Kingsbridge was now becoming more important and required development, which the abbots of Buckfast as lords of the manor did their best to encourage.

135. William Slade did not devote the whole of his time to the temporal affairs of his Abbey. He was a student and author, and Leland has left us a list of his books which remained in the library of the Abbey, which I here give. It contains also the titles of other manuscripts belonging to the Abbey. In the middle of this list is the observation as to the origin of the house to which I have before referred:—

"*Cœnobium de Bukfast olim incepit per fratres quos appellabant Grysæos, deinde admisit Bernardinos.*"

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CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF BUCKFAST ABBEY.

Trivet super tragædias Senecæ.
Triveti historia ab initio mundi usque ad nativitatem Christi ad Hugonum de Engolisma, atchidiaconum Cantuar.
Lectura Blencot super quartum Sententiarum.
Kilwardeby de conscientia et synderesi.
Quæstiones Johannis Sutton.
Quodlibeta Johannis Sutton.
Quæstiones Gaynesburg.
Quæstiones Gilberti Segrave.
Quolibeta ejusdem.
Universalia magistri Sharpe super libros Phisicorum.
Quæstiones Gulielmi Slade abbatis de Bukfest de anima.
Quæstiones ejusdem super 4^or^ libros Sententiarum Vixit tempore Ricardi 2^i^.
Beda de nominibus regnorum.
Flores Moralium Gulielmi Slade.
Johannes abbas de Forda de contemporibus Mundi.
Stephanus Cantuar de benedictionibus et maledictionibus datis in monte Ebal.
Grostest super decem præcepta.

Antiquarii Collectanea, Johannis Lelandi.
Ed. 1770. Vol. iii. (iv.), p. 152.

136. If there was nothing else to show the great mistake made in dealing with the monasteries as they were dealt with at the Dissolution, the atrocious way in which the priceless libraries were dispersed and destroyed would be quite sufficient to convince the most sceptical. Even the fanatical Protestant Bale called the destruction wanton and shameful, and prophesied that it would be to England a most horrible infamy, "among the grave senyours of other nacyons."

137. From the Issue Roll it appears that the Dean and Chapter of Exeter, with the Abbot of Buckfast and others, lent moneys to the King, taking care to have security for the repayment.

18 May. To John Copelston, junior, and divers other persons coming from the county of Devon to London, with a certain sum of £573 6s. 8d. borrowed from the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Exeter; the Mayor of the town of Exeter; the Abbot of Tavystock; the Prior of Lanceton;

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the Abbot of Bukfast; Robert Gary, Prior of Plymton; Alexander Chambernoun, Mayor of the town of Plymouth; John Bonel and John Copelston. In money paid to the aforesaid John Copelston, junior, and his companions, for the safe conduct of certain of the King's jewels, valued at £800, delivered to the aforesaid persons as security for the said sums borrowed of them under conditions contained in certain indentures made between our lord the King and the said John and his companions, &c. By writ, &c.—£10.

Issue Roll, Easter, 3 Hen. V. 1414.

137. The assent to the consecration of the church at Kingsbridge must have been one of the latest acts of Slade's life, for in 1415, Sept. 8th, about twelve months afterwards, William Beaghe or Beagle was confirmed abbot. In the glories of Agincourt in the following month the Abbey participated, for William Beaghe contributed one hundred marks towards the expenses of the expedition.

138. It would seem from the De Banco Roll, 3 Henry IV. before quoted, par. 128, that William had been a monk of the house before his election in the time of Abbot Paverston.

139. The first of the three following extracts relates to a defaulting collector of some of the revenues; the second to a debt due; and the third to a trespass committed upon some property of the Abbey at Totnes.

Devon. Abbas de Buckfast in ꝑpria ꝑsona sua op' se iiij^to die ꝟsus Joħem Torryng de Lostwythyell in com̃ Cornub̃ mchant de ꝓdito q̃d reddat ei r̃onabilem compotū suū de tempore quo fuit receptor denar̃ ip̃ius Abbis etc. Et ip̃e nō veñ Et prec̃ fuit vic̃ q̃d sum̃ eū etc. Et vic̃ modo mand̃ q̃d nichil ħet etc. I'o capiat^ q̃d sit hic a die sc̃e Trinitatis in xv dies etc.—(De Banco Roll, Easter, 8 Henry V. m. 251.)

Devon. Wiłts Abbas de Buckfastre per Attorn̄ suū op' se iiij^to die ꝟsus Joħem Johan de Dodbroke in com̃ ꝑdico Milward de ꝓdito q̃d reddat ei sexaginta ꝛ vndecim solidos ꝛ octo denarios
m. 159 d. quos ei debet ꝛ iniuste detinet etc. Et ip̃e non veñ Et prec̃ fuit vic̃ q̃d sum̃ eū etc. Et vic̃ modo mand̃ q̃d nichil ħet etc. I'o capiat^. Ita q̃d sit hic a die Pasche in tres septimanas etc.*—(De Banco Roll, Hilary, 8 Henry V. m. 159 d.)

Devon'. Wiłts Abbas de Bukfast ꝑ attorn̄ suū op' se iiij^to die ꝟsus
m. 203. Patricū Mark de Tottoñ in com̃ ꝑdco Crokker de ꝓdito quare

* The same debt appears in the Roll Easter, 9 Henry V. [m. 355 d] and then order made to "have him here" from Trinity to fifteen days.

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cū idem abbas in feodo suo apud Totoñ ꝑ consuetudinibꝫ ⁊ ꝯvicijs sibi debitis quedam catalla ꝑ Roƀtum Marchant ꝯvientem suū capi fecisset idem Roƀtus catalla illa nõie districcõis sc̃dm legem ⁊ consuetudinem regni Regis Angł iƀm detinere voluisset ꝑđcus Patricius catalla illa eidem Roƀto vi ⁊ armis abstulit et alia enormia etc. ad gᵃve dampnū etc. ⁊ contᵘ pacem Regis etc. Et ip̃e non veñ Et sicut prius prec̃ fuit vic̃ q̃d caꝑet eū etc. Et vic̃ modo manđ q̃d non est inventus etc. I'o sicut plur̃ capiatᵘ. Ita qd sit hic a die Pasche in tres septimanus etc.—(De Banco Roll, Hilary, 8 Henry V. m. 203).

140. During this abbot's rule the house had trouble, and six years after his elevation things had become so bad that it was found necessary to refer them to William, Abbot of Hayles, and Brother Michael of Moreton. I have to thank Mr. Edward Bishop for furnishing me with a transcript of a notarial instrument published in the chapter-house at Buckfast 26 January, 1421. It is a most interesting document, perhaps more so than any I have been able to include in this paper.

141. The name of the notary is not given. In it the name of the abbot is spelt Beagle. Oliver gives his name as Beaghe, and in the extracts from the De Banco Rolls it is also so spelt. I give a free outline of the contents.

After a preamble with the date of the year, the reign of the Pope, and so on, the document goes on to say that the abbot, Abbot William of Hayles, Brother Michael of Lang Benynton, which was originally an English cell of Savigny, Thomas Roger, Prior of Buckfast, with the whole assembly of the monastery being present in the chapter-house, the abbot of Hayles handed to the notary a paper, praying that he would read the contents aloud, which he did to the following effect.

A subject of discord having arisen between that honourable man the abbot and the convent, with regard to the government of the brethren within and without, which, by the wisdom, labour, and zeal of the Abbot of Hayles and Brother Michael, was settled thus, that the abbot might entertain according to the ancient and worthy and wonted usage of the Abbey, might receive his guests and strangers, and that the servants of the monastery might wait upon them according to his instructions. That the abbot, being advanced to a considerable age and frequently crippled with bodily disease, was often broken down with infirmity, so that things which,

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according to the statutes of the order, should be fulfilled in person, he was unable to fulfil, and the monastery had suffered, and it was feared would suffer more in future, it was decreed that the abbot should not interfere in any way except when required to do so by the prior and brethren, and then that he should agree to their wishes. That the abbot should not obtain any privileges or exemptions from Rome, as such might tend to the curtailment of the statutes and privileges of the order. That the abbot should receive either 10*l.* or 40*l.* [which is uncertain, probably the latter,] per annum, paid quarterly, for his clothes and necessaries. That when the abbot was summoned or invited to take part in any ceremony, such as the installation of the Bishop of Exeter, the burial of nobles and others for the advantage of the monastery, or the honour of the abbot himself, as he was often wont to do, and as his predecessors were wont to do, the abbot's expenses were to be borne by the house; and if at any time he should wish to ride or walk about outside the monastery for his own recreation, he might go with a proper retinue, but at his own expense. That if any gifts were presented to the abbot he was to have them and rejoice therein, and reward the bearers; but, if he allowed the gifts to go to the common use of the monastery, the bearers were to be rewarded from the common chest.

And the notary says that all these things were done as above written, and that, beside those mentioned at the commencement, there were also present those discreet men John Carnell, bachelor of law, and Henry Fortescue, clerk of the said diocese, these having been specially called and summoned; and piously concludes, And thus peace, faith, hope, and charity here met together, which the undivided blessed Trinity abandons in discord, but cherishes in concord. Amen.

There are many errors in the spelling, grammar, &c., but the sense is apparent, the mistakes are easily corrected, and I print the document as it stands.

In Dei Nomine. Amen.

Per presens publicum instrumentum cunctis appereat (*sic*) evidenter quod Anno ab Incarnacione Dñi secundum cursum et computacionem ecclesie Anglicane millesimo cccc^mo^ vicesimo primo, Indicciones quinta decima, Pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini nostri Domini Martini Divina Providencia Pape quinti Anno quinto mensis Januarii die xx^mo^ vj^o^ in domo capitulari Monasterii de Buckfast Ordinis Cisterciensis, Exoniensis

26 Jan. 1421.

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Diocesis, in mei Notarii Publici et Testium subscriptorum presencia honorabilibus et religiosis viris Domnis Willielmo Beagle Abbate ut asserit Monasterii de Buckefast predicti et Willielmo Abbate Monasterii beate Marie de Hayles Wigorniensis [Diocesis], Fratre Michaele de Moretoneo Magistro de Langbinyngton Lincolniensis Diocesis ut asseritur, ac Fratre Thoma Roger Priore dicti monasterii de Buckfast predicti (*sic.*) [cum] toto Conventio ejusdem Monasterii de Buckfast personaliter constitutis;

Dictus Honorabilis et religiosus Vir Domnus Willielmus Abbas Monasterii de Hayles assertus (?) mihi notario infrascripto Cedulam in papiro scriptam tradi fecit, supplicans quod eandem cedulum legerem in aperto; quam post ejus inspeccionem legi; cujus cedule tenor talis est:—

Nuper exorta materia perturbacionis et discordie inter honorabilem et religiosum virum Domnum Abbatem Monasterii de Buckfast Ordinis Cisterciensis Exoniensis Diocesis et suum Conventum ibidem de et super regimine et gubernacione Spiritualium et Temporalium dicti Monasterii infra et extra, ceterisque causis, punctis et articulis aliis, que omnia et singula in presenti longum esset en arrare; Deo tamen annuente qui est pacis Auctor, discrecione, labore, et industria reverendi in Christo Patris et Domini Domni Willielmi Dei gracia Abbatis Monasterii beate Maria de Haylez Wygorniensis Diocesis, et religiosi viri fratris Mychaelis de Moretones Magistro de Langbinyngton Lincolniensis Diocesis, Ordinis antedicti, ad visitandum Monasterium de Buckfast in capite et in membris legitime deputatorum, dicta materia sedata est et quievit per visitatores predictos in hunc modum:—

In primis quod dictus honorabilis et religiosus vir Domnus Willielmus Abbas antedictus secundum antiquum, honestum et solitum usum dicti Monasterii de Buckfast hospites et advenas suos cum ad idem monasterium declinaverint juxta eorum statum bene recipiat, hillaremque vultum eis ostendat, suis eciam et dicti Monasterii famulis quibuscumque in licitis et honestis jubeat, precipiat et commoneat quod eisdem intendant in aula, mensa et camera prout sui status honestas debite exigit et requirit.

Item quia dictus Domnus Willielmus abbas prelibatus jam in matura etate constitutus corporisque invalitudine multipliciter detentus diversis infirmitatibus sepius occupatus [est] et confractus, quod omnia que in sua persona errent juxta sui Ordinis statuta adimplenda personaliter nequeat propter premissa providere nec adimplere, adeo quod dictum monasterium dampnum patitur in presenti et plus timendum ei in

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futuro; quare consideratum est et decretum quod dictus Domnus Willielmus Abbas prelibatus nullo modo se intromittat in gubernacione et regimine spiritualium aut temporalium quorumcumque nisi cum fuerit per Priorem et Conventum suum debite ad hoc requisitus, et tunc eorum voluntati adquiescat in hiis que tangant dicti monasterii utilitatem et sui status et ordinis exigenciam omnimodo.

Item concordatum et decretum est quod dictus honorabilis vir et Domnus Willielmus Abbas prelibatus non acquirat per se aut suos aliqua privilegia exempciones et similia a Curia Romana que possunt vergi in derogacionem dicti Ordinis Cisterciensis et statutorum ejusdem; &, si qua hujusmodi privilegia habeat, aut habere eum de cetero contingat, quod eisdem non utatur quovis modo.

Item consideratis considerandis concordatum et decretum est per visitatores predictos commune consensu pariter et assensu dictorum Abbatis et Conventus Monasterii de Buckfast predicti quod dictus Willielmus Abbas . . . dum Abbas fuerit percipiet annuatim ad quatuor anni terminos per equales porciones a dictis Priore et Conventu pro vestura et aliis necessariis dicti Abbatis x libr.

Item concordatum et decretum est, si contingat dictum Domnum Willielmum Abbatem extra Monasterium invitari aut vocari pro dicti Monasterii utilitate, ipsiusve Abbatis honestate, videlicet ad installacionem Episcopi Exoniensis loci Diocesani, sepultura et obitio Magnatuum et Prelatorum ac aliorum generosorum, amicorum et vicinorum, prout sepe solebat et predecessores sui Abbates solebant, hec omnia semper fient expensis dicti Monasterii cum contingant.

Item si aliquando dictus domnus Abbas extra dictum Monasterium pro sui ipsius disporto et voluntate equitare aut spaciare voluerit, tunc decente familia, sed expensis propriis, ista fient.

Item concordatum est et decretum quod si qua munera, donaria, bonaque alia quecumque dicto Domno Abbati offerantur et donentur, eadem habeat et inde gaudeat, dum tamen contemplacione persone ejusdem hoc fiet; tunc ex propriis remuneret deportantes prout placet. Et si eadem in communem usum et dicti Monasterii utilitate convertat, de communi thesauro remunerentur.

Et dum nec omnia premissa fideliter observanda hinc et inde tam dicti Abbas quam frater Thomas Roger Prior dicti Monasterii tactis Dei Evangeliis per eosdem corporaliter prestiterunt.

Acta sunt hec omnia prout suprascribuntur et recitantur sub anno Domini, Indiccione, Pontificatu, die, mense, et loco

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predictis; presentibus tunc ibidem discretis viris Johanne Carnell in Legibus Bacallario, et Henrico Fortescu Clerico dicte Exoniensis Diocesis, testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

Et sic pax, fidis, spes, et charitas hic in unum obviarunt, quas inter discordes concedat, inter concordes foveat, Trinitas indivisa. Amen. (MS. Reg. 12, E. xiv., fol. 62-64 recte.)

142. The aged and infirm abbot enjoyed his home and pension for several years. Let us hope he often walked abroad with his becoming retinue "pro sui ipsius disporto spatiari." His successor, Thomas Rogger, was not blessed until the 13th April, 1432, more than eleven years after the settlement of the discords detailed by the notary.

143. Of Thomas Rogger and the succeding abbots we know little more than their names. Rogger was succeeded by John Ffychet, 16th October, 1440. He was concerned in legal proceedings with reference to the Erne river, as appears from the following extracts in Norman French from the year-book 1441:—

Trespas.

En Trñs Le pl' counta vs l'Abbe de Bulkfast de san gort debrus' en Ermingt. ¶ Yelverton. Est un douce eau courrant en t dit Ermingt tanqz al' haut mer, qui est appell' Erine, ou le dit Abbe & touts ses pdec &c. ont uñ ouvture de vj pieds de largeur en chaqū gort en le dit Erine, & illec tāqz a haut mer de temps, &c. ou le cours d cē eau plus pfondem̄t court & disous q̄ le dit gort dont il ad luy complaiñ est [B] en la dit Ermingt, & q̄ c̄ fuit estoppe, & nous ceo debrusames accord a nr̄e ouverture avādit. Jug̃ si acc̄. ¶ Markham. A ceo disons nous, q̄ le Sñr de Hunt long temps devant le trespas fuit seisi de m̄ le gort en son demaiñ come de fee, & nous lessa pur ẽme de x ans, le ẽme commenc̄, &c. Quel ẽme dure unc̄, & vous debrusastes m̄ le gort hors de cest lieu dont vous avez ple par ij pches pcheiñ at tre, sur q̄ nous avōs conceu nostr̄ acc̄. Jug̃. Et priōs q̄ vous soiez atteints. ¶ Yelverton. Lōg temps devāt cest leas le Sñr de Hunt a no° lessa m̄ le gort pur ẽme de ñr vie, p forc̄ de q̄l nous fumes seisis & debrusames come bn a nous list. ¶ Markham. De vre tort demeñ sans tiel cause. ¶ Newton. Ceo n'est ple: car si jeo port bre de Trns vs vous & vous dics que le lieu ou, &c. fuit vre franct (Jug̃ &c.) n'e rñs pur moy, adire, De vre tort demeñ sans tiel cause. Ergo nec hic. Et puis. ¶ Markham. Way va la ple, & travs le leas a ẽme de vie.—(Year-Book De Termino Trinitatis, Anno xx. Henrv VI.)

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144. It was also about this time perhaps that Richard Dove, monk and scholar of Buckfast, drew up the statutes of the house, with the oaths to be taken by the novices, monks, scholars, and others. They are very interesting, and I am glad to be able to present them in the appendix to this paper.

145. The following, perhaps about the same date, relates to land in Brent :—

Bukfast. La Ya in Brent.

Hec convencio facta inter f'rem Minorensem Abb̄m Buckfastre &c. ex una p̄te et Ric̄um de Cotelaford ex alt̄a viz. p̄dict abbas &c. dedere &c. unū ferling̃ t̄re in la Ya in manc̄io. de Brenta q̄d Rob̄tus de la Ya quond̄ tenuit &c. Habend̄ de dicto Ric̄o Cotelaford et Hered̄ &c. In cujus rei test̄ sigilla sua alternatim apposuer̄. Hijs Test̄. Joh̄e de Boyvile. Witto de Kilbury, Stepho Stoyll, tunc Scenescho p̄dictorū Religiosorū Benedicto le Boñ Witto de Harbenford, Witto de la Ford [sans date*] p. 540.—(Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 28,649, p. 413.) [Prince's excerpts from Pole's MS.]

From the Assize Roll, temp. Henry VI., we learn that Gode claimed as his freehold a tenement in Buckfastleigh, of which the abbot of Buckfast and William Budde and his wife, and another Budde and his wife, had dis-seized him. The verdict was against the abbot.

146. John Matthu was confirmed 3 Oct. 1449, and he it was probably who obtained from the King,—Edward IV., surely not Henry VI., as stated in Fox's Kingsbridge,—a grant of a weekly market, and a fair for three days in the year at Kingsbridge, and a fair for the same number of days once a year at Buckfastleigh. The Kingsbridge market and fair still continue to be held. A copy of the grant is given in the book just mentioned.†

147. It has been said that John Bothe, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, was Abbot of Buckfast; but, on examining the events of his life before his consecration as bishop, it would seem that this could not have been.

148. John Kinge is found as abbot 25 Feb. 1483, and John Rede 24 Nov. 1498.

149. In the interesting little book entitled "The Parish of Ashburton in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," being extracts from the churchwardens' accounts from 1479 to 1580, in the year 1499-1500 a receipt of 4*s.* is credited from a gift of the Lord Abbot of Buckfast, Saint Clere Pomeroy, Galfrid

* So in MS.

† Kingsbridge and its Surroundings, by S. P. Fox, pp. 34—248.

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Harepath, and others. I thought at first that this was an unmentioned abbot of Buckfast, but on consideration I do not think the entry bears this out. If in the original entry there is a comma after "the Lord Abbot of Buckfast," it would I think show that the abbot and Saint Clere Pomeroy were different persons. Prince says that Edward Pomeroy and Margaret Beavil his wife had issue Henry, Seinclere, and John.* Sir William Pole says that Edward Pomeroy died 24 Henry VI. 1445.† Both Prince and Pole trace the descent of the elder son Henry, and do not refer to the second and third; but in the Heralds' Visitation of 1620 we find in the pedigree of Ford ‡ that St. Cleere Pomeroy was the son of John Pomeroy, and that he married, and had issue, in which case he could not have been the abbot of Buckfast. I believe this to be the same person as that mentioned in the Ashburton accounts. Beyond this there is no reference elsewhere, so far, to a Pomeroy being abbot of Buckfast; but, if it should prove to be the case, it will be very interesting to find that a descendant of its early benefactors was connected with the Abbey in its latter days.‖

150. In the accounts just referred to is another entry, under date 1512, ij*s.* for ringing the knell of the late abbot of Buckfast. This must have been for either Saint Clere Pomeroy (if he was the abbot) or John Rede, for on Palm Sunday, 20 April, 1512, Alfred Gille succeeded the deceased abbot. Gille, after ruling the house for thirteen years, was succeeded by John Rede, whom Dr. Oliver thought might have been a nephew of Abbot John Rede before mentioned. He had a care for the welfare of Kingsbridge and Churchstow, and readjusted the revenues of the churches. He was confirmed abbot 13th April, 1525, and lived about twelve years after. He may be considered the last abbot, for his successor was foisted upon the monks, and was simply put in to carry out the designs of the King.

151. Gabriel Donne or Downe was a student in Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and afterwards a monk of Stratford, a Cistercian house at West Ham, Middlesex. A suit, followed by an appeal to Rome, between the abbot and convent and the vicar William Shragger arose, and on the 7th Feb. 1517, a "composition real" between the abbot and the vicar was executed, and "the provident and religious man Gabriel

* Prince's Worthies, p. 645, ed. 1812.
† Pole's Collections, p. 20. ‡ Har. Soc. 1872, p. 108.
‖ I have since examined the original entry, and I do not think that it is any evidence as to Saint Clere Pomeroy having been an abbot of Buckfast.

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Donne, monk of the Blessed Mary of Stratford, of the Order of Cistercians" was procter for the brethren.

152. His abilities and zeal soon brought him into more public notice, and he was employed by Cranmer, More, and others to assist in the apprehension of Tyndale at Antwerp. He accompanied Henry Phillips, "a tall, comely, good-looking young man" travelling as a gentleman, as his counsellor, disguised as a servant. There can be little doubt that he was the author of the plan which resulted in the capture, imprisonment, and death of Tyndale. Donne resided for six months after Tyndale's arrest with Phillips or Buckenham at Louvain, assisting in preparing the case against Tyndale. He returned to England in June, 1535, and was shortly after thrust into the abbey of Buckfast, doubtless as a reward for his services to the King, the Archbishop, Bishops, and Cromwell. In June, 1536, he attended the meeting of Convocation at St. Paul's, and he signs the articles then promulgated, as "GABRIEL, *Abbas de Buckfastria.*"

153. Within two years of his election he alienated much of the monastic property, and on the 25th February, 1538, he betrayed his trust, and surrendered the house with its belongings into the hands of the King, and fifteen months after was rewarded with a large pension; the Prior of Plympton alone, among all the heads of religious houses in this county, receiving so much. This pension of £120, equal to £1,800 of our money, was enjoyed by him until his death in 1558. On the 16th March, 1541, he was made Prebendary of St. Paul's, and three years later Cromwell gave him the rectory of Stepney "sine cura." Upon Bonner's deprivation in Sept. 1549, Cranmer, according to Strype,* "constituted Gabriel Donne residentiary of St. Paul's, to be his official and keeper of the spirituality, and to exercise all manner of episcopal jurisdiction in the said city and diocese."

154. Donne died 5th December, 1558. By his will, after directing payment of his debts and certain legacies, he bequeathed the residue of his estate to Trinity Hall, Cambridge. With this residue a scholarship was founded, which continues to be enjoyed to the present day by the student called "Mr. Gabriel Donne's scholar." In the chapel of Trinity Hall, among the shields in the roof, are still to be seen the arms of the ex-abbot: "*Azure, a wolf rampant, a chief urgent.*"†

* Memorials of Cranmer, vol. i, p. 274, ed. 1812.

† I am indebted for many of the facts here given relating to Donne's Life to the sketch given by Christopher Anderson in his Annals of the English

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155. He was honourably buried before the high altar in Old St. Paul's, four days after his death, and the inscription on his tomb has been fortunately preserved by Dugdale.*

Mole sub hoc Gabrael Donnus detruditur, hujus
Qui præses Templi, Presbyter atque fuit.
Mortua terreno clauduntur membra sepulchri
Vivens cœlicolo spiritus orbe manet,
Ossibus urna locum dat, pulvere terra recumbit,
Sydera sunt animæ cœlica tecta suæ.
Illius (adde Deus) menti tua gaudia clemens
Corpus in Elizii pace quiescat. Amen.

156. Donne was doubtless a time-server, and trimmed his sails according to the varying breezes of the time. His share in the persecution of Tyndale cannot be excused, but he sinned with Sir Thomas More, Archbishop Cranmer, and others no less distinguished. The great blot in his memory must ever be his consenting to be forced upon the monks of Buckfast as their abbot, taking the solemn oaths he was compelled to by the rules of his order, well knowing that he was sent to the monastery for a purpose, and that in a short time he would be called upon to fulfil the undertaking he had doubtless given, betray the solemn trust committed to him, become a perjured man, and an accomplice in an act of sacrilege and robbery.

157. At the time of the surrender, the following brethren were in the house:—

The Abbot, Gabriel Donne.
The Prior, Arnold Gye.
John Cowle.
John Watts.
Richard Taylor.
William Shapcott.
Matthew Pryston.
Richard Splat.
Thomas Gylle.
William Avery.
John Doyge.

158. With the exception of the Prior, Arnold Gye, all these received pensions from £6 13s. 4d. paid to John Doyge, down to Thomas Gylle who had but £5. Why was the

Bible. The author is strong in his denunciation of the ex-abbot, but all alleged against him is the part taken against Tyndale.

* History of St. Paul's, ed. 1658, p. 61.

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prior left out? Was he less compliant than the others, or had he passed away before the pension list was completed and so spared the sight of the spoliation of his house.

159. For spoliation soon came. The Abbey, the church, and the monastic buildings, with their sites and precincts, and the cemetery, grange, and farm buildings, were granted by the King to that avaricious knight, Sir Thomas Dennis, who not only succeeded in deceiving the monks, pretending to be their friend, and obtaining offices of trust, and of course emolument, from them, but who also by his subserviency and cringing made himself to be well thought of at Court. He was appointed steward for the management of the lands of several religious houses, and the reversion of the same office was granted his son. He also pretended to give valuable advice to the monks in the critical position in which they were placed, in return for which he succeeded in obtaining annuities from many of the abbeys and priories, and so well did he play his game that he succeeded after their dissolution in obtaining confirmation of such annuities from the Augmentation Court. Dr. Oliver well says, "if the mammon of iniquity could confer happiness, this very rich man must have been supremely happy."

160. I have found a curious letter written by him which seems to imply that he had been charged with appropriating lead from the abbey buildings. It is endorsed "Sir Thomas Dennyes as touchinge vj. fodores of lead of the late P'ory of Buckefast." To show that the lead was worth taking a little trouble about, I may mention that a fodder weighed upwards of two thousand pounds.

Sr Thomas Dennyes as touchinge vj Fodores of lead of the late P'ory of Buckefast.

Ryght wurshipfull aft̃ my hartye cõmend doo pseve by Mr Totyll ye be my verye good maist̃ accordyng to trouthe for vj. fodder of leed supposed by Grove Mr Arundell ꝑvaunt that I shulde have the custodi of. Wherfor trouthe I never sawe no suche leed nor ꝑsell therof and yf I had I am sure the mater is not so lyght but he wolde have had for his dischardge a byll of my hand of the recept or some other sufficyent wytnesh to testyfye tho same. I never was at Buckfast but one tyme synnes I dyd purchasse yt therfore yf yt maye please yor maistership & the rest of my maysters in cõyssion wth you to derect a cõyssion in to the countreye to enquyre for the trouthe herof yf then shall appere that I or any one of my Servaunt̃ to my knoledge or consent ever had any parte of the seid leed I wyll promes you by this my wrytting to geve you for everye fodder of leed a c^li & in this

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wyes I trust you shall come to the knoledge of the trouthe & knowe hym to be as he is & I a trewe man good Mr Barnes for youre Jentylnes in this behalfe shoued I shall thynk no lesse but my selff alwayes bounden to gratefye you or any Frynd of yours duryng my lyef wth such plesures as shall lye in my huyll powre as knowethe the hollye Trynite to whome I com̄yt you.

Yours assured
THOM'S DENYS.

To the right Worshipfull master Willyam Barn̄s Esquyer geve this.

(Land Revenue Records, Bund. 1392, File 31, No. 1.)

161. The lead from the roof is also mentioned, with the five bells in the tower of the church, in an inventory dated 29th November, 1555, headed "A brieff Declaraton of all the Bell belonginge to late suppressed & dissolved Monasteries and Pryores in the foresaide counties made by Mathiewe Colthurst esquier late Auditor & Robt. Grove some tyme s'vant to Sr Thomas Arundell Knight, late Receyvo^r^ there, at the comaundyment of Willm Barnes, Thomas Myldemay & John Wiseman Esquiers by their letters unto us directed."

V. Buckfaste xxxiiij^li^. v^s^.

A Brieff Declaracon of all the leadd belonginge to the late Monasteries and P^i^ories [as before].

Buckfast vj foders ccc lib.
remayneng wth the farm s of the said houses as it apereth by report of Edmonde Wynter Esquyer.

(Land Revenue Records, Bund. 1392, File 33, N. 1.)

162. In 1553, besides the abbot, there were six monks still alive and in receipt of pensions, viz., Matthew Preston, John Watts, Richard Taylor, William Avery, and Richard Splate, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* each, and Thomas Sylle, 5*l.**

163. There is little interest in tracing the subsequent history of the Abbey lands. From Sir Thomas Dennis, with the manor of Buckfast, they descended to his son, Sir Robert, whose daughter Margaret is said to have married Sir Arthur Mainwaring.† In 1629, according to Chapple, quoted by Dugdale and Lysons, they were in the possession of Sir Richard Baker, the historian. The property passing to the

* Brown Willis, Hist. Abbeys, vol. ii. p. 60.
† *See* Pole's Collections.

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family of D'Oleys, it was by them dismembered and sold off in parcels. The actual site of the Abbey was purchased by Mr. Berry, by whom it was sold to Mr. William Searle Benthall, and it is now the property of Dr. James Gale, of Dovescourt, Newton Abbot.

164. Before 1806, when the remaining portions of the buildings were almost entirely destroyed, the ruins were very extensive, and, doubtless, the plan could have been made out without difficulty. Westcote and Risdon speak of the "skeleton of a huge body whereby may be conceived what bigness once it bore, whose ruins may move the beholders both to wonder and pity."* Buck's view is dated 1734, but nothing certain can be learnt from it. It appears that the church was as usual chancel, transepts, and long nave, the chapter-house on the south, and the conventual buildings running down towards the river, the normal plan of the Cistercians being followed. (See Buckland Abbey, par 12.)

165. In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1796, Mr. James Laskey gives an account of the ruins, which, although very unsatisfactory to an archæologist, is worth rescuing from the pages of the old periodical. Of course we are not bound to agree with all Mr. Laskey's speculations, some portions of his story being, to say the least, curious.

After saying that the ruins were of great extent and worthy of a more particular description than he could give, the author proceeds:—

"There now remain of this magnificent ruin two arches which appear to have been the entrance, and some ruins on a large scale which we took for the lodge. The arches are situated one behind the other and stand across the road leading from Buckfastleigh to Ashburton; the iron staples for gates to hang on still remain and are of great bigness, which led us to think they were of massy structure. The ruins of what we took to be the lodge stand on the eastern side, its length about twenty paces, breadth eight paces (not being supplied for a minute measurement we were obliged to content ourselves with it thus roughly, taking care to diminish rather than exaggerate). On the same side are several apartments, one of which is inhabited, another is converted into a pound-house, in which stands a moorstone trough of great bulk, for the purpose of breaking apples for the pound. The following measurement I received from a learned gentleman who has paid great attention to these ruins. The diameter of this

* Risdon, p. 152.

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stone is 9 feet 4 inches, depth 3 feet 6 inches, one-half of which is sunk in the ground; the supposed weight before it was hollowed he computes must amount to above 100 tons. It is of the granite kind and affords matter of surprise by what means it was brought there, stones of that quality not being to be found within the distance of many miles; round the abbey being one continued limerock, which is worked at many places to a depth, height, and extent surprising, and forming a vast cavern at once terrific and beautiful, which proves an inexhaustible fund of gain to the owner. The remainder of these ruins are situated in an orchard on the western side of the road, at the bottom of which runs with silent murmur the River Dart, seemingly regretting the downfall of the abbey. The first thing that presents itself, tradition says, was the abbot's cellar, which is entered by a small Gothic gateway and is about twenty-eight paces long and twelve wide arched overhead. * * * *

At one end remain a few steps which led to the ruin above, which our guide told us was the abbot's kitchen; it is now converted into a kitchen garden. At the south end is the skeleton of a set of apartments, which appear to have been the cells of the monks, which was approached by winding steps, fifty-one of which now remain. It is of particular form, having, as well as we could guess, seven sides. The immense bushes of ivy, dropping in rich festoons, almost buried its form. On removing some of these we could plainly observe the holes in which the joists and sleepers rested for support on the flooring, from which we judged the rooms to be about 6 feet in height in the clear, one above the other. These we were told solely belonged to the abbot. Joining this was their court of judicature and judgment seat, and behind a dungeon for those that by their offences were thought worthy of the same. On the north-east side appear the walls and foundation of this once spacious and splendid seat of superstition; the abbey church and the remains of its tower all lying in such massy fragments, that it is scarcely to be conceived by what power so vast a fabrick could be disjointed. The walls appear to be of the thickness of 9 or 10 feet and entirely composed of small stones in layers and a compost of lime and sand, which we supposed to have been thrown on these layers hot, after the method antiently used in such large buildings, which incorporating together formed a mass as solid as the native rock. The ruins of this church appear to be about 250 feet in length, and the ruins of the tower towards the

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south seem like huge and vast rocks piled on one another in extensive confusion—

> by Time's fell hand defac'd,
> The rich proud cost of outworn bury'd age.—*Shakspeare.*"

166. The author then goes on to say that, as stone for building is plentiful in the neighbourhood, the ruins will in all probability continue unmolested for ages; a prophecy unfortunately not fulfilled. (A Ramble on Dartmoor, by J. L. Gentleman's Magazine, 1796, vol. lxvi. p. 194.)

What our author here calls the cellar and the seven-sided building apparently still remain, the latter being what is now called the Abbot's Tower. It is unquestionably a domestic building of some kind, but nothing more certain I think can be said. It is square, of three stories, with a cellar under. In it are fireplaces and garderobes, with a well, and a staircase with landings to every floor; the entrance appears to have been from the south on the first floor.

167. The great barn of the grange remains, and the arches, of apparently an entrance, but the gatehouse is gone. In the lawn on the eastern side of the house graves have been found, and here was probably the cemetery. The foundations of the present house, erected about fifty years since, are said to be upon vaulted work of Early-English character. The greater part of the materials of the old buildings were used in the erection of the adjoining mill, which occupies the site of some of the conventual buildings.

168. The arms of the Abbey are *Sable, a crozier in pale argent, the crook or, surmounted by a stag's head caboshed, of the second, horned gules.* Leland gives a sketch in his Collectanea. I know of two seals only belonging to the Abbey, the first, appended to the surrender deed, is small, and shows the Blessed Virgin Mary and Holy Child under a canopy, with the legend "S. CONVENTUS BUCFESTRIE." The second is a counter-seal of the abbot—in the centre an arm grasping a crozier, the legend "SIGILL. ABB. BUCKFESTA ✠."

169. Let us now see what the various possessions of the Abbey were. To commence with those we find in Domesday, let us try to identify the manors there mentioned. The first paragraph relating to each is a translation from the Exeter Book, the second from the Exchequer Book, see paragraph 69. The first is headed "The Land of the Church of the Abbot of Bulfestre in Devonshire," the second "The Land of the Church of Bucfestre."

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170. PETROCKSTOW. "The abbot has a manor* which is called PETROCESTOVA, which the abbot Aluuin held in that day when King Edward was alive and dead, and it paid geld for one virgate and a half. These can be ploughed by five teams. From thence the abbot has in demesne half a virgate and one plough,† and the villeins one virgate and two ploughs. There the abbot has six villeins and one bordar and two serfs and four oxen‡ [cows?] and twenty sheep, and three furlongs of wood in length and one furlong and a half in breadth, and six acres of meadow and eight furlongs of pasture in length, and five furlongs in breadth, and worth by the year fifteen shillings, and when he received it it was valued at just as much."

"The church of Buckfestre holds PETROCHESTOV. In the time of King Edward it paid geld for one virgate of land and a half. There is land for five ploughs. In demesne is one plough and two serfs, and six villeins, and one bordar with two ploughs. There six acres of meadow pasture eight furlongs long and five furlongs broad. Formerly and now worth fifteen shillings." Exchequer Book.

The name has changed but little during the eight hundred years that have elapsed since the great book was compiled, although it is also known as Stow St. Petrock and Heanton.

The return of the jurors recorded in the Hundred Roll, temp. Edward I. shows that the abbot had a gallows there.

Shortly before the dissolution the Valor§ shows:—

* *Mansionem.* This word properly means a habitation, capital dwelling, plot of ground, on which several houses are built.

† Mr. William Basevi Sanders is of opinion that in Domesday, whenever "*car*" stands alone, it is intended for "*caruca*" or some case of that noun, and that, whenever "*carucata*" is meant to be designated, "*car*" is always followed by "*terræ*," or is written in full. "*Terra est .... car,*" and similar entries should therefore be read as meaning that there was as much arable land as so many ploughs could till.

‡ *Animalia.*

§ This was a survey taken in consequence of Parliament having passed a measure granting to the King the first-fruits of all spiritualities and a tenth of the possessions of the Church. The instructions to the Commissioners, dated 30th January, 1536, were to ascertain the whole and just and yearly value of all possessions, lands, tenements, profits, &c., as well spiritual as temporal, pertaining to any manner of dignity, monastery, church, parsonage, vicarage, or other dignity through England, Wales, Berwick, and Calais.

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Manerium de Patrikstowe:—	£	s.	d.
Redditus assise liberorum tenencium et custumariorum	5	6	11¼
Terrarum bartone	3	1	8
Auxiliorum	0	9	6¾
Operum custumariorum	1	8	0
De finibus terrarum cum perquisitis curie et aliis proficuis ejusdem manerii per annum communibus annis . .	3	2	10½
	13	9	0½
And the Ministers' accounts give:—			
Petrockystowe Reditus tam liberorum quam custumariorum tenentium .	7	4	6
Firma manerii	3	1	8
Perquisita curie	0	3	9
Porcio	1	6	8
and the rector paid £1 6s. 8d. to the abbey.			

The manor appears to have been merged in that of Heanton Sackville in the same parish, and it has descended, as shown by Lysons, with the advowson of the church, to Lord Clinton, whose nephew, the present baron, now enjoys them.

171. AISSA. There are two Ashs mentioned in Domesday as belonging to the Abbey. One is doubtless Ash the village in the parish of South Brent, but the locality of the other is very uncertain.

"The abbot has one manor which is called AISSA, which paid geld for one virgate and a half in that day when King Edward was alive and dead. These can be ploughed by three teams. From thence the abbot has in demesne half a virgate and one plough, and the villeins one virgate and two ploughs. There the abbot has five villeins, and three bordars, and three serfs, and ten oxen, and forty sheep, and six acres of wood and six acres of meadow, and three furlongs of pasture in length and breadth, and it is worth by the year twenty shillings, and, when he received it, it was worth ten shillings."

"The abbot has one manor which is called AISSA, which the abbot Aluuin held in that day in which King Edward was alive and dead, and paid geld for a hide and a half. This ten teams can plough. Thence the abbot has in demesne a virgate and a half and one plough, and the villeins have a hide and a half, a virgate, and five ploughs. There the abbot has eight villeins, and eight bordars, and six serfs, and nine oxen, and sixty-eight sheep, and eleven goats, and three fur-

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longs in length of wood and one in breadth, and four acres of meadow and one mile of pasture in length and a half in breadth, and worth by the year thirty shillings, and, when the abbot received it, it was worth just the same."

"The same church holds AISSE. In the time of King Edward it paid geld for one virgate of land and a half. There is land for five ploughs. In demesne is one plough and three serfs and five villeins, and three bordars with two ploughs. There six acres of meadow and six acres of wood, pasture three furlongs in length and breadth. Formerly ten shillings, now worth twenty shillings." Exchequer Book.

"The same church holds AISSE. In the time of King Edward it paid geld for one hide and a half. There is land for ten ploughs. In demesne is one plough and six serfs, and eight villeins and nine bordars with five ploughs. There four acres of meadow. Pasture one mile [leuca] long and half-a-mile broad; wood three furlongs long and one furlong broad. Formerly and now worth thirty shillings." Exchequer Book.

172. LIME or Limet, as the Exchequer Book has it, I am unable to trace.

"The abbot has one manor which is called LIMÆ, and it paid geld in that day in which King Edward was alive and dead for one hide. This seven teams can plough. Thence the abbot has one virgate and one plough in demesne, and the villeins have three virgates aud six ploughs. There the abbot has ten villeins and fourteen bordars, and four serfs and nine oxen, and four pigs and seventy-two sheep, and four acres of small wood, and three acres of meadow, and it is worth by the year fifty shillings."

"The same church holds LIMET. In the time of King Edward it paid geld for one hide. There is land for eight ploughs. In demesne is one plough and four serfs and ten villeins and fourteen bordars with six ploughs. There three acres of meadow, and four acres of small wood. It is worth fifty shillings." Exchequer Book.

173. DONA, Downe, or Done, is Down St. Mary. The Manor and Water Mill, Barton Estate, Donne and Cliffe Wood, with the advowson and rectory of Downe Church, belonged to the house at its fall. SELE, Zeal Monachorum, is near it, and they are entered in the accounts together. The latter is the manor mentioned in the Hundred Roll as having come to the abbey by the gift of King Cnut.

"THE abbot has one manor which is called DONA, which paid geld for two hides in that day in which King Edward

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was alive and dead. This ten teams can plough. Thence the abbot has in demesne half a hide and one plough and the villeins one hide and a half and five ploughs. There the abbot has twelve villeins, and nine bordars, and seven serfs, and six oxen, and four pigs, and sixty-six sheep, and eight furlongs of small wood, and eight acres of meadow, and twelve acres of pasture, and it is worth by the year three pounds."

"The same church holds DONE. In the time of King Edward it paid geld for two hides. There is land for ten ploughs. In demesne is one plough and seven serfs and twelve villeins and nine bordars with five ploughs. There eight acres meadows and twelve acres of pasture and seven furlongs of small wood. It is worth three pounds." Exchequer Book.

The Valor gives:—

Manerium de Sele et Donne—

	£	s.	d.
Redditus assise liberorum tenencium .	0	17	3½
Custumariorum tenencium . .	15	19	8¼
Terrarum bartone	11	17	9
Firma molendini	1	10	0
De finibus terrarum cum perquisitis curie et aliis proficuis ejusdem manerii per annum communibus annis	6	4	5½
Inde solutum Priori Sancti Johannis Exonie et successoribus suis de quodam annuali redditu per annum	1	10	0
Et remanet clare .	34	19	2¼

And the Ministers' accounts—

	£	s.	d.
Sele et Downe Redditus liberorum tenentium	0	17	3 ob.
Sele Redditus custumariorum tenentium	4	17	4 ob.
Downe Redditus custumariorum tenentium	12	12	4 ob. q.
Sele et Downe Firma certe terre vocate le barton ground	11	17	9
Perquisita Curie	0	8	9
Sele et Downe Porcio de rectorie .	2	13	4

174. TRUSHAM. "The abbot has a manor which is called TRISMA, which paid geld for one hide that day in which King Edward was alive and dead. This four teams can plough.

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Thence the abbot has in demesne one virgate and one plough and the villeins three virgates and three ploughs. There the abbot has four villeins, and nine bordars, and ten serfs, and six oxen, and nine pigs, and one hundred and three sheep, and twenty-two goats, and sixteen acres of wood, and three acres of meadow, and ten of pasture, and it is worth by the year thirty shillings, and when he received it it was worth twenty-five shillings."

"The same church holds TRISMA. In the time of King Edward it paid geld for one hide. There is land for three ploughs. In demesne is one plough and ten serfs and four villeins, and nine bordars with three ploughs. There three acres of meadow and ten acres of pasture and sixteen acres of wood. Formerly twenty-five shillings, now worth thirty shillings." Exchequer Book.

Trisma is Trusham, granted by the King to a Southcote, in whose family it continued for several generations, and is now the property of Sir Lawrence Palk.

The Valor gives:—

Trisme.	£	s.	d.
Redditus assise liberorum tenencium .	0	7	2
Custumariorum tenentium . . .	5	9	0½
Ac terrarum bartone	5	5	7
De quibus terra cum perquisitis curie et aliis proficuis ejusdem manerii per annum communibus annis . .	2	13	7
	13	15	4½

Ministers' Accounts.

Trisme—			
Redditus liberorum tenentium . .	0	7	2
Redditus custumariorum tenentium .	10	14	10 ob.
Porcio	1 lib' cere.		

175. AISERSTONE. "The abbot has one manor which is called HAISERSTONA, which paid geld for one ferling and a-half and three acres in that day in which King Edward was alive and dead. There the abbot has one villein who pays forty pence a year."

"The same church holds AISERSTONE. In the time of King Edward it paid geld for one ferling and a half and three acres of land. There one villein pays forty pence." Exchequer Book.

Aiserstone, it has been suggested, is Ascerton in the parish of Sidmouth, but there is no evidence that I can find, showing that the abbey ever had any land there, and we may find it much nearer the abbey, Staverton being perhaps the place, the monks having a mill there in later years.

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With reference to Staverton the Valor gives :—

Staverton—	£	s.	d.
Molendinum ibidem valet per annum ultra	6	13	4
Solutum decano et capitulo Exoniæ et successoribus suis per annum . .	3	6	8

Ministers' Accounts :—

Stafarton—			
Redditus Molendini . . .	10	0	0

176. HEATHFIELD. "The abbot has a manor which is called HETFELT, which the abbot Aluuin held in that day in which King Edward was alive and dead, and paid geld for two hides. These twelve teams are able to plough; from thence the abbot has in demesne half a hide and one plough, and the villeins have one hide and five ploughs. There the abbot has ten villeins and nine bordars and six serfs, and eleven oxen, and five pigs, and sixty sheep, and sixteen goats, and two acres of small wood, and forty acres of pasture, and it is worth by the year forty shillings, and, when the abbot received it, it was worth thirty shillings."

"The same church holds HETFELD. In the time of King Edward it paid geld for two hides. There is land for twelve ploughs. In demesne is one plough and six serfs, and ten villeins and nine bordars with five ploughs. There forty acres of pasture and two acres of small wood." Exchequer Book.

Hetfelt or Hetfeld or Hethfylde is the manor of Heathfield, in the parish of Aveton Giffard. Here, it is stated in the Hundred Roll, the abbot had a gallows, and consequently power of life and death.

The Valor gives :—

Manerium de Hethfyld—	£	s.	d.
Redditus assise tam liberorum tenentium quam custumariorum . .	17	16	7½
Terrarum bartone	12	9	9
Auxiliorum	1	6	8
Operum custumariorum tenencium .	1	10	1½
De finibus terre cum perquisitis curiæ et aliis proficuis ejusdem manerii per annum communibus annis .	2	1	9
	35	4	11

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Ministers' Accounts.

Hethfylde—	£	s.	d.
Redditus liberorum tenentium . .	4	18	11
Venditio operum cum auxilio tenentium	2	17	7 ob.
Redditus custumariorum tenentium .	7	12	8
Redditus terr' berton' . . .	18	18	10
Perquisita curie	0	1	1

177. BULFESTRA. "The abbot has one manor which is called BULFESTRA, and is the head of the abbacy, and that never paid geld. There the abbot has one smith [or carpenter] and ten serfs, who have two ploughs, and there the abbot has three pigs and one mile in length of wood and a half in breadth."

"BUCFESTRE is the head of the abbacy. It never paid geld. There is one blacksmith and ten serfs, with two ploughs. Wood one mile long and half a mile broad." (Exchequer Book.)

Bulfestre and Bucfestre, of course, stand for the *caput abbatiæ*. At Buckfastleigh there appear to have been four manors, those of Buckfast Abbey, Buckfast, Brooke Mainbow, and Kilbenland. The Earl of Macclesfield and Dr. Gale hold these now, or what portions of them remain.

The Valor gives,

Manerium de Buckfastleigh cum Kelbury.

Redditus assise tam terrarum dominicalium cum pastura bosci circa mancionem dicti monasterii . . .	£	s.	d.
	8	0	0
Ac piscaria de Dert	1	0	0
Quam liberorum tenencium . .		4	6
Ac custumariorum tenencium . .	50	0	11
Firma molendini	4	0	0
Incrementum redditus . . .	2	7	4
Finis terre	4	1	0½
Ac perquisita curie per annum communibus annis	1	18	7½
	71	12	5

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. Manerium de Kylbury.

	£	s.	d.
Redditus assise tam liberorum tenencium quam custumariorum cum molendino ibidem valet per annum.	18	15	9½

Maynebowe.

Redditus assise tam liberorum tenencium quam custumariorum tenencium	2	2	9
De finibus terre cum perquisitis curie et aliis proficuis ejusdem manerii per annum communibus annis . .	1	14	3½
	3	17	0½

Ministers' Accounts.

Buckfastleigh. Scitus cum terris pratis pascuis et pasturis	11	3	6
Redditus liberorum tenentium . .	0	4	6
Redditus custumariorum tenentium .	30	1	7
Firma duorum molendinorum aquat' granat'	4	0	1
Kenynton, alias Lowertowne. Redditus custumariorum tenentium . .	20	8	11 ob.
Buckfastleigh. Perquisita curie .	6	6	8
Kylbury. Redditus liberorum tenentium	0	0	1 ob.
Redditus custumariorum tenentium .	20	12	0
Maynbow. Redditus liberorum tenentium	1	4	0
Redditus custumariorum tenentium .	0	18	4
Perquisitæ curie	0	2	4
Buckfastleigh. Porcio . . .	0	16	8
„ „ Firma Rectorie .	11	13	4

178. NOTONA. "The abbot has one manor which is called NOTONA, which the Abbot Alwin held in that day in which King Edward was alive and dead, and it paid geld for two hides. These ten teams are able to plough. From thence he has half a hide and one plough in demesne and the villeins one hide and a half and five ploughs. There the abbot has nine villeins and twelve bordars and six serfs and four oxen and three pigs and seventy sheep, and two furlongs of wood in length and one in breadth, and two acres of meadow and

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twenty acres of pasture. This is worth forty shillings, and when the abbot received it thirty shillings."

"The same church holds NOTONE. In the time of King Edward it paid geld for two hides. There is land for ten ploughs. In demesne is one plough and six serfs and nine villeins and twelve bordars with five ploughs. There two acres of meadow and twenty acres of pasture. Wood two furlongs long and one broad. Formerly thirty shillings, now worth forty shillings." (Exchequer Book.)

To this place we can assign no modern name.

179. CHEREFORDA *may* be Churstowe, although this is only a guess.

"The abbot has one manor which is called Chereforda, which the Abbot Alwin held in that day in which King Edward was alive and dead, and paid geld for one hide. This eight teams are able to plough. From thence the abbot has one virgate and one plough in demesne and the villeins three virgates and three ploughs. There the abbot has seven villeins and six bordars and four serfs and six oxen and forty-four sheep and two acres of meadow and twenty acres of pasture. This is worth thirty shillings, and when the abbot received it twenty shillings."

"The same church holds CHEREFORD. In the time of King Edward it paid geld for one hide. There is land for eight ploughs. In demesne is one plough and four serfs and seven villeins and six bordars with three ploughs. There two acres of meadow and twenty acres of pasture. Formerly twenty shillings, now thirty shillings." (Exchequer Book.)

The Valor gives,

Manerium de Churchstowe—

	£	s.	d.
Redditus assise liberorum tenencium .	2	14	8¼
18 libre cere et dimidium			
Custumariorum tenencium . .	17	7	8
Terrarum dominicalium . . .	21	0	0
De finibus terre cum perquisitis curie et aliis proficuis ejusdem manerii per annum communibus annis .	3	13	5½
	£44	15	9¾

18 libre cere et dim.

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Kyngesbrigg—	£	s.	d.
Redditus assise liberorum tenencium et convencionariorum . . .	8	8	0½
Firma molendinorum . . .	3	6	8
Exitus mercatorum et nundinarum .	5	0	0
Ac perquisita curie per annum communibus annis	0	18	0
Inde solutum Philippo Champernon militi et heredibus suis pro redditu gurgitis molendini fixati super terram suam apud Dodbrooke per annum	0	2	0
Et remanet clare .	£17	10	8½

Ministers' Accounts.

Churstowe—	£	s.	d.
Redditus tam liberorum quam custumariorum tenentium . . .	3	3	2 q.
Kyngesbrigge—			
Redditus custumariorum tenentium .	9	1	8
Exitus mercat' sive nundinarum .	5	6	8
Redditus liberorum tenentium . .	4	4	8 ob.
Perquisita curie	0	18	6
Churchstowe cum capella de Kingsbridge—Firma rectorie . . .	32	14	6

180. BRENT. "The abbot has one manor which is called BRENTA, which the abbot Alwin held in that day in which King Edward was alive and dead, and paid geld for two hides. These ten teams can plough. From thence the abbot has half a hide and one plough in demesne, and the villeins one hide and a half and five ploughs. There the abbot has ten villeins, and eight bordars, and five serfs, and fourteen oxen, and fifty-five sheep, and five acres of wood, and four acres of meadow, and thirty acres of pasture. This is worth forty shillings, and when the abbot received it thirty shillings."

"The abbot has one manor which is called BRENTA, which the abbot held in that day in which King Edward was alive and dead, and paid geld for two hides. This six teams are able to plough. Thence the abbot has half a hide and one plough in demesne, and the villeins one hide and a half and three ploughs. There the abbot has eight villeins and six bordars, and four serfs and eleven oxen, and seventy sheep, and thirty

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goats, and one mile of wood in length and one furlong in width, and two acres [of meadow]* and one mile of pasture in length and a half in breadth. This is worth thirty shillings, and when the abbot received it twenty shillings."

"The same church holds BRENTA. In the time of King Edward it paid geld for two hides. There is land for ten ploughs. In demesne is one plough and five serfs, and ten villeins and eight bordars with five ploughs. There four acres of meadow and four acres of wood, and thirty acres of pasture. Formerly thirty shillings, now worth forty shillings."

"The same church holds BRENT. In the time of King Edward it paid geld for two hides. There is land for six ploughs. In demesne is half a plough and four serfs, and eight villeins and six bordars with three ploughs. There two acres of meadow, pasture one mile long and half a mile broad, wood one mile long and one furlong broad. Formerly twenty shillings, now thirty shillings." (Exchequer Book.)

The two Brentas stand for manors, both probably in the parish of South Brent. The Brent property appears in the Valor and Ministers' accounts, as under:—

The Valor gives,

Manerium de Brent.	£	s.	d.
Redditus assise liberorum tenentium .	8	6	7¾
Et custumariorum tenencium . .	87	17	3
Firma molendini	6	16	8
Piscaria	0	3	4
Incrementum redditus . . .	9	17	6½
De finibus terrarum cum perquisitis curie et aliis proficuis ejusdem manerii per annum communibus annis .	11	5	2½
	121	6	7¾

Ministers' Accounts.

Brent. Redditus liberorum tenentium manerii	8	17	3
Redditus custumariorum et conventionariorum tenentium . . .	102	15	7 q.
Brent. Porcio de vicarie . . .	0	4	0
Brent. Firma rectorie . . .	18	2	10

181. I have now been through the whole of the land mentioned in Domesday, and shown as nearly as possible that it continued to be held down to the time of the Dissolution.

* Omitted, but see Exchequer Book.

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Besides the above the Abbey held some other land scattered through the county, mentioned thus :—

In hundreto Mertone . . . . Abb de Bulfestra i virgā. Fol. 65b., p. 59.

In hundreto chridiatone . . . De his ht' Osbuūs epš iiii. hid & dim. & abbas de bulfestra dim' hida. Fol. 66b, p. 60.

In hundredo Taintone . . . . et abbas bulfestrensis fertium [ferlium ?] & dim'. Fol. 69b, p. 64.

In hundredo dippeford . . . . et abbas bulfestrensis ii. hid. Fol. 69b, p. 65.

182. Of course the property had greatly increased in value since Domesday, but that was owing to the general progress of the country, and the care bestowed upon it by its owners, but it cannot fail to be noticed that the additions made during the time between the Great Survey and the Dissolution were few and unimportant. They were, following still the Valor and Ministers' Accounts, as follows :—

183. PALSTON, in South Brent, probably belonged to one of the Domesday manors, thus mentioned in the Valor:—

	£	s.	d.
Redditu bertone ibidem per annum .	3	0	0

And in the Ministers' Accounts—

Redditus terrarum dominicalium vocat' Palston	3	0	0

184. ENGLEBURNE, Ingleborne, or Engelbourne, is in the parish of Harberton. It was leased by Gabriel Donne to Sir Phillip Champernowne for a term of sixty years, and subject to this was sold by the Crown. About the end of the last century it was divided into parcels and sold.

Valor.

Manerium de Engleburne.

	£	s.	d.
Redditus assise liberorum tenencium .	0	9	0
1 libra cere.			
Custumariorum tenencium in Totnes, Aisheberyngton, Churston, quam Engleburne predicta . . .	10	7	2
et 1 libra cere.			
Ac terrarum bartone . . .	5	13	4
De finibus terrarum cum perquisitis curie et aliis proficuis ejusdem manerii communibus annis . .	2	5	0½
	18	14	6½
2 libre cere.			

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Ministers' Accounts.

Engleburne—	£	s.	d.
Redditus liberorum tenentium . .	0	12	1
Redditus tam custumariorum quam conventionariorum tenentium . .	11	0	6
Firma manerii	5	13	4

185. Bromston or Brownston is a manor in the parish of Modbury and was given to the abbey by John de Morville. On the Dissolution Sir Thomas Dennis secured this for himself.

Valor.

Brounston—			
Redditus assise custumariorum tenencium ibidem per annum . . .	5	1	0½
1 par. cirotecarum.			

Ministers' Accounts.

Bromston—			
Redditus assise	5	0	10 ob.

186. Bottoxburgh, Bottokysburgh, or Battisborough, is a manor in the parish of Holbeton.

Valor.

Bottokysburgh—			
Redditus assise liberorum tenencium .	1	15	5½
Custumariorum tenencium . .	6	6	8
Terrarum bartone	12	5	4
Firma molendini	2	0	0
Ac perquisita curie per annum communibus annis	0	5	3½
	22	12	9

Ministers' Accounts.

Bottoxburgh—			
Redditus liberorum tenentium . .	1	15	5 ob.
Redditus conventionariorum tenentium	7	9	0
Firma capitalis mesuagii . . .	13	3	0
Perquisita curie	0	4	8

187. Chyscombe was a piece or parcel of land in the parish of Dene Prior, of the yearly value of 6s. 8d. both in the Valor and the Ministers' Accounts.

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188. At SPYCHEWYKE, in the manor of the same name, in the parish of Widdecombe, the abbey had two tenements returned at an annual rent of 28s. both in the Ministers' Accounts and in the Valor.

189. NORTH BOVEY. Here was a tenement included in the Valor and Ministers' Accounts as producing an annual rent of 10s.

190. HOO or Hooe, in the parish of Plymstock, described in the Valor as being below the parish of Plympton. Here was a tenement entered in both accounts as being worth 8s. per annum.

191. PLYMPTON. Here the Abbey had a garden, the rent being returned in the Ministers' Accounts and Valor at 5s. yearly.

192. EXETER. Like most of the other abbeys, Buckfast had a house in the city for the residence of the abbot, the successive owners of which are traced by Dr. Oliver. In the Valor and Ministers' Accounts it is entered as producing only 6d. per annum for firewood. The reason of this probably was, that it had been leased for a money payment, this small amount being reserved. It was not until 1543 that the King disposed of it.

193. BICATON, a village in the parish of Broadhempston, according to Oliver, belonged to the house, but I have not met with any mention of it in any original document, nor does the name or parish occur in either the Valor or Ministers' Accounts.

194. We also find enumerated in the Valor the usual payments made out of the annual revenue, amounting to £15 16s. There was a corrody of £3 per annum to James Knottysford.

195. The spiritualities, which are entered separately, amount with the pensions paid to £68 14s. 3d. and one pound of wax from the Rectory of Petrockstow.

196. Taking then the figures as they stand in the Valor, we find that the total annual income of the Abbey in 1534 was—

1534. 26 Hen. VII. cap. 3.

	£	s.	d.
Rents, &c. . . .	430	19	7¾
Spiritualities . . .	68	14	3
	499	13	10¾
out of which payments—			
Temporalities . 15 16 0			
Spiritualities . 17 6 8			
	33	2	8
	£466	11	2¾

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Thus leaving the total nett income £466 11s. 2¾d., besides twenty pounds of wax and one pair of gloves, an income larger than any other Cistercian house in Devon. And yet, unlike some monastic establishments, there appears to have been no greed of wealth, no undue accumulation of riches; the monks did their best with their land, and often had, as we have seen, to struggle to maintain their rights; but in the centuries which elapsed between the Conquest and the Dissolution it cannot be said that they had been covetous; and the sneer of Richard Cœur de Lion, when he told Fulke that of his three daughters, Covetousness, Pride, and Lust, he would bestow the first upon the white monks, could not apply to the monks of Buckfast.

197. Besides being the chief farmers of the day, the Cistercians were great promoters of the industrial arts. It has recently been discovered that the Cistercians were the predecessors of the ironmasters of the nineteenth century, the monks of Kirkstead and Louth Park Abbey having promoted iron-mining and smelting, and carried on the work on an extensive scale.

Rather than covetous, the Cistercians should be called thrifty and industrious, developing the resources of the neighbourhood in which they settled, and endeavouring to make two blades of grass grow where only one grew before. It would be a pleasant task, and the results valuable, to trace out the various occupations in which these monks engaged, and what effects their labours have had upon the commercial and agricultural interests of the country.

198. Buckfastleigh owes what prosperity it has to the monks of Buckfast, for the Cistercians were the great wool traders of the times in which they lived, and the owners of the large mills, some of which are built up with the materials of the Abbey and its belongings, are but carrying out in the same locality, in other ways, the work of former years.

> You may break, you may shatter the vase if you will,
> But the scent of the roses will cling round it still;

and so, when we use the "Abbot's Way" across the breezy moor, we think of those busy men who often trod it, and carried their merchandise along it; and when we follow the "Monk's Path" by the Dart, flowing on as it did long years ago,

> Giving a gentle kiss to every sedge,
> It overtaketh in its pilgrimage;

the lives of those who prayed and laboured, laboured and

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prayed, hard by, must occupy our thoughts, and "Abbot's Way" and "Monk's Path," and the moor and the river, tell us more, and do more to keep alive the memory, of the old dwellers in the Abbey of Bulfestre, than the few scanty remains of the buildings which they raised.

APPENDIX (A).

List of the Abbots of Buckfast.

Name.	Approx. date.	Authorities.
Alwine . . .	1066	Domesday Book.
Eustachius . .	1143	Archives Dean and Chapter, Exeter
William . . .	1196	Foundation Deed, Torr Abbey.
Nicholas . . .	1207?	Grant to John Lambrith.
Michael . . .	1225	Pedes Finium Henry III.
William . . .	1246	Coll. Sir William Pole, B.M.
Howell . . .	1247	Oliver.
Durandus . . .	1258	Oliver.
Henry . . .	1268	Coll. Sir William Pole, B.M.
Simon . . .	1272	Episcopal Registers, Exeter.
Robert . . .	1280	Do. do.
Peter . . .	1290	Agreements with Hubernford and others, &c.
Robert . . .	1316	Episcopal Registers.
Stephen . . .	1330	Do. do.
John de Churstowe .	1332	Do. do.
William Giffard. .	1333	Do. do.
Philip . . .	1349	Do. do.
Robert Simons . .	1358	Do. do.
William Paderston .	1395	Do. do.
William Slade . .	1400	Do. do.
William Beaghe .	1415	Do. do.
Thomas Rogger .	1432	Do. do.
John Ffychet . .	1440	Do. do.
John Matthu . .	1449	Do. do.
John Kynge . .	1483	Will of Ambrose Franke.
John Rede . .	1498	Episcopal Registers.
St. Clere Pomeroy? .		See par. 149.
Alfred Gille . .	1512	Episcopal Registers.
John Rede . .	1525	Do. do.
Gabriel Donne . .	1537	Do. do.

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APPENDIX (B).

The following documents are printed (from transcripts made for me from the originals in the British Museum) as they stand, with the contractions and errors. I have thought it best to adopt this course with all the documents throughout this paper, the greater part of which are printed for the first time.

Sloane MS. No. 513. (fo. 210b.)

Anno Dñi M^mo ⁊c̃. In crastino p^rificacõis Bẽ Marie v^rg̃ cõpleta visi^ne in mo^ꝫ sꝫio de B. ꝑ preȝ Abbatē statuta sūt ea q̃ secūt^r f^rmiꝫ obꝫvanda. In p^imis statuit^r Anno Dñi ⁊c̃. Nos Fr̃ R. dc̃us Abbas—visitantes filam nr̃am Abbaciā de B. statuim^q ⁊ ꝑcipim^q ea q̃ seqūt^r inviolabiliꝫ obꝫvāda In p^is statuđ dec^evim^q ⁊c̃. Et in fine sigillū visitator appo^ꝫ t^r Qñ aliq̧ officiū tēꝑale iniūgi^ꝫ ¶ Mo^ꝫ cho alic^i vł ꝯvso ꝑ Abƀm suū h^o juramentū sƀ sc^iptū tenea^r ꝑstar̃ corā Abƀe suo ⁊ senioribȝ de cōventu ꝑ cōstitucões Dñi Bñđci pape xij^mi.

¶ Juramentū.

Ego fr̃ R mo^ꝫ ch^q vł ꝯvsus Moñ de B. orđis Cist̃ juro ꝑ ī^ta sc̃a Dĩ ev^ꝫ nge^ꝫ q̧ ab ī^to die in antea in offo m^i ꝑ vos Abƀem meū cōmisso ⁊ ī oĩbȝ ⁊ sin^l m^i in offo ꝑdc̃o cōmiss̃ fideliꝫ me ħebo ⁊ q̧ de p^iciis reddãibȝ f^ꝫ ctibȝ seu ꝑvētibȝ quibȝcūȝ inde ꝑveīentibȝ ⁊ expñsis quociēs ⁊ qñ ꝑ Abƀeȝ meū requisit^q fuo fidelē ꝯpotū reddã ꝑt Ds̃ m^i ded^ꝯit ⁊ poꝫo ⁊ reliq^ꝫ quecūȝ supfuīt Mo^ꝫ sꝫio vł bursario h^q Moñ mei integ^ꝫ liꝫ assignabo s^c me Ds̃ adjuvet ⁊ ista sc̃a Dĩ Ev^ꝫ ngelia.

¶ Juramentū novic̃orę.

¶ Ego fr̃ N cłicus juro ꝑ ista sc̃a Dĩ ev^ꝫ nge^a q̧ ab isto die in antea nullū apponā repugnacõis obstacłm ūłłm ꝑc^rabo defencõis ꝑsidm̃ q̃m ad jussiõm Abƀis mei offa si qua m^i committēt^r in fut^ro dimittā absȝ ꝯ^ꝫ diccõne q^ꝫ cūȝ sic me Ds̃ adjuvet ⁊c̃.

Quiliȝ novici^q in ordĩe Cist̃ petens instanꝫ ut ꝑfessiom̃ suā faciat inf^ꝫ annū ꝑbõis sue ⁊ si cōced^r ei sic̃ licite pt̃ ut ex^ꝫ de relig̃ ⁊ t^ꝫ nsit̃ ad religiõm c^o ad ap̃licam Tūc pret̃ ⁊ faciat ins^iptā renūciacõm in cn^o corā Abƀe suo ⁊ cōventu.

Ꝑfessio Monachorę.

Ego fr̃ R cłicus Exorcista Accolit^q sƀdiacon^q ł sac̃dos ꝑmitto stabilitē meā ⁊ cōvsiom̃ morę meorę ⁊ obedien^az s^m regłaȝ sc̃i Bñdc̃i orđis Cist̃ corā Dõ ⁊ omĩbȝ sc̃is ej^q quorę

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reliquie hic hñt^r in hoc loco qui voca^r Bucfast ord̄ Cist̄ constructo in hoñe beatissime Dē genitricis semp ip^q ꝟginis Marie in ꝑsencia dñi Witti Abb̄is.

¶ Juramentū Abb̄is.

Ego fr̄ N et'cus Abb̄s h^q Moñ b̄e Marie de B juro ꝑ ista sc̄a Dī evn̄ge^a ꝑ me tacta q̄ possessiones reddit^q ⁊ jura mobilia ⁊ īmobilia isti^q Moñ nō vendā n^c alienabo vł impignorabo nez de novo infeodabo nc ꝑ aī modum donabo n^t q̄tenus statutū Pape Bñdc̄i ⁊ jura ordis mei ꝑmittūt s^c me Dš adjuvet ⁊ ista sc̄a Dī Evn̄ge^a ꝑ me tacta ⁊ ꝟacit̄ osculata.

Juramentū scolaris mittendi ad studiū.

Ego fr̄ N et'cus scolaris huj^q Moñ be M^e de B ord̄is Cist̄ juro ꝑ ista sc̄a Dī evn̄ge^a q̄ ab isto die in antea c9^a com̄ ord̄is mei p^ivilegia lib̄tates ⁊ appbatas 9suetudiēs atqz statuta a^id clam vł palā ꝑ me ł ꝑ aliū attemptar̄ impet̄re seu ⁊ in a^co illicite sive ꝑtve c9̄ire nō ꝑsumā uñ ꝑdc̄us ordo meus in ꝑte vł in toto dampnū a^tscādalū inc̄rer̄ valeat vł ḡvamen s^e me Dš ⁊c.

Juramentū scolaris ꝑmovēdi ad ḡdū scolasticum.

Ego fr̄ N Monachus ⁊ scolaris Moñ bē Me de Bucfast̄ ord̄is Cist̄ juro ꝑ ista sc̄a Dī ev̄nge^a qz cū ad bac̄lar̄ vł Magist̄tū theologice facultat̄ ꝑveñ c9̄ instituta ord̄is mei p^ivilegia ⁊ lib̄tates a^id in fut^ris nō attēptabo ꝑ me ł ꝑ aliū seu alios n^c quocūz doloso color̄ quesito ꝑc^rabo seu ꝑ me ꝑc^rari paciar īpetrando q̄ instituta ⁊ lib̄tates ord̄is mei añdc̄i Nec eidm̄ ꝑsumā vł ⁊ ꝑc^rabo ꝑ me vł ꝑ aliū clam vł palā inf^inge seu q^omodoliz alias inpugr̄ s^e me Dš ⁊c.

Juramentū Monachi vocati ad cōsiliū Abbatis.

Ego fr̄ N. Mo̅ch̄ ⁊ ꝑfessus Moñ bē Me de B. ord̄is Cist̄ juro ꝑ i^ta sc̄a Dī ev̄nge̅ q̄ secretū ⁊ consiliū q̄cūz m^i per vos Abb̄m meū vł aliū seu alios noīe vr̄o jā revelandū fideli̅ tenebo atz ꝟvabo nc id ullaten^q in post̄ū alic^i vł a^id p̄t̄ conscīaz vr̄az ꝑ me n^c ꝑ aliā seu ꝑ alios q^oscūz revelabo nez denudabo n^c ⁊ revelar̄ seu denudar̄ faciam vł ꝑcurabo sic me dš ⁊c.

Jurame̅t Monachi m^tēdi ad curiā Ro̅nā ꝑ nego^ia dom^q.

Ego fr̄ N. Mo̅ch^q ⁊ ꝑfess^q h^q Moñ b̄e Me de B. juro ꝑ ista sc̄a Dī ev̄nge̅ ꝑ me corꝑat tacta q̄ nego^a dñi mei Abb̄is ⁊ dc̄e Mo̅stii mei 9missa ⁊ cōm^tenda fide^t in cur̄ ro̅na ꝑseq̄r ⁊ ꝑ posse meo difnr ꝑmovebo cū exacta diligencia ac p^ecuniaz

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m^i deliƀandā in usus ⁊ utili^tez dc̃orꝭ negociorꝭ m^i cōmissorꝭ ⁊ com̃ittēdoꝝ ⁊ nō in alios vsus frivilos expendā ꝗqꝫ ūllam ĩp et^ꝛ cōm in đcā cur̃ v̄l alibi ꝑ me v̄l ꝑ aliū seu alios faciā v̄l ƒi ꝑcu^ꝛbo q̃ tend⁹ pot̃it ad inc^e mentū honorꝭ seu status đci đni mei abƀis v̄l mei a^t cꝯliꝫ de cōventu sive Moñ me p̃iudiciū v̄l ruinā q^o vism^o ac ⁊ inf^ꝛ t^i duū advent^q mei p^i mo ad đcaꝫ cur̃ g̃n̄ali ꝑcu^ꝛtori orđis mei si ei^q cop̃iā ħer̃ potuo me fideliť p̃ntabo s^c me đs ⁊c.

Juramēť Mo^ꝛcħ ł cꝯv̄si dir^c ti ad cur̃ ro^ꝛna ꝑ absolucōe.

Ego fr N. Mo^ꝛch^q ⁊ ꝑfessus h⁹ Mo^ꝛst^ii de B. iuro ꝑ ista sc̃a đi ev^ꝛng^a ꝗ cas⁹ quē stimulante ꝯsc̃ia meā đno meo abƀi exposui ⁊ ꝑ q^o ad ẽnđm sedē ap̃licā ťiam ab eo petivi v̄⁹ est ⁊ v̄aciť m^i accidit ūllo simulacōis v̄l fraudis color̃ ꝑmixto ⁊ ꝗ ꝑ tēꝑe quo ex^ꝛ đcm Moñ meū ex causa p̃đca fuo itin̄atu^ꝛs mansurus v̄l q^o m^o cūꝫ moraturus nullū ōio actū v̄l inst^u mentū seu a^i d a^n d q̃cūꝫ ñoie censeat^ꝛ cꝯ^ꝛ p^i vilegia orđis mei añđci v̄l statuta a^t cꝯsuetudīes appbatas eiusđm ꝑ me v̄l ꝑ alios seu aliū ꝑcu^ꝛbo a^t alias arte v̄l ingenio impetrabo ꝗ in p̃iudiciū a^c⁹ ꝑsone cꝯcūꝫ stat⁹ digni^te v̄l condic̃ois existat v̄l g^ꝛvamen ac ⁊ inf^ꝛ t^i duū p⁹ advētū meū p^i mo ad cur̃ ro^ꝛnā g̃n̄ali ꝑcu^ꝛtori orđis mei si cop̃iā iꝑi⁹ ħer̃ poťo me fideliť presentabo s^c me đs ⁊c̃.

Obligac̃o recipiendi in Noviciū.

Ego N. de cťicus Exorcista accloit⁹ s̃bdiacon⁹ diacon⁹ v̄l sac̃dos đio instinctu motus cupiens vitam Mo^ꝛchalem duc̃e in isto Moñ ƀe Me de B. orđis Cisť Exoñ dioc̃ obligo me đo ⁊ ƀe M^e s̃ꝑ v̄g̃i đi genit^i ci ac ōibꝫ s̃cis ⁊ pať abba ꝗ die m^i limitato tonsurā ⁊ ħitū noviciorꝝ in isto đco Moñ v̄aciť assumā ac integrū annū ꝑbac̃onis mee v̄l q̃ntū in h^o a reg̃la s̃ci ƀnđci fuit indultū fideliť ꝑimplebo s̃^m for^a m orđis añđc̃i.

¶ Peticio novicij in Capitulo.

Dñe peto instanť ⁊ ħmł⁹ supplico q̃ten⁹ valeam a vobis recipi ad facienđ ꝑfessĩom meā in isto Moñ de B. ad s̃vienđ đo ⁊ sc̃is eius hic inť vos in ħitu Monachali scđm reg̃lam s̃ci ƀnđci orđis Cisť ad ťminū vite mee s̃^m legem đi ⁊ v̄ra documenta. ¶ Tūc exponat illi abbas auriciā orđis vt est modus.

¶ Renūciac̃o.

Ego frať Ric̃ eťct⁹ Novicius in isto Moñ ƀte Marie de Bukfast orđis Cisť đio instīctu motus cupiens ordinem monasticū in isto p̃đco Moñ s̃^m reg̃laꝝ s̃ci ƀndicti solempniť ꝑfiťi in

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s̃bsidū novicijs religiosis de iure indultū nōvi n^c metu induct⁹ sȝ p̃e sponte sīpli^t⁹ ⁊ absolute residuo đcti anni ꝑbac̃onis mee in hijs sc^iptꝭ renūc̃o ⁊ peto instant̃ me recipi ad ꝑfessīom p̃đcam faciendam s̃^m for^ᵃ^m ordinis anteđci.

Ĩtm cū refrigescente devoc̃one m̃ltoꝝ pauce ꝑso^c ꝑth dolor ad cꝯṽsiōem vēiant hijs diebꝝ vñ in nõullis mūdi ꝑtibꝝ monast̃ia ñri orđis magnū paciūt^ᵃ defectū ꝑsonaꝝ ꝑpt̃ q̃d cult⁹ điu⁹ minuit^ᵃ ⁊ monasteria ip̃a in tēꝑalibȝ magnā sustineāt lesionē vt autē de receptis novicijs cici⁹ adiuvet^ᵃ ca^m ge^le diffi^va alias editā de novijs ante annū ꝑbac̃ois finit̃ū ad ꝑfessionē solempnē admittens ip̃is qȝ b̃ndicēdis vsqȝ ad revocac̃oem ꝑdurandū ꝑrogat ⁊ renovat sic tamēq; ip̃i novici' añq^ᵃ^m b̃ndicāt^ᵃ sciant psalt̃iū ⁊ ea que de ñccitate sūt sciēda ⁊ q̃rtūdecimū sue etatis cōpleṽint ⁊ residuo t̃ꝑis anni sue ꝑbacõis de f̃co renūcient exp̃sse vt pꝝ sup^a. Ista diffinic̃o compilata fuat anno đni Mill̃imo ccc lxxiij apud Cist̃ ī c^o ge^li.

212 b. Reṽendo ī x^o p̃ri ac đno đno E. đi gr̃a Exoñ Ep̃o sui ħmiles ⁊ devoti filij Abb̃s ⁊ Convent⁹ Monast̃ij Bukfestr̃ orđis Cist^e ciensis Exoñ dioc̃ reṽencias tanto p̃ri debitas cū honor̃ Reṽende pat̃nitati ṽre. J. b. accolitū virum liberū ⁊ legit^m boneqȝ cōṽsac̃ois ⁊ honeste ṽre dioc̃ p̃sentam⁹ ħmilit̃ supplicātes ⁊ devote q̃tinꝯ eūdē. J. ad om̃s sacros ordīes ꝑ sac^ᵃ^rū manuū ṽraꝝ īposic̃oem cari^tꝭ ītuitu ꝑmoṽe dig̃ei. On⁹ a^c ꝑmoc̃ois sive ꝑvisõis eiusđ ī nos ⁊ successores ñros to^a^tr suscipim⁹ vos autē successor̃sqȝ ṽros ī hac ꝑte īdēpnes cōs̃var̃ ꝑmittim⁹ ꝑ p̃ntes. In c⁹ rei test̃ioꝝ sigillū ñrꝝ c̃oe ē app̃.

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APPENDIX (C).

Sloane MSS. No. 513, fo. 213.

In visitacõne faciēda p° dȝ Abbas visi^tat p̄munir̃ visitanđ sc^ibendo s^i vł ej^q locū tenēti de te^e advēt^q sui cã visi^is celebñde P^u g̃^i die visi^is añq̧^ꝫ intret ca^m dȝ p̄munir̃ Abƀm ł ej^q P^iorem dom^q ⁊ p° intr̃ eccm^ꝫ ad vigi^as vł ad p^imam ut filii sui s^i obediat̃ magꝭ devote. Intñs g̃ ca^m post lc̃om regłe ꝑlectā dicto ut mor̃ c̃ ƀndi^te sƀjūgat Carissĩ fr̃es ⁊ filii later̃ vos nō dȝ cã instant̃ advēt^q nr̃i q^iliȝn pat̃ Abbas ꝑ^t scit̃ꝭ s̃ statuta orđis tene^r annuatī ꝑ se ł ꝑ aliū singła Mos^ꝫ̃tia s^i im̃e^te sƀjecta visitar̃ ⁊ ea q̃ īvenit corigēda zelo đi ⁊ orđis tā in sp̄ualibȝ q^ꝫ in corꝑalibȝ emēdar̃ Ad h° g^i vẽi ut actū visi^is ꝑficiā ī vobis dïa g^ꝫtia dirigēte ⁊ qȝ c^ȝtā form^ꝫ ī hac ꝑte ħem^q mutādā iō s^ꝫgat cātor ⁊ legat corā vobis Deiñ ꝑte^ꝫ carta visi^is ⁊ lega^r tūc ꝑlect̃ꝭ diffinibȝ legēdis dicat visitator. Ecce ƙmi vos audistā bonā inforc^ꝫõm noƀ a sc̃is p̃ribȝ nr̃is t^ꝫditā q^ꝫbr̃ nos ⁊ vos ħem^q ꝑced^ȝe ī p̄nti visitacõe nr̃a ⁊ īō do^e Abba debetꝭ fr̃es vr̃os rogar̃ p̄ciꝑe ⁊ moner̃ ut ea q̃ corigēda novint puplice ł p^ivatī noƀ suggerant ⁊ ꝑponant sꝯ form^ꝫ corā noƀ lectam Postq̧^ꝫ v° Abbas fec^ȝit moïcõm suā Dicat visitator ⁊ nos autori^te p̃rna q^ꝫ fūgim^r ī hac ꝑte voƀ õibȝ ⁊ sin^l p̄cipim^q ī hac ꝑte ī v^rtute s̃ce obedi^e q^ꝫtin^q veïatꝭ ad nos puplice ł p^ivatī ꝑ meli^q indicavitꝭ faciēd ⁊ oñdatꝭ ea q̃ corigēda sūt ī mos^ꝫ̃tio ī sp̃ualibȝ ⁊ tēꝑalibȝ tā ī capite q^ꝫ in mēb^is ꝑtestam^r qȝ vobis ꝑ ꝑte nr̃a qȝ q^icq̧^i nobis caritatie suggestū fu^ȝit ⁊ ex bono sp̃u ꝑati sum^q id effica^te emēdar̃ p̃^t Ds̃ mĩstv^ꝫerit gt^ꝫiā ⁊ ip̃i^q ⁊ orđis honorē aïarꝭ vr̃arꝭ salutē paceqȝ ⁊ utilitеȝ oñĩū ī cõr̃ Tūc dicat visitator volum^q p^q ca^m visitar̃ officia ĩõ vos officiales sitꝭ in officiis vr̃is ⁊ vos P^ior ꝑvideatꝭ de Frĩbȝ q^i vadāt nobiscū ⁊ p^q novā ħebitꝭ ꝑliamētū Insuꝑ durāte visitacõe res^ȝvam^q in man^q nr̃as pulsacõm ad p^imā ⁊ ad ca^m ⁊ ꝑhibem^q ne a^io Mo^ꝫch^q de Monast̃io se absentet sñ licen^ꝫ nr̃a sp̃ali ⁊ q̧ opus bonū inciꝑe dȝ cū or̃one ut finē meliorē ħeat in effcu iō ut pñs act^q nr̃e visi^is meli^q ꝑspe^ꝫ dice^q ī p^in° veni cr̃ sp̃c pr̃ nr̃ ave et colłca Accõnes nr̃as ⁊c.

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De comissar̃

Qñ comissariꝰ visitat dicat loqͨmr de orđie nr̃o dem̃ s̃bjūgat k̃i vos scitꝛ cāȝ advētꝰ nr̃i Venimus sṽ vocati sumꝰ ad moͨ-sꝺiū istud ꝑ comissiom̃ pr̃is vr̃i dñi vȝ Abb̃is tl̃is loci sȝ ī pinᵒ voluꝰ ꝙ audiatꝛ forͨm cōmissioīs nr̃e qͨ ꝑl̃ca dicat comissar̃ Ecce socii vos audist̃ꝛ forͨm ist̃iꝰ cōmissioīs admittitꝛ istā cōmissōȝ ꝛ nos s̃ ejꝰ forͨm qⁱbȝ annuētibus dicat cōmissariꝰ sʳgat cātor ꝛ legat forͨm visiⁱˢ ꝛc̃ ut sͨ De relaxacōe pene vl̃ mitigaⁿᵒ p̃nie Amice nos ītellexim̃ ob qͨm cāȝ pōitꝰ es ī p̃nia ꝛ sic̃ dc̃m ẽ nob̃ m̃ito hᵒ paꝺis ad īstanciā tn̄ Abbis tui ꝛ socōrꝛ tuorꝛ remittimꝰ ꝛ relaxamꝰ peīaȝ istā iᵃ ꝑ de ceꝺo te emēdes ī ꝙᵐ poꝺis erga ordiēȝ atȝ dm̃ Qᵃ die dc̃a collacōe si qͨ fuit faciat ꝑsidēs postea ꝑclamacōes ꝑt maꝺiā inveñit in suo ꝑliamēto ꝛ alibi suꝑ pⁱore suppⁱore cantor̃ succētor̃ celleraris s̃bcellerar̃ de sp̃ualibȝ ꝛ tēꝑalibȝ ꝛ suꝑ articl̃os ꝯtētꝛ in scꝺpto visiⁱˢ Pⁱorē sic alloquens. Dñe Pⁱor tu es ꝑclamatꝰ ꝑ eo ꝙ nō fac ꝛ debitū officii tui cⁱca ordiēȝ obsꝺvād̃ Frēs nō sedet in clautro festivis diebȝ ꝛ aliis tēꝑe lc̃ois nec tu ad boᵐ exᵐ alīorꝛ hᵒ facis ut deberes. Silenciū in 4 locis pⁱncipalibȝ nō obsꝺvat̃ͨ nec ꝛ in aliis locis ꝛ tēꝑibȝ debitꝛ ꝛ ꝑcipue ad mēsā. Frēs nō veniūt ad sꝺviciū đnm ꝛ horas canoīcas in eccīa qt̃is sic̃ deberet sȝ aliqⁱ sȝ absentāt sepiꝰ intendētes vagac̃oi ꝛ alii potacābȝ in ordinat̃ꝛ post cōpletorm̃ ꝛ añ remanēt ꝛ de vigiliis ꝛ de cōpletor̃ nec ea ꝑsolvūt in īfⁱmitoris teꝑe debito ut tenētʳ Nō veniūt ad qfom ōi septiͨ nᶜ celebrāt missas suas cōiꝺ sic̃ decet. Formā ꝛ b̃i Bernardi pr̃is nr̃i ī cantu ꝛ Pᵈⁱᵃ nō obsꝺvatꝛ devote morose ac vivaciꝺ cantādo sȝ nimis tepide festinātꝛ ꝛ indevote cōplet̃ꝛ sꝺviciū đnm qᵃ ꝑceptū

Sꝺvite dño ī t̃iorꝺ Pꝺꝺtea dñe Pⁱor deberꝺs ex offo tuo excitar̃ cantorē in eccl̃ia ꝛ alios ꝯfr̃es tuos ut đnū officiū cu tīor ꝛ tremor̃ inibi ꝑsolvant remissos sṽ negligētes ī caᵒ ꝑclamar̃ coriqꝺe ꝛ emēdar̃ sȝ ista nō facꝛ qⁱn vⁱꝰ dissitās in ꝑicl̃m aīe tue ꝛ detⁱmentū nō modicū religioⁱˢ. Illa que diximꝰ pⁱori tⁱ ꝛ suppⁱori iꝑonimꝰ qȝ nō facedebitū tuū
Sic, bis. qͨntū ad obsꝺvācias regl̃ares ī ꝑpⁱa ꝑᵃ aut aliena qͨr qⁱ deliƀar̃ volumꝰ ꝙ vobis ꝑ vr̃a necligēcia sit facieđ eatꝛ sessū usȝ in crastinū judiciū exspᶜtantes. T'cia die dīco a ꝑsidēte bñdiᵗᵉ expoͨqȝ regl̃a sb̃jūgat loqͨmʳ de orđie nr̃o ꝛ petita vc̃ia a Pⁱore ꝛ aliis pⁱdie ꝑclamatꝛ dicat ꝑsedēs Dñe Pⁱor m̃lta fuūt tⁱ īpōita hestꝺna die hic ī caᵒ uñ magnā peñiaȝ meruisti ex orđis rigor̃ Sȝ mīa moti volumꝰ ad ꝑus̃ punic̃oȝ oīo differr̃ sb̃ spe emēdac̃ois usqȝ ad ꝑxīaȝ visiᵉˢ ī qͨ si nō īnvenꝺimꝰ debitā emēdacōm ī te ꝛ in aliis nˡ vobis ꝑpōimꝰ oñder̃ gr̃o deceꝺo ł favor̃ sȝ cōstet vobis de ceꝺo sȝ

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statuta orđis nr̃i oeȝ rigorē justicie q^ᵘ vos volum^q obs̓vare ⁊ iō faciatꝭ oĩa ⁊ sin^la bñ emēdari ⁊ eatꝭ sessum Tūc dicat t̃ri fr̃es ⁊ filii ꝯsid^ꝰate attēci^q ⁊ videte q^ᵘ lit̃ p̓nteȝ visi^er nr̃aȝ ꝑfecin^q ī voƀ õi rigor̃ orđis pēit^q p̓t̃misso ꝑponim^q n ꝑ nc̄ oñder̃ vobis so^m gr̃aȝ ⁊ favoē movēdo ⁊ vitando? q^ᵘ tin^q dñm officium devocõe debita ꝑsolvatꝭ or̃om atȝ leccõi teꝑibȝ debitꝭ insistatꝭ Abƀi vr̃o ⁊ aliis sr̃ioribȝ vr̃is obedienciā ⁊ rev̓enciā exhibeatꝭ caritatē fr̃nitatis ⁊ bonū pacē īvicē obs̓vādo debetis insuꝑ vagac̃oȝ oĩodā evitar̃ defcus vestros atqȝ necligēcias emēdar̃ ut s^c gr̃aȝ vobis fc̄aꝝ in p̓nti visitacõe īveīam^q ī ꝑxīo advētu nr̃o vos in vacuū nl̃late^q recepisse Suꝑ istꝭ v^o efficat̃ obs̓vād P^iori ⁊ suppriori cōmittim^ꝰ vices nr̃as ut faciāt istā monicõm nr̃am ab oĩbȝ sbs̓vari. Nichil ad faciēđ ẽ ad p̓us ƀi n^i cū orõne ut mor̃ ẽ visita^ex nr̃aȝ t̃iar^ꝰ. Recomēdam^ꝰ g̃ vobis ⁊ or̃onibȝ vr̃is statū ⁊ unitatē ecc̃ie un^ꝰit capud ipi^ꝰ int^iucecū? dñm siȝ Sūmū pont̃ cū toto clero s^i fideł̃r adherēte ut sūt cardenales Archiep̃i Ep̃i Abƀes P^ior^ꝰs cet̃iȝ rector^ꝰs ac curā aĩarꝭ ħntes p̓cipue g̃ recomēdo orõibȝ vr̃is ordĩeȝ nr̃m Cist̃cii cū oĩbȝ p̓lat̃ ⁊ sƀdit^q ī eođ ⁊ sꝑalit̃ domū vr̃aȝ Mr̃nā Ex-a^a ꝑte recomēdo orõibȝ vr̃is ꝑspitatē ⁊ pacē toci^q X^ianissi ⁊ spãlit̃ Reg̃ ⁊ ppł̃i Anglicani illust^issimū p^incipē Dñm nr̃m regē Dñāqȝ reginā sēsqȝ incolas Dños ⁊ coēs h^q t̃r̃ ⁊ p̓cipue õs Fūdator^ꝰs pat^onos ⁊ bñfactores nr̃i orđis ī cõi ȝ^o recomēdo orõibȝ vr̃is õs fideles vivos ⁊ defūctos ⁊ sp̃alit̃ aias dormieciū qui ī p^rgatorio đinā m̃iaꝝ p̓stolan^ᵘ ut det ił̃ đs requiē ⁊ gł̃iaȝ sēpit̃nā.

Igit^r aĩe istorꝭ ⁊ aĩe patrū nr̃orꝭ matrū fratū sororꝭ õniūqȝ ꝑentū ⁊ bñfactorꝭ n^cnō ⁊ omñ fideliū defūctorꝭ ꝑ đi m̃iaȝ ī pace req^iescāt Vos ex ꝑte P^iorꝭ q^i estꝭ sacerdot̃ celebrabitis ⁊ q^iliȝ vr̃m celebrabit unā missā ꝑ defūctꝭ ⁊ q^iliȝ vr̃m q^i estis ex ꝑte Abƀis unā missā de ƀa v̓gine Maria Recomēdam^q vos đo ƀi mł̃tu reg^ᵘciant̃ vobis de mora nr̃a ⁊ illā pacē q^ᵘm đs reliquit suis discipł̃is t^ᵘnsiens ex h^o mūdo ad pr̃eȝ vobis p̓optam^q ⁊ pax đi q̃ exsuꝑat oẽȝ ss^m exultet ī cordibȝ vr̃is custodiēs corda vr̃a ⁊ inteligēcias vr̃as nr̃i si placeat ⁊ convent^q nr̃i ī vr̃is orõnibȝ cotidie memorātꝭ Et ad dm̃ sitꝭ filii ⁊ Frēs ƀi ⁊ ƀndicc̃o Dĩ oĩpotētꝭ pr̃is ⁊ f. ⁊ s. s. descēdat ⁊ maneat suꝑ vos in et̃num amen.

Q. Ricardus Dove Monachus ⁊ scolaris de Bukfast—R. D. M. de B.

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LIST OF MEMBERS.

* Indicates Life Members.
† Indicates Honorary Members.
‡ Indicates Corresponding Members.
Notice of changes of Residence and of Decease of Members should be sent to the Honorary Secretary, Rev. W. Harpley, Clayhanger Rectory, Tiverton.

Year of Election.

1876 Abraham, R. G., Ashburton.
1872†Adams, John Couch, M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.R.A.S., Director of Observatory and Lowndean Professor of Astronomy and Geometry in the University of Cambridge, The Observatory, Cambridge.
1875 Adams, George, Buckyett, Little Hempston, Totnes.
1875 Adams, James, M.D., Ashburton.
1876 Alger, W. H., Ford Park, Plymouth.
1874 Alsop, R., Teignmouth Bank, Teignmouth.
1869 Amery, J. S. (Hon. Local Secretary), Druid, Ashburton.
1869 Amery, P. F. S., Druid, Ashburton.
1872 Amery, Sparke, Druid, Ashburton.
1875 Andrew, T., F.G.S., Southernhay, Exeter.
1863 Appleton, Edward, F.I.B.A., Cotswold, Torquay.
1870 Arnold, G., Dolton.
1868 Ash, F., Dartmouth.
1868 Ashley, J., Honiton.
1875 Ashplant, W., High Street, Torrington.
1874 Ayerst, J. S. A., M.D., 2, Belgrave Terrace, Torquay.

1871 Bangham, Joseph, Torrington.
1862 Barnes, Rev. Preb., M.A., The Vicarage, Heavitree, Exeter.
1876 Bastard, B. J. P., Kitley, Yealmpton, South Devon.
1862 Bate, C. Spence, F.R.S., &c., 8, Mulgrave Place, Plymouth.
1872 Bate, James J. R., Bampton Street, Tiverton.
1875 Bate, D. C., Bampton Street, Tiverton.
1873 Batten, J. Hallet, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., 2, Manston Terrace, Exeter.
1866 Bayly, John, Seven Trees, Plymouth.
1871*Bayly, Robert, Torr Grove, Plymouth.
1868 Bayley, W. R., M.A., Cotford House, Sidbury, Sidmouth.
1876 Beal, Rev. S., B.A., Princess Square, Plymouth.

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1876 Bearne, Lewis E., Collinwood, Newton Abbot.
1876 Beatty, W., Buckfastleigh.
1875 Bedford, Captain E. I., R.N., Fairlawn, Paignton.
1875 Bennett, C., 5, Victoria Terrace, Mount Radford, Exeter.
1876 Berry, R. B., 18, Belgrave Terrace, Torquay.
1876 Bickford, J., Bank, Ashburton.
1868 Bidder, George P., C.E., Ravensbury, Dartmouth.
1876 Bishop, E., 23, Soho Square, London. W.
1865 Blackmore, Humphrey, Garston, Torquay.
1876 Blunn, Rev. J. H., Ashburton.
1872 Borlase, W. C., F.G.S., Castle Horneck, Penzance.
1876 Boulnoise, H. P., City Surveyor, Exeter.
1876 Bovey, Edward, Baddaford, Staverton, Buckfastleigh.
1874 Bowring, Lady, 7, Baring Crescent, Exeter.
1873 Bowring, L. B., C.S.I., Lavrockbeare, Torquay.
1876†Bray, Mrs., 40, Brompton Crescent, South Kensington.
1869 Brendon, William, George Street, Plymouth.
1873 Brent, F., 19, Clarendon Place, Plymouth.
1874 Brewin, R., Bearsden, Ide, Exeter.
1873 Bridges, W. T., D.C.L., Torwood, Torquay.
1870 Briggs, T. R. A., 4, Portland Villas, Plymouth.
1872 Brodrick, W., Littlehill, Chudleigh.
1873*Brown, Mrs., 1, Stratton Street, Piccadilly, London.
1876 Brown, M. G., Buckfast Abbey, Buckfastleigh.
1872 Buckingham, W., 12, Southernhay, Exeter.
1868 Buller, W. W., Becky Fall, Manaton, Moretonhampstead.
1874 Bulteel, C., F.R.C.S., Durnford Street, Stonehouse.
1871 Burch, Arthur, 5, Baring Crescent, Exeter.
1873*Burdett-Coutts, Right Hon. Baroness, 1, Stratton Street, Piccadilly, London.
1876 Butcher, Rev. J. H., B.A., Ashburton.

1862 Cann, William, F.R.H.S., 9, Southernhay, Exeter.
1874 Carew, W. H. Pole, Antony, Torpoint.
1866*Carpenter-Garnier, J., M.P., Mount Tavy, Tavistock.
1870 Carslake, J. B. H., Bridgewater.
1876 Caunter, Miss F., Ashburton.
1873*Cave, Right Hon. S., M.P., 35, Wilton Place, London. S.W.
1866 Champernowne, A., M.A., F.G.S., President Teign Naturalists' Club, Dartington House, Totnes.
1876 Champernowne, Rev. R., M.A., Dartington, Totnes.
1866 Chanter, J. R., Fort Hill, Barnstaple.
1875 Chapple, N., Well Street, Torrington.
1871 Charlewood, Admiral E. P., R.N., Northam, Bideford.
1876 Chatto, W. P., The Daison, St. Mary Church, Torquay.
1873 Chick, S., Sidmouth.
1873 Chick, S., junr., 5, Newman Street, London. W.
1869*Clark, R. A., Wentworth, Torquay.

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1871 Clements, Rev. H. G. J., M.A., Vicarage, Sidmouth.
1873 Clifford, Col. Morgan, St. Ronan's, Torquay.
1873 Clifford, Right Hon. Lord, Ugbrooke, Chudleigh.
1875 Clinton, Right Hon. Lord, Heanton Satchville, Beaford.
1876 Cock, W. J., Combston, Holne, Ashburton.
1874 Coffin, J. R. Pine, Portledge, Bideford.
1870 Coffin, T., 6, Beaufort Terrace, Lillie Bridge, Fulham.
1872 Colby, Rev. F. T., B.D., F.S.A., Little Cheney Rectory, Dorchester.
1873 Coleridge, W. R., Salston, Ottery St. Mary.
1868*Coleridge, Right Hon. Lord, M.A., 6, Southwick Crescent, London.
1866 Collier, W. F., Wood Town, Horrabridge.
1871 Cook, Rev. Precentor, M.A., The Close, Exeter.
1876 Cookson, H.
1876 Cornish, F. S., Kingsbridge.
1867 Cotton, R. W., Woodleigh, Newton Abbot.
1866 Cotton, W., F.S.A., Elms House, Alphington Road, Exeter.
1870 Crabbe, William Richard, F.S.A., East Wonford, Heavitree, Exeter.
1866 Creed, J., Whiddon, Newton Abbot.
1876 Cruse, E., Ashburton.

1875 David, Rev. W., Colleton Crescent, Exeter.
1875 Davidson, J. B., 4, Secktor House, Axminster.
1871 Deane, W. A., Webbery, Bideford.
1870 De Larue, P. F., M.R.C.S., 40, Ker Street, Devonport.
1873 Devon, Right Hon. the Earl of, Powderham Castle, Exeter.
1862 Divett, John, M.A., Bovey Tracey.
1867 Doe, G., Castle Street, Great Torrington.
1869*Douglas, Rev. R., M.A., Manaton, Moretonhampstead.
1873*Dowie, J. M., Wetstones, West Kirby, Birkenhead.
1876 Drake, T. E., Manor House, Widecombe, Ashburton.
1873 Dunn, R. Marsh, Carlton Lodge, Teignmouth.
1866 Durant, R. Sharpham, Totnes.
1871 Dymond, F. W., 3, Manston Terrace, Exeter.
1872 Dymond, R., F.S.A., Bampfylde House, Exeter.

1876 Earle, Venerable Archdeacon (PRESIDENT ELECT), West Alvington, Kingsbridge.
1876 Eddy, H., Ashburton.
1874*Edgcumbe, Right Hon. Earl of, Mt. Edgcumbe, Plymouth.
1874 Edwards, H. J., M.R.C.S., Rosenville, Teignmouth.
1873 Ellacombe, Rev. H. T., F.S.A., M.A., Clyst St. George.
1862 Ellis, H. S., F.R.A.S., 1, Fair Park, Exeter.
1869*Evans, J., V.P.R.S, F.S.A., Pres. G.S., Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead, Herts.
1871*Exeter, Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of, the Palace, Exeter.

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1872 Falkner, Rev. Thomas Felton, B.A., F.S.A., F.M.S., St Thomas's College, Colombo. (Care of J. E. Price, Esq., F.S.A., 53, Beresford Road, Highbury New Park, London. N.)
1869 Farley, H. W., C.E, 3, Belmont Villas, Newton Abbot.
1875 Farley, J. S., South Street, Torrington.
1864 Finch, T., F.R.A.S., M.D., Westville, St. Mary Church, Torquay.
1875 Firth, F. H., Cator Court, Ashburton.
1876 Firth, F. W., Cator Court, Ashburton.
1876 Firth, H. M., Ashburton.
1874 Fisher, Edward, Fairfield, Dawlish.
1875 Fisher, T., Buckland Filleigh, Highampton.
1875 Fisher, G., High Street, Torrington.
1876 Fisher, Thomas, M.D., Bilberry Hill, Buckfastleigh.
1876 Fleming, J., Bigadon, Buckfastleigh.
1876 Foaden, J. H., Ashburton.
1876 Follett, C. J., Polsloe House, Exeter.
1876 Foot, W. R. W., Ashburton.
1867 Fortescue, Right Hon. Earl, Castle Hill, Southmolton.
1867 Foster, Rev. J. P., M.A., Dartmouth.
1876 Fouracre, J. T., Chapel Street, Stonehouse, Plymouth.
1875 Fowler, C., Villa Mentone, Torre, Torquay.
1875 Fowler, Rev. Hugh, M.A., Barnwood Vicarage, Gloucestershire.
1863 Fox, S. B., 7, Southernhay, Exeter.
1876 Fox, Charles, Kingsbridge.
1874†Froude, J. A., M.A., 5, Onslow Gardens, London.
1868 Froude, W., M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., M.I.C.E., Chelston Cross, Torquay.
1876 Fulford, Rev. S. B., Exmouth.
1872 Fursdon, Rev. E., Fursdon, Tiverton.

1875 Gadd, Henry, Branscombe House, Exeter.
1862 Gamlen, W. H., Brampford Speke, Exeter.
1872 Galton, J. C., 6, Dix's Field, Exeter.
1876 Gaye, Henry S., M.D., 3, Courtenay Terrace, Newton Abbot.
1872*Geare, J. G., Exeter.
1871*Gervis, W. S., M.D., F.G.S. (HON. LOCAL TREASURER), Ashburton.
1872 Gidley, Bartholomew C., M.A., 2, Barnfield Crescent, Exeter.
1865 Gill, H. S., Exe Villa, Tiverton.
1876 Gill, Rev. J., Holne Vicarage, Ashburton.
1876 Gillow, W., Stapleton, Torquay.
1874 Gilman, E. J., 14, Boltons, London. S.W.
1875 Glubb, P. B., Potacre Street, Torrington.
1868*Goldsmid, J., M.A., M.P., 49, Grosvenor Street, London. W.
1876 Goodrick, G., 11, George Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.
1868 Gordon, C., M.A., Wiscombe Park, Honiton.
1868 Grainger, Rev. G. Watts, M.A., Luppit Vicarage, Honiton.
1875 Groser, A., 3, North Devon Place, Plymouth.
1873 Grundy, T., Beetlands, Sidmouth.
1875 Guille, Rev. G. de Carteret, Rectory, Little Torrington.

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1874 Gulson, J. R., East Cliff, Teignmouth.
1873*Guyer, J. B., F.G.S., President Torquay Natural History Society, 1, Lisburne Cottages, Torquay.

1870 Haddy, Rev. J. P., 8, Home Park, Stoke, Devonport.
1867*Hall, Townshend M., F.G.S., Pilton, Barnstaple.
1873 Hall, J. Sparkes, 308, Regent Street, London.
1873*Halliday, W. H., M.A., Glenthorn, Lynmouth, Barnstaple.
1862 Hamilton, A. H. A., M.A., President of the Exeter Naturalists' Club, Fairfield Lodge, Exeter.
1876 Hamlyn, J., Fullaford, Buckfastleigh.
1873*Hanbury, S., Bishopstowe, Torquay.
1875 Handford, E., High Street, Torrington.
1870 Harding, Col., F.G.S. Upcot House, Pilton, Barnstaple.
1868 Harper, J., L.R.C.P., Bear Street, Barnstaple.
1874 Harpley, R. B., Greatham, West Hartlepool.
1862 Harpley, Rev. W., M.A., F.C.P.S., (Hon. General Secretary), Clayhanger Rectory, Tiverton.
1873*Harvey, J. T., 8, Wellswood Park, Torquay,
1875 Hatt-Cook, Herbert, Hartford Hall, Cheshire.
1875 Haverfield, Major, 26, Alma Square, St. John's Wood, London.
1869 Hawker, Rev. Treasurer, M.A. (President), Berrynarbor Rectory, Ilfracombe.
1869 Hayne, C. Seale, Kingswear, Castle, Dartmouth.
1872 Hayward, P., Cathedral Yard, Exeter.
1862 Hearder, G. E., Torwood Street, Torquay.
1865 Hearder, W., Rocombe, Torquay.
1868*Heberden, Rev. W., M.A., 14, Gloucester Place, Portman Square, London.
1875 Hedgeland, Rev. Preb., M.A., Penzance.
1871 Heineken, N. S., Sidmouth.
1875 Highton, Rev. E., M.A., Bampton Street, Tiverton.
1872 Hill, J., J.P., Moretonhampstead, Exeter.
1876 Hill, H. S., Stanley Terrace, Plymouth.
1862 Hine, J. E., F.I.B.A., 7, Mulgrave Place, Plymouth.
1869 Hingston, R., Dartmouth.
1876 Hingston, Rev. A. N., Kingsbridge.
1875 Hockin, Edward, Poughill, Stratton, Cornwall.
1873 Hodge, B. T., M.D., High Street, Sidmouth.
1867 Hodgson, W. B., Professor, LL.D., Bonaly Tower, Colinton, Scotland.
1875 Holwill, Frederick, South Street, Torrington.
1873 Hooker, R. H., Lea Hurst, Torquay.
1873 Hooper, B., Bournbrook, Torquay.
1862 Horne, T. B., M.R.C.S., Adwell, Torquay.
1873 Horniman, W. H., Merton Lodge, Lincombe Road Middle, Torquay.

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1871 Hounsell, H. S., M.D., The Larches, Torquay.
1871 How, John, Bideford.
1872 Hughes, Major-General W. T., C.B., Strete Raleigh, Whimple, Exeter.
1868*Hunt, A. R., M.A., F.G.S., Southwood, Warberry Road Middle, Torquay.
1876 Hurrell, J. S., (HON. LOCAL SECRETARY ELECT), Butville, Kingsbridge.
1876 Hurrell, R., The Knowle, Kingsbridge.
1873 Hutchins, Rev. H., M.A., The Clintons, Teignmouth.
1868 Hutchinson, P. O., Sidmouth.

1869 Inskip, Rev. R. M., M.A., R.N., C.B., 57, Cobourg Street, Plymouth.

1875 Jackson, J., junr., Torre Villa, Torrington.
1876 Jackson, Rev. P., M.A., Leusden Vicarage, Ashburton.
1876 Jardine, R., F.R.G.S., Lanrick Castle, Stirling, N.B.
1875 Johnson, J. G., M.P., Cross, Torrington.
1876 Johnson, H. S., Buckfastleigh.
1875 Jones, C. K., M.D., M.R.C.S., Castle House, Torrington.
1862 Jones, Winslow, St. Loyes, Heavitree, Exeter.
1871 Jordan, W. R. H., Bitton Street, Teignmouth.

1874 Karkeek, P. Q., 1, Matlock Terrace, Torquay.
1862 Kendall, W., J.P., 6, Higher Summerlands, Exeter.
1872 Kennaway, Sir John H., Bart., M.A., M.P., Escot, Ottery St. Mary.
1874 King, Richard, J. (PRESIDENT), The Limes, Crediton.
1868 Kingdon, A. S., M.D., Combmartin, Ilfracombe.
1871 Kitchen, Rev. J. L., M.A., Exeter.
1865 Kitson, W. H., Hemsworth, Barton Road, Tor, Torquay.
1876 Kitson, Rev. Thomas, Shiphay, Torquay.
1876 Kitson, Captain E., Sinclairs, Ashburton.

1869*Laidley, Rev. W., M.A., West Lawn, Teignmouth.
1871 Lake, W. C., M.D., F.M.S., 2, West Cliff Terrace, Teignmouth.
1875 Lang, Major F. H., Casa Maggiore, Torquay.
1873 Lavers, W., Upton Leigh, Torre, Torquay.
1876 Lay, Rev. J. W., M.A., Hele, Ashburton.
1871 Lee, Godfrey Robert, Fore Street, Teignmouth.
1872 Lee, J. E., F.G.S., F.S.A., Villa Syracusa, Torquay.
1873 Lethaby, R., Market Place, Sidmouth.
1870 Lewis, J. D., Membland Hall, Ivybridge.
1872 Linford, W., Elstow, Old Tiverton Road, Exeter.
1868 Lingwood, R. M., M.A., F.L.S., F.G.S., 1, Derby Villas, Cheltenham.
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1872 Lloyd, Horace G., 9, Baring Place, Mount Radford, Exeter.
1876 Lloyd, Captain F., Holne Park, Ashburton.
1873 Loveband, M. R., Torrington.
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1863*Lyte, F. Maxwell, Berry Head House, Brixham.

1874 Macartney, Rev. S. P., Vicarage, Chudleigh.
1865 Mackenzie, F., M.R.C.S., Tiverton.
1873 Marshal, Rev. J. H., Salcombe Regis.
1871 Marshall, W., 12, Cornwall Street, Plymouth.
1871*Martin, John May, C.E., F.M.S., Lower Musgrave House, Exeter.
1876 Maunder, W., Ashburton.
1870 May, J., M.R.C.S., J.P., 1, Nelson Villas, Devonport.
1872 Mellish, E., The Lodge, Buckrell, Honiton.
1867 Merrifield, J., LL.D., F.R.A.S., Gascoigne Place, Plymouth.
1862 Miles, W., Dix's Field, Exeter.
1870 Mogg, W., 4, Stafford's Hill, Devonport.
1873 Mogridge, Robert Palk, Bampton, Tiverton.
1870 Moore, A., H.M. Dockyard, Devonport.
1862 Moore, W. F., The Friary, Plymouth.
1876 Moorman, Rev. A. C., Ashburton.
1875 Morfill, J. W., Torrington.
1872 Mortimer, W., 14, Bedford Circus, Exeter.
1876 Mortimer, J., B.A., B.Sc., Grammar School, Ashburton.

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1872 Nicholson, A. H., 7, Reed Vale, Teignmouth.
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1873 Nuthall, Major-General, Lorne Hall, Torquay.

1874*Oldham, T., LL.D., M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S., M.R.I.A., Director of the Geological Survey of India, Calcutta. (Care of Messrs. Trübner and Co., Ludgate Hill, London.)
1862 Ormerod, G. W., M.A., F.G.S., Brookbank, Teignmouth.
1876 Orpen, Rev. E. C., M.A., Dean Prior, Buckfastleigh.
1872 Oxland, Rev. W., B.A., 17, Caroline Place, Stonehouse.

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1869*Pannell, C., F.G.S., Walton Lodge, Torquay.
1862 Parfitt, Edward, Devon and Exeter Institution, Exeter.
1873 Parker, C. E., 13, Scarborough Terrace, Torquay.
1871 Paty, G. P. H., M.A., Bideford.
1872‡Peach, Charles W., A.S.L., 30, Haddington Place, Leith Walk, Edinburgh.
1874 Peacock, Capt. George, F.R.G.S., Regent's House, Starcross.

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1874 Pearse, W. H., M.D., 1, Alfred Place, Plymouth.
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1875 Pelham, Hon. and Rev. F. G., Upton Pyne, Exeter.
1862 Pengelly, W., F.R.S., F.G.S., &c., Lamorna, Torquay.
1873 Pershouse, F., junr., Ellerton, Tor-Mohun House, Torquay.
1875 Pettle, R., Morton Villa, Torrington.
1864 Phillips, J., Devon Square, Newton Abbot.
1867 Pick, Joseph Peyton, Castle Street, Barnstaple.
1875 Pidgeon, D., Holmwood, Putney Hill, London.
1875 Pidgeon, H. H., South Street, Torrington.
1876 Pitman, Rev. W., Aveton Gifford, Kingsbridge.
1862 Pollard, W., M.R.C.S., Southland House, Torquay.
1868 Porter, W., M.A., Hembury Fort, Honiton.
1876 Power, Rev. J., Dodbrooke, Kingsbridge.
1876 Powning, Rev. J., B.D., Totnes.
1874 Price, W. E., South Street, Torrington.
1874 Proctor, W., Elmhurst, Torquay.
1867 Prowse, A. P., Mannamead, Plymouth.
1862 Pycroft, G., M.R.C.S., F.G.S., Kenton, Exeter.
1871 Pyke, W., Longfield, Bideford.

1873 Raby, S., Housham, Kent's Road, Torquay.
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1868*Radford, W. T., M.B., F.R.A.S., Sidmount, Sidmouth.
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1869 Ridgway, S. R., LL.D., M.A., Mount Dinham, Exeter.
1862 Risk, Rev. J. E., M.A., St. Andrew's Chapelry, Plymouth.
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1876 Robinson, John, The Knoll, Ashburton.
1867 Rock, W. F., Hyde Cliff, Wellington Grove, Blackheath.
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1865 Row, W. N., Cove, Tiverton.
1862 Rowe, J. Brooking, F.S.A., F.L.S., Lockyer Street, Plymouth.
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1866 Russell, Lord Arthur J. E., M.P., 10, South Audley Street, London.
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1874 Schuster, Herbert L., Belton Lodge, Torquay.
1865 Scott, W. B., Chudleigh.
1871 Seymour, Rev. G. T., M.A., Warberry Court, Torquay.
1876 Sherrard, Rev. S. H., LL.B., Gurrington, Ashburton.
1862 Shute, R., Baring Crescent, Exeter.
1868 Sidmouth, Right Hon. Viscount, Upottery Manor, Honiton.
1875 Sing, Thomas, High Street, Torrington.
1869*Sivewright, J., The Grove, Torquay.
1875 Slee, H., High Street, Torrington.
1876 Sloane-Evans, Rev. S., Dodbrooke, Kingsbridge.
1874 Smith, E., F.C.S., Strand, Torquay.
1873*Sole, Major W. H., Hareston, Torquay.
1874*Somerset, His Grace the Duke of, Stover, Newton Bushel.
1864 Spragge, F. H., The Quarry, Paignton.
1874*Spragge, F. P., The Quarry, Paignton.
1874 Standerwick, R., Mount Howe, Topsham.
1868 Stebbing, Rev. T. R. R., M.A., Tor Crest Hall, Torquay.
1876 Steele, H., Place, Ashburton.
1876 Stevens, H., Ashburton.
1875 Stevens, J. C. Moore, Winscott, Peter's Marland, Torrington.
1876 Stone, J., Leusdon, Ashburton.
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1869 Studdy, H., Waddeton Court, Brixham.
1875*Sulivan, Miss, Broom House, Fulham.
1870 Swann, Capt. J. S., F.G.S., F.S.A., Holyshute, Honiton.

1876 Tanner, E. Fearnley, Highgrove, Ashburton.
1864*Tetley, J., M.D., Belmont, Torre, Torquay.
1876 Templar, J. G. J., M.A., Lindridge, Teignmouth.
1872 Thomas, J. L., New Hayes, St. Thomas, Exeter.
1875 Thompson, Col., Broomfield Manor, Exbourne, North Devon.
1873 Thomson, Spencer, M.D., Ashton, Torquay.
1868 Thornton, Rev. J. H., B.A., North Bovey Rectory, Moretonhampstead.
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1876 Tozer, Solomon, East Street, Ashburton.
1872 Tozer, Henry, Ashburton.
1874 Tozer, J. H., Glendaragh, Teignmouth.
1876 Trehane, J., Wanbro', Torquay.
1871 Trevelyan, Sir Walter C., Bart., M.A., F.G.S., Wallington, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
1872 Tucker, C., F.S.A., Marlands, Exeter.
1876 Tucker, R., Ashburton.

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1876 Tucker, R. C., Ashburton.
1876 Tucker, Edwin, Ashburton.
1876 Tucker, Lewis, Natsworthy Manor, Widecombe, Ashburton.
1872 Turnbull, Lieut.-Col. J. R., The Priory, Torquay.

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1876 Varder, J. L., Ashburton.
1872 Varwell, P., Alphington Street, St. Thomas, Exeter.
1862*Vicary, W., F.G.S., The Priory, Colleton Crescent, Exeter.
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1871 Whiteway, J. H., Brookfield, Teignmouth.
1876 Whiteway, W. R., Ashburton.
1876 Williams, Rev. J., M.A., Widecombe, Ashburton.
1872 Wilcocks, H., Spurbarne, St. Leonard's, Exeter.
1874 Willcoks, Roger, 1, Victoria Terrace, Teignmouth.
1872 Wilkinson, R. C., Bradninch House, Exeter.
1871 Willett, Capt. J. S., Monkleigh, Torrington.
1871 Wills, Joseph, West Quarter, Exeter.
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1875 Windeatt, Edward, Totnes.
1872*Winwood, Rev. H. H., M.A., F.G.S., 11, Cavendish Crescent, Bath.
1876 Woodley, J., Halshanger, Ashburton.
1876 Worthy, Rev. C., B.A., Ashburton.
1876 Worthy, Charles, Ashburton.
1872 Worth, R. N., F.G.S., 3, Patna Place, Plymouth.
1870 Wren, A. B., Lenwood, Bideford.

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The following Table shows the progress and present state of the Association with respect to the number of Members,

	Honorary.	Corresponding.	Life.	Annual.	Total.
July 29th, 1875 ..	2	2	44	308	356
Since elected	1	..	1	90	92
Since deceased	..	..	2	6	8
Since withdrawn ..	..	..	..	35	35
Since erased	..	..	..	5	5
July 27th, 1876 ..	3	2	43	352	400

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RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE WINTER MEETING OF THE COUNCIL,

FEBRUARY, 1877.

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1. That the next Annual Meeting of the Association commence on Tuesday, July 31st, 1877.

2. That Mr. J. S. Amery, Mr. George Doe, Mr. R. Dymond, Mr. F. H. Firth, Mr. P. Q. Karkeek, Dr. W. C. Lake, and Mr. W. Pengelly, be a Committee for the purpose of noting and recording the existing use of any Verbal Provincialisms in Devonshire, not included in the list in the seventh volume of the Transactions, either in written or in spoken language; and that Mr. F. H. Firth be the Secretary.

3. That Mr. J. S. Amery, Mr. George Doe, Mr. R. Dymond, Mr. J. S. Hurrell, Mr. R. J. King, Mr. J. E. Lee, Mr. J. Brooking Rowe, and Mr. R. N. Worth, be a Committee for editing and annotating such parts of *Domesday Book* as relate to Devonshire; and that Mr. J. Brooking Rowe be the Secretary.

4. That the following be substituted for the ninth of the Bye-Laws and Standing Orders: "Papers to be read to the Annual Meetings of the Association must strictly relate to Devonshire, and, as well as all Reports intended to be printed in the *Transactions* of the Association, and prepared by Committees appointed by the Council, must, together with all drawings intended to be used in illustrating them in the said *Transactions*, reach the General Secretary's residence not later than the 24th day of June in each year. The General Secretary shall, not later than the 7th of the following July, return to the authors all such Papers as he may

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decide to be unsuitable to be printed in the said *Transactions*, and shall send the residue, together with the said Reports of Committees, to the Association's printers, who shall return the same so that they may reach the General Secretary's residence not later than on the 14th day of the said July, together with a statement of the number of pages each of them would occupy if printed in the said *Transactions*, as well as an estimate of the extra cost of the printing of such tables, of any kind, as may form part of any of the said Tables and Reports; and the General Secretary shall lay the whole, as well as an estimate of the probable number of *Annual* Members of the Association for the year commencing on that day, before the first Council Meeting on the first day of the next ensuing Annual Meeting, when the Council shall select not a greater number of the Papers thus laid before them than will, with the other documents to be printed in the said *Transactions*, make as many sheets of printed matter as can be paid for with 60 per cent. of the subscriptions, for the year, of the said probable number of *Annual Members*, exclusive of the extra cost of the printing of such aforesaid Tables, which have been approved and accepted by the Council, provided the aggregate of the said extra cost do not exceed 6 per cent. of the said subscriptions; exclusive also of the printers' charge for corrections of the press; and also exclusive of the cost of printing an Index, a list of Errata, and such Resolutions passed at the next Winter Meeting of the Council, as may be directed to be so printed by the said Winter Meeting.

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LIST OF CORRECTIONS REQUIRED IN "TRANSACTIONS OF THE DEVONSHIRE ASSOCIATION," VOL. VIII.

Page 5. Add the following names to the COUNCIL: "Hurrell, J. S.," "Paige-Brown, J. B.," and "Ussher, W. A. E"
„ 37, line 24, for "Grenville" read "Greville"
„ 42 „ 5, after "*Indolence*" insert "CANTO II"
„ 50 „ 17, for "parishes of Tor and Upton" read "Tor and Upton, in the parish of Tormohun"
„ 67 „ 44, for "Ellicombe" read "Ellacombe"
„ 80 „ 15, for "British Archæological Association" read "Royal Archæological Institute"
„ 117 „ 17, for "royal" read "loyal"
„ 145 „ 3, for "received" read "deceived"
„ 145 „ 29, for "*Scottish Doon*" read "*Dove*"
„ 161 „ 17, for "Aurignae" read "Aurignac"
„ 223 „ 26, insert "9" before "of"
„ 238 „ 34, for "proboscidan" read "proboscidian"
„ 250 „ 43, for "cartilege" read "cartilage"
„ 256, last line, for "Matthews" read "Mathews"
„ 292, line 13, for "Wigeon" read "Widgeon"
„ 297 „ 27, for "Torbay" read "Torquay"
„ 333 „ 4, for "*All the Year Round*," read "*Household Words*"
„ 342 „ 22, for "warfs" read "wharfs"
„ 343 „ 21, for "Pool" read "Poole"
„ 385 „ 19 and 20, cancel the words "(for all these names have been applied to these Structures)"
„ 399, last line, for "Ogwell" read "Lemon"
„ 403, line 8, for "Ogwell" read "Lemon"
„ 403 „ 9, for "Ogwell" read "Lemon"
„ 413 „ 20, for "Brown" read "Browne"
„ 415 „ 28, for "Mr." read "Sir"
„ 435 „ 19, for "was was" read "was"
„ 471 „ 43, for "Paine" read "Payne"
„ 477 „ 11, 17, 19, for "Roberts" read "Robartes"
„ 478 „ 41, for "Arwenach" read "Arwenack"
„ 532 „ 6, for "32" read "33"
„ 541 „ 28, after "custom" insert "in"
„ 557 „ 29, for "*" read "†"
„ 640 „ 16, for "content" read "context"
„ 651 „ 36, for "they were" read "were they"
„ 682 „ 20, for "Aba" read "Alba"
„ 702 „ 11, for "*Court*." read "*Const*."
„ 861 „ 17, for "Erne" read "Erme"
„ 900 „ 26, cancel the word "PRESIDENT"

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